THE

WORKS

OF

Mr. John Milton.

Oh! had He like his Abdiel been!—
How art Thou fallen, Thou Son of the
Morning!

Printed in the Year MDCXCVII.

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TREATISES

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THE

TREATISES

THE

Doctrine and Diſcipline

OF

DIVORCE;

Reſtor'd to the Good of both

SEXES,

From the Bondage of

CANON LAW,

And other Miſtakes, to the true Meaning of Scripture in the LAW and GOSPEL compar'd.

Wherein alſo are ſet down the bad Conſequences of aboliſhing or condemning of Sin, that which the Law of God allows, and Chriſt aboliſht not.

In TWO BOOKS.

To the Parliament of *ENGLAND*, with the Aſſembly.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Matth. 13. 52.

Every Scribe inſtructed to the Kingdom of Heav'n, is like the Maſter of a Houſe which bringeth out of his Treaſury things new and old.

Prov. 18. 13.

He that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and ſhame unto him.

Printed in the Year MDCXCVII.

TO THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,
WITH THE
ASSEMBLY.

IF it were ſeriouſly aſkt, and it would be no untimely queſtion, Renowned Parliament, ſelect Aſſembly, who of all Teachers and Maſters that ever have taught, hath drawn the moſt Diſciples after him, both in Religion, and in Manners, it might not be untruly anſwer'd, Cuſtom. Though vertue be commended for the moſt perſwaſive in her Theory; and Conſcience in the plain demonſtration of the ſpirit, finds moſt evincing, yet whether it be the ſecret of Divine will, or the Original blindneſs we are born in, ſo it happ'ns for the moſt part, that Cuſtom ſtill is ſilently receiv'd for the beſt inſtructor. Except it be, becauſe her method is ſo glib and eaſie, in ſome manner like to that Viſion of Ezekiel, rowling up her ſudden Book of implicit knowledg, for him that will, to take and ſwallow down at pleaſure; which proving but of bad nouriſhment in the concoction, as it was heedleſs in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big face of pretended learning, miſtaken among credulous Men, for the wholeſom habit of ſoundneſs and good conſtitution, but is indeed no other than that ſwoln viſage of counterfeit knowledge and literature, which not only in private mars our Education, but alſo in publick is the common Climer into every Chair, where either Religion is preach't, or Law reported, filling each eſtate of life and profeſſion with abject and ſervile principles, depreſſing the high and Heaven-born ſpirit of Man, far beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or ſin hath ſunk him. To purſue the Allegory Cuſtom being but a meer face, as Eccho is a meer voice, reſts not in her unaccompliſhment, until by ſecret inclination ſhe accorporate her ſelf with error, who being a blind and Serpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and ſupplies what her incompleatneſs went ſeeking. Hence it is, that Error ſupports Cuſtom, Cuſtom counſnances Error: And theſe two between them would perſecute and chaſe away all truth and ſolid wiſdom out of humane life, were it not that God, rather than Man, once in many Ages, calls together the prudent and religious counſels of men, deputed to repreſs the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obſcurities wrought upon our minds by the ſubtle inſinuating of Error and Cuſtom; who with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief deſign to envy and cry down the induſtry of free reaſoning, under the terms of humor and innovation; as if the Womb of Teeming Truth were to be clos'd up, if ſhe preſume to bring forth ought that ſorts not with thir unchew'd notions and ſuppoſitions. Againſt which notorious injury and abuſe of Mans free ſoul, to teſtifie & oppoſe the utmoſt that ſtudy & true labour can attain, heretofore the incitement of Men reputed grave hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an inſtructed Chriſtian calls me through the chance of good or evil report, to be the ſole Advocate of a diſcounſnanc't truth; a high enterpriſe Lords and Commons, a high enterpriſe and a hard, and ſuch as every ſeventh Son of a ſeventh Son does not venture on. Nor have I amidſt the clamor of ſo much envy & impertinence whether to appeal, but to the concourſe of ſo much piety and wiſdom here aſſembl'd Bringing in my hands an antient and moſt neceſſary, moſt charitable, and yet moſt injur'd Statute of Moſes: Not repeal'd ever by him who had the authority, but thrown aſide with much inconſiderat neglect, under the rubbiſh of Canonical ignorance, as once the whole Law was by ſome ſuch like conveyance in Joſiah's time. And he who ſhall indeavour the amendment of any old neglected grievance in Church or State, or in the daily courſe of life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind that may raiſe him to ſo high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me adviſe him, not to be the foreman of any miſ judg'd opinion, unleſs his reſolutions be firmly ſeated in a ſquare and conſtant mind, not conſcious to it ſelf of any deſerved blame, and regard-

leſs of ungrounded ſuſpicions. For this let him be ſure he ſhall be boarded preſently by the ruder ſort, but not by diſcreet and well nurtur'd Men, with a thouſand idle ſcants and ſurmiſes. Who when they cannot confute the leaſt joynt or ſinew of any paſſage in the Book; yet God forbid that truth ſhould be truth, becauſe they have a boiſtrous conceit of ſome pretences in the Writer. But were they not more buſie and inquiſitive than the Apoſtle commends, they would hear him at leaſt, rejoycing, ſo the truth be preacht, whether of envy or other pretence whatſoever: For Truth is as impoſſible to be ſoil'd by any outward touch, as the Sun beam. Though this ill hap wait on her nativity, that ſhe never comes into the world, but like a Baſtard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth: Till Time the Midwife rather than the Mother of Truth have waſht and ſalted the Infant, declar'd her legitimate, and churcht the Father of his young Minerva, from the needleſs cauſes of his purgation. Your ſelves can beſt witneſs this, worthy Patriots, and better will, no doubt hereafter: For who among ye of the foremoſt that have travail'd in her behalf to the good of Church or State, hath not been often traduc't to be the agent of his own by ends, under pretext of Reformation. So much the more I ſhall not be unjuſt to hope, that however Infamy or Envy may work in other Men to do her fretful will againſt this diſcourſe, yet that the experience of your own uprightneſs miſinterpreted, will put you in mind to give it free audience and generous conſtruction. What though the brood of Belial, the draff of Men, to whom no liberty is pleaſing, but unbridl'd and vagabond luſt without pale or partition, will laugh broad perhaps, to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of Scripture muſtering up in favour, as they ſuppoſe, of their debaucheries; they will know better when they ſhall hence learn, that honeſt liberty is the greateſt foe to diſhoneſt licence. And what though others out of a wateriſh and queaſie conſcience, becauſe ever craſy and never yet ſound, will rail and fancy to themſelves, that injury and licence is the beſt of this Book? Did not the diſtemper of their own ſtomachs affect them with a dizzy Megrim, they would ſoon tie up their tongues, and diſcern themſelves like that Aſſyrian blaſphemer all this while reproaching not Man but the Almighty, the holy one of Iſrael, whom they do not deny to have belawgiv'd his own ſacred people with this very allowance, which they now call injury and licence, and dare cry ſhame on, and will do yet a while, till they get a little cordial ſobriety to ſettle their qualming zeal. But this queſtion concerns not us perhaps: Indeed Mans diſpoſition though prone to ſearch after vain curioſities, yet when points of difficulty are to be diſcuſt, appertaining to the removal of unreaſonable wrong and burden from the perplext life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and far from all fellow feeling we are, without the ſpur of ſelf concernment. Yet if the wiſdom, the juſtice, the purity of God be to be clear'd from fouleſt imputations which are not yet avoided, if charity be not to be degraded and trodd'n down under a civil Ordinance, if Matrimony be not to be advanc't like that exalted perdition writt'n of to the Theſſalonians, above all that is called God, or goodneſs, nay, againſt them both, then I dare affirm there will be found in the Contents of this Book, that which may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, Worthies in Parliament, on whom, as on our Deliverers, all our grievances and cares, by the merit of your eminence and fortitude are devolv'd. Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithful diligence firſt found out, or at leaſt with a fearleſs and communicative candor firſt publiſht to the manifeſt good of Chriſtendom, that which calling to witneſs every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfeignedly to be true. Let not other Men think their conſcience bound to ſearch continually after truth, to pray for enlightning from above, to publiſh what they think they have ſo obtain'd, and debar me from conceiving my ſelf ty'd by the ſame duties. Ye have now doubtleſs by the favour and appointment of God, ye have now in your hands a great and populous Nation to reform: from what corruption, what blindneſs in Religion, ye know well; in what a degenerate and fall'n ſpirit from the apprehenſion of native liberty, and true manlineſs, I am ſure ye find: With what unbounded licence ruſhing to whoredoms and adulteries, needs not long enquiry: Inſomuch that the fears which Men have of too ſtrict a diſcipline, perhaps exceed the hopes that can be in others, of ever introducing it with any great ſucceſs. What if I ſhould tell ye now of diſpenſations and indulgences, to give a little the reins, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a people as hard of heart as that Egyptian Colony that went to Canaan. This is the common doctrine that adulterous and injurious divorces were not conniv'd only, but with eye open allow'd of old for hardneſs of heart. But that opinion, I truſt, by then this following argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the Myſteries of an indulgent Antichriſt, to farm out inceſt by, and thoſe his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be taken then, may ſome interrupt, if we muſt neither turn to the right, nor to the left, and that the people hate to be reform'd: Mark then Judges and Law givers, and ye whoſe Office it is to be our Teachers, for I will utter now a doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not underſtood, yet of great and powerful importance to the governing of mankind. He who wiſely would reſtrain the reaſonable Soul of Man within due bounds, muſt firſt himſelf know perfectly, how far the Territory and Dominion extends of juſt and honeſt liberty. As little muſt he offer to bind that which God hath looſn'd, as to looſen that which he hath bound. The ignorance and miſtake of this high point, hath heapt up one huge half of all the miſery that hath been ſince Adam. In the Goſpel we ſhall read a ſupercilious crew of Maſters, whoſe holineſs, or rather whoſe evil eye, grieving that God ſhould be ſo facile to Man, was to ſet ſtraiter limits to obedience than God hath ſet, to inſlave the dignity of Man, to put a garriſon upon his neck of empty and over dignifi'd precepts: And we ſhall read our Saviour never

more

more griev'd and troubl'd, than to meet with such a pievish madness among Men against their own freedom. How can we expect him to be less offended with us, when much of the same folly shall be found yet remaining where it least ought, to the perishing of thousands. The greatest burden in the world is superstition, not only of Ceremonies in the Church, but of imaginary and scarecrow sins at home. What greater weakning, what more subtle stratagem against our Christian warfare when besides the gross body of real transgressions to incounter, we shall be terrifi'd by a vain and shadowy menacing of faults that are not: When things indifferent shall be set to over-front us under the banners of sin, what wonder if we be routed, and by this art of our Adversary, fall into the subjection of worst and deadliest offences. The superstition of the Papist is, touch not, tast not, when God bids both: And ours is, part not, separate not, when God and charity both permits and commands. Let all your things be done with charity, saith St. Paul: and his Master saith, She is the fulfilling of the Law. Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a sometime disswaded Law of marriage, must be forc't upon us to fulfil, not only without charity, but against her. No place in Heav'n or Earth, except Hell, where charity may not enter: Yet marriage the Ordinance of our solace and contentment, the remedy of our lonelines will not admit now either of charity or mercy to come in and mediate or pacifie the fierceness of this gentle Ordinance, the unremedied lonelines of this remedy. Advise ye well, supreme Senate, if charity be thus excluded and expulst, how ye will defend the untainted honour of your own actions and proceedings. He who marries, intends as little to conspire his own ruine, as he that swears Allegiance: And as a whole people is in proportion to an ill Government, so is one man to an ill marriage. If they against any Authority, Cov'nant, or Statute, may by the soveraign edict of charity, save not only their lives, but honest liberties from unworthy bondage, as well may he against any private Cov'nant, which he never enter'd to his mischief, redeem himself from unsupportable disturbances to honest peace, and just contentment: And much the rather, for that to resist the higheſt Magistrate though tyrannizing, God never gave us expres allowance, only he gave us reason, charity, nature, and good example to bear us out; but in this Oeconomical misfortune thus to demean our selves, besides the warrant of those four great Directors, which doth as justly belong hither, we have an expres Law of God, and such a Law, as whereof our Saviour with a solemn threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of tyranny can be more heavy on the Common-wealth, than this houshold unhappines on the family. And farewel all hope of true Reformation in the State, while such an evil as this lies undiscern'd or unregarded in the house. On the redres whereof depends not only the spiritual and orderly life of our grown Men, but the willing and careful education of our Children. Let this therefore be new examin'd, this tenure and freehold of mankind, this native and domestick Charter giv'n us by a greater Lord than that Saxon King the Confessor. Let the statutes of God be turn'd over, be scann'd anew and consider'd not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of quotationists and common places, but (as was the ancient right of Councils) by Men of what liberal profession soever, of eminent spirit and breeding, joyn'd with a diffuse and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to ballance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every state of life; able to shew us the ways of the Lord strait and faithful as they are, not full of cranks and contradictions, and pit-falling dispences, but with divine insight and benignity measur'd out to the proportion of each mind and spirit, each temper and disposition created so different each from other, and yet by the skill of wise conducting, all to become uniform in vertue. To expedite these knots were worthy a learned and memorable Synod; while our enemies expect to see the expectation of the Church tir'd out with dependencies and independencies how they will compound, and in what Calends. Doubt not, worthy Senators, to vindicate the sacred honour and judgment of Moses your Predecessor, from the shallow commenting of Scholasticks and Canonists. Doubt not after him to reach out to your steady hands to the mis imform'd and wearied life of Man; to restore this his lost heritage, into the houshold state; wherewith be sure that peace and love, the best subsistence of a Christian family will return home from whence they are now banisht; places of prostitution will be less haunted, the neighbours bed less attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly discipline will be generally submitted to, sober and well order'd living will soon spring up in the Common wealth. Ye have an Author great beyond exception, Moses; and one yet greater, he who hedg'd in from abolishing, every smallest jot and tittle of precious equity contain'd in that Law, with a more accurate and lasting Masoreth, than either the Synagogue of Ezra, or the Galilæan School at Tiberias hath left us. Whatever else ye can exact, will scarce concern a third part of the British name: But the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will easily spread far beyond the banks of Tweed and the Norman Isles. It would not be the first, or second time, since our ancient Druids, by whom this Island was the Cathedral of Philosophy to France, left off their Pagan Rites, that England hath had this honour vouchsaft from Heav'n, to give out Reformation to the World. Who was it but our English Constantine that baptiz'd the Roman Empire? Who was it but the Northumbrian Willibrode, and Winifride of Devon with their followers, were the first Apostles of Germany? who but Alcuin and Wicklef our Countrymen open'd the eyes of Europe, the one in Arts, the other in Religion. Let not England forget her precedence of teaching Nations how to live.

Know, Worthies, know and exerciſe the priviledge of your honour'd Country. A greater title I here bring ye, then it either in the power or in the policy of Rome *to give her* Monarchs, *this glorious act will ſtile ye the Defenders of Charity. Nor is this yet the higheſt inſcription that will adorn ſo religious and ſo holy a defence as this, behold here the pure and ſacred Law of God, and his yet purer and more ſacred name offering themſelves to you firſt, of all Chriſtian Reformers to be acquitted from the long ſuffer'd ungodly attribute of patronizing adultery. Defer not to wipe off inſtantly theſe imputative blurs and ſtains caſt by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty it ſelf of inviolable holineſs: Leſt ſome other people more devout and wiſe than we, bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, or wonted prerogative of being the firſt aſſertors in every great vindication. For me as far as my part leads me, I have already my greateſt gain, aſſurance and inward ſatisfaction to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honeſt life, and ſtudies well employ'd. With what event among the wiſe and right underſtanding handful of Men, I am ſecure. But how among the drove of Cuſtom and Prejudice this will be reliſht by ſuch whoſe capacity is ſince their youth run ahead into the eaſie creek of a Syſtem or a Medulla, ſails there at will under the blown Phyſiognomy of their unlabour'd audiments, for them, what their taſte will be, I have alſo ſurety ſufficient, from the entire league that hath been ever between formal ignorance and grave obſtinacy. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of Charity againſt the crabbed Textuiſts of his time, I make no wonder, but reſt confident that who ſo prefers either Matrimony or other Ordinance before the good of Man and the plain exigence of Charity, let him profeſs Papiſt or Proteſtant or what he will, he is no better than a Phariſee, and underſtands not the Goſpel: Whom as a Miſinterpreter of Chriſt I openly proteſt againſt; and provoke him to the trial of the truth before all the world: And let him bethink him withal how he will ſoder up the ſhifting flaws of his ungirt permiſſions, his venial and unvenial diſpences, wherewith the Law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath bin ſhamefully branded, for want of heed in gloſſing, to have eluded and bafft'd out all Faith and Chaſtity from the Marriage-bed of that holy ſeed, with politick and judicial adulteries. I ſeek not to ſeduce the ſimple and illiterate, my errand is to find out the choiceſt and the learnedſt, who have this high gift of wiſdom to anſwer ſolidly, or to be convinc't. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is hous'd in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been writt'n in another tongue; and I had done ſo, but that the eſteem I have of my Countries judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to ſerve it firſt with what I endeavour, made me ſpeak it thus, ere I aſſay the verdict of outlandiſh readers. And perhaps alſo here I might have ended nameleſs, but that the Addreſs of theſe lines chiefly to the Parliament of* England *might have ſeem'd ingrateful not to acknowledge by whoſe Religious care, unwearied watchfulneſs, couragious and heroick reſolutions, I enjoy the Peace and ſtudious Leiſure to remain,*

The Honourer and Attendant of their Noble Worth and Vertues,

JOHN MILTON.

THE

THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE,

Reſtor'd to the Good of both SEXES.

I. Book.

The Preface.

That Man is the occaſion of his own miſeries, in the moſt of thoſe evils which he imputes to Gods inflicting. The abſurdity of our Canoniſts in their Decrees about Divorce. The Chriſtian Imperial Laws framed with more Equity. The opinion of Hugo Grotius, *and* Paulus Fagius: *And the purpoſe in general of this Diſcourſe.*

MANY Men, whether it be their fate, or fond opinion, eaſily perſwade themſelves, if God would but be pleas'd a while to withdraw his juſt puniſhments from us, and to reſtrain what power either the Devil, or any earthly enemy hath to work us woe, that then Mans nature would find immediate reſt and releaſement from all evils. But verily they who think ſo, if they be ſuch as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a general ſurvey of humane things, would ſoon prove themſelves in that opinion for deceiv'd. For though it were granted us by divine indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmful to us from without, yet the perverſeneſs of our folly is ſo bent, that we ſhould never in hammering out of our own hearts, as it were out of a flint, the ſeeds and ſparkels of new miſery to our ſelves, till all were in a blaze again. And no marvel if out of our own hearts, for they are evil; but even out of thoſe things which God meant us, either for a principal good, or a pure contentment, we are ſtill batching and contriving upon our ſelves matter of continual ſorrow and perplexity. What greater good to Man then that revealed rule, whereby God vouchſafes to ſhew us how he would be worſhipt? And yet that not rightly underſtood, became the cauſe that once a famous Man in *Iſrael* could not but oblige his Conſcience to be the Sacrificer: Or if not, the Jaylor of his innocent and only Daughter. And was the cauſe oft-times that Armies of valiant Men have given up their throats to a heatheniſh Enemy on the Sabbath-day; fondly thinking their defenſive reſiſtance to be as then a thing unlawful. What thing more inſtituted to the ſolace and delight of Man than Marriage? And yet the miſ-interpreting of ſome Scripture directed mainly againſt the abuſers of the Law for

divorce

divorce given by *Moſes*, hath chang'd the bleſſing of Matrimony not ſeldom into a familiar and co-inhabiting miſchief; at leaſt into a drooping and diſconſolate houſhold captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and ſo wild a race doth ſuperſtition run us from one extream of abuſed liberto into the other of unmerciful reſtraint. For altho' God in the firſt ordaining of Marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in words expreſly imploying the apt and cheerful converſation of Man with Woman, to comfort and refreſh him of the evil and ſolitary life, not mentioning the purpoſe of generation till afterwards, as being but a ſecondary end in dignity, though not in neceſſity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the Church, and have taſted in any ſort the Nuptial Bed, let them find themſelves never ſo miſtak'n in their diſpoſitions through any error, concealment, or miſadventure, that through their different tempers, thoughts, and conſtitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy againſt lonelineſs, nor live in any union or contentment all their days, yet they ſhall, ſo they be but found ſuitably weapon'd to the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual injoyment, be made, ſpite of *Antipathy* to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unſpeakable weariſomneſs and deſpair of all ſociable delight in the ordinance which God eſtabliſht to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the Wiſeman if he were alive, would ſigh out in his own Phraſe, what a *ſore evil is this under the Sun!* All which we can refer juſtly to no other Author than the Canon Law and her adherents, not conſulting with Charity, the Interpreter and Guide of our Faith, but reſting in the meer Element of the Text; doubtleſs by the policy of the Devil to make that gracious ordinance become unſupportable, that what with Men not ſtating to venture upon wedlock, and what with Men wearied out of it, all inordinate licence might abound. It was for many Ages that Marriage lay in diſgrace with moſt of the ancient Doctors, as a work of the fleſh, almoſt a defilement, wholy deny'd to Prieſts, and the ſecond time diſſwaded to all, as he that reads *Tertullian* or *Jerom* may ſee at large. Afterwards it was brought ſo Sacramental, that no adultery or deſertion could diſſolve it; and this is the ſenſe of our Canon Courts in *England* to this day, but no other reformed Church elſe: Yet there remains in them alſo a burden on it as heavy as the other two were diſgraceful or ſuperſtitious, and of as much iniquity, croſſing a Law not only written by *Moſes*, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground than Marriage it ſelf; which Law is to force nothing againſt the faultleſs Proprieties of Nature: Yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a ſtony rigor, inconſiſtent both with his Doctrine and his Office, and that which he preacht only to the Conſcience, is by Canonical Tyranny ſnatcht into the conpulſive Cenſure of a Judicial Court, where Laws are impos'd even againſt the venerable and ſecret power of Natures impreſſion, to love, what ever cauſe be found to loath. Which is a hainous Barbariſm both againſt the Honour of Marriage, the Dignity of Man and his Soul, the Goodneſs of Chriſtianity, and all the Humane Reſpects of Civility. Notwithſtanding that ſome the wiſeſt and graveſt among the Chriſtian Emperours, who had about them, to conſult with, thoſe of the Fathers then living; who for their learning and holineſs of life, are ſtill with us in great renown, have made their ſtatutes and edicts concerning this debate far more eaſie and relenting in many neceſſary caſes, wherein the Canon is inflexible. And *Hugo Grotius*, a Man of theſe times, one of the beſt learned, ſeems not obſcurely to adhere in his perſwaſion to the equity of thoſe Imperial Decrees, in his Notes upon the *Evangeliſts*: much allaying the outward roughneſs of the Text, which hath for the moſt part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to inquire further into this queſtion, as containing many points that have not yet been explain'd. Which ever likely to remain intricate and hopeleſs

leſs upon the ſuppoſitions commonly ſtuck to, the Authority of *Paulus Fagius*, one ſo Learned and ſo Eminent in *England* once, if it might perſwade, would ſtrait acquaint us with a ſolution of theſe differences, no leſs prudent then compendious. He in his Comment on the *Pentateuch*, doubted not to maintain that Divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the Magiſtrate to Chriſtians as they were to the Jews. But becauſe he is but brief, and theſe things of great Conſequence not to be kept obſcure, I ſhall conceive it nothing above my duty, either for the difficulty or the cenſure that may paſs thereon, to communicate ſuch thoughts as I alſo have had, and do offer them now in this general labour of Reformation, to the candid view of both Church and Magiſtrate, eſpecially becauſe I ſee it the hope of good Men, that thoſe irregular and unſpiritual Courts have ſpun their utmoſt date in this Land, and ſome better courſe muſt now be conſtituted. This therefore ſhall be the task and period of this Diſcourſe to prove, firſt, that other reaſons of Divorce, beſides Adultery, were by the Law of *Moſes*, and are yet to be allow'd by the Chriſtian Magiſtrate as a piece of Juſtice, and that the words of Chriſt are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit abſolutely any Divorce whatſoever, except thoſe which *Moſes* excepted, is againſt the reaſon of Law, as in due place I ſhall ſhew out of *Fagius* with many additions. He therefore, who by adventuring, ſhall be ſo happy as with ſucceſs to light the way of ſuch an expedient liberty and truth as this, ſhall reſtore the much-wrong'd and over-ſorrow'd ſtate of Matrimony, not only to thoſe merciful and life-giving remedies of *Moſes*, but, as much as may be, to that ſerne and bliſſful condition it was in at the beginning, and ſhall deſerve of all apprehenſive Men (conſidering the troubles and diſtempers which for want of this inſight have been ſo oft in Kingdoms, in Sates and Families) ſhall deſerve to be reckon'd among the publick Benefactors of Civil and Human Life, above the Inventers of Wine and Oyl; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more deſireable cheriſhing to Mans Life, unworthily expos'd to ſadneſs and miſtake, which he ſhall vindicate. Not that Licence, and Levety, and unconſented Breach of Faith ſhould herein be countenanc'd, but that ſome conſcionable and tender pitty might be had of thoſe who have unwarily in a thing they never practis'd before, made themſelves the Bondmen of a Luckleſs and Helpleſs Matrimony. In which Argument, he whoſe courage can ſerve him to give the firſt on-ſet, muſt look for two ſeveral oppoſitions; the one from them who have Sworn themſelves to long Cuſtom, and the Letter of the Text, will not out of the Road: The other from thoſe whoſe groſs and vulgar apprehenſions conceit but low of Matrimonial Purpoſes, and in the work of Male and Female think they have all. Nevertheleſs, it ſhall be here ſought by due ways to be made appear, that thoſe words of God in the Inſtitution, promiſing a meet help againſt lonelineſs, and thoſe words of Chriſt, *That his Yoak is eaſie, and his Burden light*, were not ſpoken in vain, for if the knot of Marriage may in no caſe be diſſolv'd but for adultery, all the burd'ns and ſervices of the Law are not ſo intolerable. This only is deſir'd of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be ſtill, and hear all out, nor think it equal to anſwer deliberate reaſon with ſudden heat and noiſe; remembring this, that many Truths now of reverend eſteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from ſingular and private thoughts while the moſt of Men were otherwiſe poſſeſt, and had the fate at firſt to be generally exploded and exclaim'd on by many violent oppoſers; yet I may err perhaps in ſoothing my ſelf, that this preſent truth reviv'd, will deſerve on all hands to be not ſiniſterly receiv'd, in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate diſeaſe crept into the beſt part of Human Society: and to do this with no ſmarting corroſive, but with a ſmooth and pleaſing Leſſon, which receiv'd, hath the vertue to ſoften and diſpel rooted and knotty ſorrows: And without Inchantment if that be fear'd,

or ſpell us'd, hath regard at once both to ſerious pitty, and upright honeſty; that tends to the redeeming and reſtoring of none but ſuch as are the object of Compaſſion, having in an ill hour hamper'd themſelves to the utter diſpatch of all their moſt beloved comforts and repoſe for this lives Term. But if we ſhall obſtinately diſlike this new overture of unexpected eaſe and recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardneſs of our hopeleſs condition, which neither can indure the eſtate we are in, nor admit of remedy either ſharp or ſweet. Sharp we our ſelves diſtaſt; and ſweet, under whoſe hands we are, is ſcrupl'd and ſuſpected as too luſhious. In ſuch a poſture Chriſt found the *Jews*, who were neither won with the auſterity of *John the Baptiſt*, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who ſounded and proclaim'd liberty and relief to all diſtreſſes: Yet Truth in ſome Age or other will find her witneſs, and ſhall be juſtifi'd at laſt by her own Children.

CHAP. I.

The Poſition, Prov'd by the Law of Moſes, That Law expounded and aſſerted to a moral and charitable uſe, firſt by Paulus Fagius, *next with other additions.*

TO remove therefore, if it be poſſible, this great and ſad oppreſſion which through the ſtrictneſs of a literal interpreting hath invaded and diſturb'd the deareſt and moſt peaceable eſtate of houſhold Society, to the over-burthening, if not the over-whelming of many Chriſtians better worth then to be ſo deſerted of the Churches conſiderate care, this Poſition ſhall be laid down, firſt proving, then anſwering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of Reaſon.

That indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, ariſing from a cauſe in Nature unchangeable, hindring, and ever likely to hinder the main Benefits of conjugal ſociety which are ſolace and peace, is a greater reaſon of divorce than Natural frigidity, eſpecially if there be no Children, and that there be Mutual Conſent.

This I gather from the Law in Deut. 24. 1. *When a Man hath tak'n a wife and Married her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found ſome uncleanneſs in her, let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe*, &c. This Law, if the words of Chriſt may be admitted into our belief, ſhall never while the world ſtands, for him be abrogated. Firſt therefore I here ſet down what Learned *Fagius* hath obſerv'd on this Law; *The Law of God*, ſaith he, *permitted divorce for the help of human weakneſs. For every one that of neceſſity ſeperates, cannot live ſingle. That Chriſt deny'd divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attain'd ſuch perfection? Let not the remedy be deſpis'd which was given to weakneſs. And when Chriſt ſaith, who Marries the Divorc't commits Adultery, it is to be underſtood if he had any Plot in the Divorce*, The reſt I reſerve until it be diſputed, how the Magiſtrate is to do herein. From hence we may plainly diſcern a two-fold conſideration in this Law. *Firſt* the end of the Law-giver, and the proper act of the Law to command or to allow ſomething juſt and honeſt, or indifferent. *Secondly*, his ſufferance from ſome accidental reſult of evil by this allowance, which the Law cannot remedy. For if this Law have no other end or act but only the allowance of a ſin, though never to ſo good intention, that Law is no Law but ſin mufflʼd in the robe of Law, or Law diſguis'd in the looſe garment of ſin. Both which are too foul *Hypotheſes* to ſave the *Phænomenon* of our Saviours anſwer to the Phariſees about this matter. And I truſt anon by the help of an infallible guide to perfect ſuch *Prutenick* Tables as ſhall mend the *Aſtronomy* of our wide Expoſitors.

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The cauſe of divorce mention'd in the Law is tranſtated *ſome uncleanneſs*, but in the Hebrew it ſounds *nakedneſs of ought, or any real nakedneſs*: Which by all the Learned Interpreters is referr'd to the mind as well as to the body. And what greater nakedneſs or unfitneſs of mind then that which hinders ever the ſolace and peaceful ſociety of the Married couple, and what hinders that more than the unfitneſs and defectiveneſs of an unconjugal mind. The cauſe therefore of divorce expreſt in the poſition cannot but agree with that deſcrib'd in the beſt and equalleſt Senſe of *Moſes*'s Law. Which being a matter of pure charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force then ever: Therefore ſurely lawful. For if under the Law ſuch was Gods gracious indulgence, as not to ſuffer the ordinance of his goodneſs and favour, through any error to be ſear'd and ſtigmatiz'd upon his Servants to their miſery and thraldom; much leſs will he ſuffer it now under the covenant of Grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and relief. But the firſt inſtitution will be objected to have ordain'd Marriage unſeperable. To that a little patience until this firſt part have amply diſcours'd the grave and pious Reaſons of this Divorſive Law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle ſtroaking to wipe away Ten Thouſand tears out of the Life of Man. Yet thus much I ſhall now inſiſt on, that whatever the inſtitution were, it could not be ſo enormous, nor ſo rebellious againſt both Nature and Reaſon as to exalt it ſelf above the end and perſon for whom it was inſtituted.

CHAP. II.

The firſt reaſon of this Law grounded on the prime reaſon of Matrimony. That no Cov'nant whatſoever obliges againſt the main end both of it ſelf and of the parties cov'nanting.

FOr all Senſe and Equity reclaims that any Law or Cov'nant, how ſolemn or ſtrait ſoever, either between God and Man, or Man and Man, though of Gods joyning, ſhould bind againſt a prime and principal ſcope of its own inſtitution, and of both or either Party, Cov'nanting: Neither can it be of force to ingage a blameleſs Creature to his own perpetual ſorrow, miſtak'n for his expected Solace, without ſuffering Charity to ſtep in and do a confeſt good work of parting thoſe whom nothing holds together, but this of Gods joyning, falſly ſuppos'd againſt the expreſs end of his own Ordinance. And what this chief end was of creating Woman to be joyn'd with Man, his own inſtituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is Marriage, and what is no Marriage; unleſs we can think them ſet there to no purpoſe: *It is not good*, ſaith he, *that Man ſhould be alone. I will make him a help meet for him.* From which words ſo plain, leſs cannot be concluded, nor is by any Learned Interpreter, than that in Gods intention a meet and happy converſation is the chiefeſt and the nobleſt end of Marriage; for we find here no expreſſion ſo neceſſarily implying Carnal knowledge, as this prevention of lonelineſs to the mind and Spirit of Man. To this, *Fagius*, *Calvin*, *Pareus*, *Rivetus*, as willingly and largely aſſent as can we wiſh. And indeed it is a greater bleſſing from God, more worthy ſo excellent a Creature as Man is, and a higher end to honour and ſanctifie the League of Marriage, when as the Solace and Satisfaction of the Mind is regarded and provided for before the ſenſitive pleaſing of the body. And with all generous Perſons Married thus it is, that where the mind and perſon pleaſes aptly, there ſome unaccompliſhment of the bodies delight may be better born with than when the mind hangs of in an uncloſing diſproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporal delight will ſoon become unſavoury and contemptible. And the ſolitarineſs of Man, which God had namely

and principally order'd to prevent by Marriage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worſe condition than the loneſieſt ſingle life, for in ſingle life the abſence and remoteneſs of a helper might inure him to expect his own Comforts out of himſelf, or to ſeek with hope; but here the continual ſight of his deluded thoughts without cure, muſt needs be to him, if eſpecially his complection incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of loſs, in ſome degree, like that which Reprobates feel. Leſt therefore ſo noble a Creature as Man ſhould be ſhut up incurably under a worſe Evil by an eaſie Miſtake in that Ordinance which God gave him to remedy a leſs Evil, reaping to himſelf ſorrow while he went to rid away ſolitarineſs, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the Woman be naturally ſo of diſpoſition, as will not help to remove, but help to increaſe that ſame God forbidd'n lonelineſs, which will in time draw on with it a general diſcomfort and dejection of Mind, not beſeeming either Chriſtian Profeſſion or Moral Converſation, unprofitable and dangerous to the Commonwealth, when the houſhold eſtate, out of which muſt flouriſh forth the vigor and ſpirit of all publick Enterprizes, is ſo ill contented and procured at home, and cannot be ſupported; ſuch a Marriage can be no Marriage, whereto the moſt honeſt end is wanting: And the agrieved perſon ſhall do more manly, to be extraordinary and ſingular in claiming the due Right whereof he is fruſtrated, than to piece up his loſt Contentment by viſiting the Stews, or ſtepping to his Neighbours Bed, which is the common ſhift in this Misfortune: Or elſe by ſuffering his uſeful life to waſte away, and be loſt under a ſecret affliction of an unconſcionable ſize to human Strength. Againſt all which Evils the Mercy of this Moſaick Law was graciouſly exhibited.

CHAP. III.

The Ignorance and Iniquity of Cannon Law, providing for the Right of the Body in Marriage, but nothing for the Wrongs and Grievances of the Mind. An Objection, That the Mind ſhould be better lookt to before contract, anſwered.

HOW vain therefore is it, and how prepoſterous in the Canon Law, to have made ſuch careful proviſion againſt the Impediment of carnal performance, and to have had no care about the unconverſing inability of Mind, ſo defective to the pureſt and moſt ſacred end of Matrimony: And that the veſſel of voluptuous enjoyment muſt be made good on him that has taken it upon truſt, without any caution; whenas the Mind, from whence muſt flow the acts of Peace and Love, a far more precious mixture than the quinteſſence of an excrement, tho it be found never ſo deficient and unable to perform the beſt duty of Marriage in a chearful and agreeable Converſation, ſhall be thought good enough, however flat and melancholy it be, and muſt ſerve, tho to the eternal diſturbance and languiſhing of him that complains him. Yet Wiſdom and Charity weighing Gods own Inſtitution, would think that the pining of a ſad ſpirit wedded to lonelineſs, ſhould deſerve to be freed, as well as the impatience of a ſenſual deſire ſo providently reliev'd. 'Tis read to us in the Liturgy, That *we muſt not marry to ſatisfie the fleſhly Appetite, like brute beaſts, that have no underſtanding*; but the Canon ſo runs, as if it dreamt of no other matter than ſuch an appetite to be ſatisfi'd; for if it happen that nature hath ſtopt or extinguiſht the veins of ſenſuality, that Marriage was annull'd. But tho all the faculties of the underſtanding and converſing part after trial appear to be ſo ill and ſo averſly met through natures unalterable working, as that neither Peace, or any ſociable Contentment can follow, 'tis as nothing, the contract ſhall ſtand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this but ſecretly to inſtruct us, that however many grave reaſons are pretended

tended to the married Life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the preſcrib'd ſatisfaction of an irrational heat; which cannot be but ignominious to the ſtate of Marriage, diſhonourable to the undervalu'd Soul of Man, and even to Chriſtian Doctrine it ſelf. While it ſeems more mov'd at the diſappointing of an impetuous nerve, than at the ingenuous grievance of a Mind unreaſonably yoakt; and to place more of Marriage in the channel of Concupiſcence, than in the pure influence of Peace and Love, whereof the Souls lawful Contentment is the one only Fountain.

But ſome are ready to object, that the diſpoſition ought ſeriouſly to be conſider'd before. But let them know again, that for all the warineſs can be us'd, it may yet befal a diſcreet Man to be miſtak'n in his choice, and we have plenty of Examples. The ſobereſt and beſt govern'd Men are leaſt practiſed in theſe affairs; and who knows not that the baſhful muteneſs of a Virgin may oft-times hide all the unlivelineſs and natural ſloth which is really unfit for Converſation; nor is there that freedom of acceſs granted or preſumed, as may ſuffice to a perfect diſcerning till too late: And where any diſpoſition is ſuſpected, what more uſual than the perſwaſion of Friends, that acquaintance, as it increaſes, will amend all. And laſtly, it is not ſtrange though many who have ſpent their youth chaſtly, are in ſome things not ſo quick-ſighted, while they haſte ſo eagerly to light the nuptial torch; nor is it therefore that for a modeſt error a Man ſhould forfeit ſo great a Happineſs, and no charitable means to releaſe him. Since they who have liv'd moſt looſely by reaſon of their bold accuſtoming, prove moſt ſucceſsful in their Matches, becauſe their wild affections unſetling at will, have been as ſo many divorces to teach them experience. When as the ſober Man honouring the appearance of modeſty, and hoping well of every ſocial vertue under the veil, may eaſily chance to meet, if not with a Body impenetrable, yet often with a Mind to all other due converſation inacceſſible, and to all the more eſtimable and ſuperiour purpoſes of Matrimony uſeleſs and almoſt liveleſs: And what a Solace, what a fit help ſuch a Conſort would be through the whole life of a Man, is leſs pain to conjecture than to have experience.

CHAP. IV.

The ſecond reaſon of this Law, becauſe without it, Marriage as it happ'ns oft is not a remedy of that which it promiſes, as any rational Creature would expect. That Marriage, if we pattern from the beginning, as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of luſt, but the fulfilling of conjugal love and helpfulneſs.

AND that we may further ſee what a violent cruel thing it is to force the continuing of thoſe together, whom God and Nature in the gentleſt end of Marriage never joyn'd, divers evils and extremities that follow upon ſuch a compulſion, ſhall here be ſet in view. Of evils, the firſt and greateſt is, that hereby a moſt abſurd and raſh inputation is fixt upon God and his holy Laws, of conniving and diſpenſing with open and common adultery among his choſen people; a thing which the rankeſt Politician would think it ſhame and diſworſhip that his Laws ſhould countenance: How and in what manner that comes to paſs, I ſhall reſerve, till the courſe of method brings on the unfolding of many Scriptures. Next the Law and Goſpel are hereby made liable to more than one contradiction, which I refer alſo thither. Laſtly, the ſupreme dictate of Charity is hereby many ways neglected and violated; which I ſhall forthwith addreſs to prove. Firſt, we know S. *Paul* ſaith, *It is better to Marry than to Burn.* Marriage therefore was giv'n as a remedy of that trouble; but what might this Burning mean? Certainly not the meer motion of carnal luſt, not the meer goad of a ſenſitive deſire, God does not principally

principally take care for ſuch Cattle. What is it then but that deſire which God put into *Adam* in Paradiſe before he knew the ſin of Incontinence; that deſire which God ſaw it was not good that Man ſhould be left alone to burn in, the deſire and longing to put off an unkindly ſolitarineſs by uniting another body, but not without a fit ſoul to his in the chearful ſociety of Wedlock: Which if it were ſo needful before the fall, when Man was much more perfect in himſelf, how much more is it needful now againſt all the ſorrows and caſualties of this life to have an intimate and ſpeaking help, a ready and reviving aſſociate in marriage: Whereof who miſſes, by chancing on a mute and ſpiritleſs Mate, remains more alone than before, and in a burning leſs to be contain'd then that which is fleſhly, and more to be conſider'd; as being more deeply rooted even in the faultleſs innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venom of a luſty and over-abounding concoction, ſtrict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet, may keep that low and obedient enough: But this pure and more inbred deſire of joyning to it ſelf in conjugal fellowſhip a fit converſing ſoul (which deſire is properly called love) *is ſtronger than Death*, as the ſpouſe of Chriſt thought, *many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it.* This is that rational burning that marriage is to remedy, not to be allay'd with faſting nor with any penance to be ſubdu'd; which how can he aſſwage who by miſ-hap hath met the moſt unmeeteſt and unſutable mind? Who hath the power to ſtruggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradice to be reſiſted, become now more ardent by being fail'd of what in reaſon it lookt for; and even then moſt unquencht, when the importunity of a provender burning is well enough appeas'd; and yet the ſoul hath obtain'd nothing of what it juſtly deſires. Certainly ſuch a one forbidden to Divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compell'd to greater difficulties than in a ſingle life; for if there be not a more human burning which Marriage muſt ſatisfie, or elſe may be diſſolv'd, than that of copulation, Marriage cannot be honourable for the meet reducing and terminating luſt between two: Seeing many beaſts in voluntary and choſen couples, live together as unadulterouſly, and are as truly married in that reſpect. But all ingenious Men will ſee that the dignity and bleſſing of Marriage is plac't rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting ſoul needfully ſeeks, than of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is, that *Plato* in his Feſtival diſcourſe brings in *Socrates* relating what he feign'd to have learnt from the Propheteſs *Diotima*, how *Love* was the Son of *Penury*, begot of *Plenty* in the Garden of *Jupiter*. Which divinely ſorts with that which in effect *Moſes* tells us, that *Love* was the Son of *Lonelineſs*, begot in Paradice by that ſociable and helpful aptitude which God implanted between Man and Woman toward each other. The ſame alſo is that burning mentioned by St. *Paul*, whereof Marriage ought to be the remedy; the Fleſh hath other mutual and eaſie curbs which are in the power of any temperate Man. When therefore this original and ſinleſs *Penury* or *Lonelineſs* of the ſoul cannot lay it ſelf down by the ſide of ſuch a meet and acceptable union as God ordain'd in Marriage, at leaſt in ſome proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth *Love*, but remains utterly unmarried under a formal Wedlock, and ſtill burns in the proper meaning of St. *Paul*. Then enters *Hate*, not that Hate that ſins, but that which only is natural diſſatisfaction and the turning aſide from a miſtaken object: If that miſtake have done injury, it fails not to diſmiſs with recompence; for to retain ſtill and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wiſe and pious Law of diſmiſſion now defended took beginning: He therefore who lacking of his due in the moſt native

tive and human end of Marriage, thinks it better to part than to live ſadly and injuriouſly to that cheerful Cov'nant (for not be belov'd, and yet retain'd is the greateſt injury to a gentle Spirit) he I ſay, who therefore ſeeks to part, is one who highly honours the Married life and would not ſtain it: And the reaſons which now move him to Divorce, are equal to the beſt of thoſe that could firſt warrant him to Marry; for, as was plainly ſhewn, both the hate which now diverts him and the lonelineſs which leads him ſtill powerfully to ſeek a fit help, hath not the leaſt grain of a ſin in it, if he be worthy to underſtand himſelf.

CHAP. V.

The third reaſon of this Law, becauſe without it, he who has happn'd where he finds nothing but remedileſs offences and diſcontents, is in more and greater temptations than ever before.

THirdly, Yet it is next to be fear'd, if he muſt be ſtill bound without reaſon by a deaf rigor, that when he perceives the juſt expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even againſt Law to caſt about where he may find his ſatisfaction more compleat, unleſs he be a Thing heroically vertuous; and that are not the common lump of Men for whom chiefly the Laws ought to be made, though not to their ſins yet to their unſinning weakneſſes, it being above their ſtrength to endure the lonely eſtate, which while they ſhun'd, they are fall'n into. And yet there follows upon this a worſe temptation; for if he be ſuch as hath ſpent his youth unblamably and laid up his chiefeſt earthly comforts in the enjoyments of a contented Marriage, nor did neglect that furtherance which was to be obtain'd therein by conſtant Prayers, when he ſhall find himſelf bound faſt to an uncomplying diſcord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an Image of Earth and Fleam, with whom he lookt to be the Copartner of a ſweet and gladſome ſociety, and ſees withal that his bondage is now inevitable, though he be almoſt the ſtrongeſt Chriſtian, he will be ready to deſpair in vertue, and mutine againſt Divine Providence; and this doubtleſs is the reaſon of thoſe lapſes, and that melancholly deſpair which we ſee in many wedded perſons, though they underſtand it not, or pretend other cauſes, becauſe they know no remedy, and is of extream danger; therefore when human frailty ſurcharg'd, is at ſuch a loſs, charity ought to venture much, and uſe bold Phyſick, leſt an over-toſt Faith indanger to ſhipwrack.

CHAP. VI.

The fourth Reaſon of this Law, that God regards love and peace in the family, more than a compulſive performance of Marriage, which is more broke by a grievous continuance, than by a needful Divorce.

FOurthly, Marriage is a Cov'nant, the very being whereof conſiſts not in a forc't cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfeigned love and peace: And of Matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient Sages was thus parabl'd; That love, if he be not twin-born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, call'd *Anteros*: whom while he ſeeks all about, his chance is to meet with many falſe and feigning deſires that wander ſingly up and down in her likeneſs: By them in their borrow'd garb, Love, though not wholly blind, as Poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an Archer aiming,

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and that eye not the quickeſt in this dark Region here below, which is not Loves proper Sphere, partly out of the ſimplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceiv'd, imbraces and conſorts him with theſe obvious and ſuborned Striplings, as if they were his Mothers own Sons; for ſo he thinks them, while they ſubtly keep themſelves moſt on his blind ſide. But after a while, as his manner is, when ſoaring up into the high Tower of his *Apogæum*, above the ſhadow of the Earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then moſt piercing eye-ſight upon the Impoſtures, and trim diſguiſes that were us'd with him, and diſcerns that this is not his genuine Brother as he imagin'd, he has no longer the Power to hold fellowſhip with ſuch a perſonal Mate. For ſtrait his Arrows looſe their golden Heads, and ſhed their purple Feathers, his ſilk'n Breeds untwine, and ſlip their knots, and that original and fiery vertue giv'n him by fate, all on a ſudden, goes out, and leaves him undeifi'd and deſpoil'd of all his force, till finding *Anteros* at laſt, he kindles and repairs the almoſt faded ammunition of his Deity by the reflection of a coequal and *homogeneal* fire. Thus mine Author ſung it to me; and by the leave of thoſe who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no meer amatorious Novel (though to be wiſe and skilful in theſe matters, Men heretofore of greateſt name in vertue, have eſteemed it one of the higheſt Arks that human Contemplation circling upwards, can make from the globy Sea whereon ſhe ſtands) but this is a deep and ſerious Verity, ſhewing us, that Love in Marriage cannot live nor ſubſiſt unleſs it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of Wedlock nothing, but the empty husk of an outſide Matrimony, as undelightful and unpleaſing to God, as any other kind of Hypocriſie. So far is his command from tying Men to the obſervance of duties which there is no help for, but they muſt be diſſembl'd. If *Solomon's* advice be not over-frolick, *Live joyfully*, ſaith he, *with the Wife whom thou loveſt, all thy days, for that is thy portion.* How then, where we find it impoſſible to rejoyce or to love, can we obey this Precept? How miſerably do we defraud our ſelves of that comfortable Portion which God gives us, by ſtriving vainly to glue an error together which God and Nature will not joyn, adding but more vexation and violence to that bliſsful Society by our importunate Superſtition, that will not hearken to *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. who ſpeaking of marriage and divorce, determines plain enough in general, that God therein *hath call'd us to peace*, and not *to bondage*. Yea God himſelf commands in his Law more than once, and by his Prophet *Malachy*, as *Calvin* and the beſt Tranſlations read, that *he who hates let him divorce*, that is, he who cannot love. Hence is it that the *Rabins* and *Maimonides*, famous among the reſt in a Book of his ſet forth by *Buxtorfius*, tell us, *That Divorce was permitted by* Moſes *to preſerve peace in Marriage, and quiet in the Family.* Surely the Jews had their ſaving Peace about them, as well as we, yet care was tak'n that this wholeſom proviſion for houſhold Peace ſhould alſo be allow'd them, and muſt this be deni'd to Chriſtians? O Perverſneſs! That the Law ſhould be made more provident of peace-making than the Goſpel! That the Goſpel ſhould be put to beg a moſt neceſſary help of Mercy from the Law, but muſt not have it; and that to grind in the Mill of an undelighted and ſervile Copulation, muſt be the only forc't Work of a Chriſtian marriage oft-times with ſuch a yoke-fellow, from whom both Love and Peace, both Nature and Religion mourns to be ſeparated. I cannot therefore be ſo diffident, as not ſecurely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the moſt important helps in Marriage, being thereby diſenabl'd to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no leſs griev'd, that Man ought even for loves ſake and peace to move Divorce upon good

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and liberal Conditions to the Divorc'd. And it is a leſs breach of Wedlock to part with wiſe and quiet Conſent betimes, then ſtill to ſoil and profane that myſtery of joy and union with a polluting ſadneſs and perpetual diſtemper; for it is not the outward continuing of Marriage that keeps whole that Covenant, but whatſoever does moſt according to peace and love, whether in Marriage or in Divorce, he it is that breaks Marriage leaſt; it being ſo often written, that *Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment.*

CHAP. VII.

The fifth Reaſon, that nothing more hinders and diſturbs the whole Life of a Chriſtian, then a Matrimony found to be uncurably unfit, and doth the ſame in effect that an Idolatrous Match.

Fifthly, as thoſe Prieſts of old were not to be long in ſorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; ſo every true Chriſtian in a higher order of Prieſthood is a Perſon dedicate to joy and peace, offering himſelf a lively ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving, and there is no Chriſtian Duty that is not to be ſeaſon'd and ſet off with cheeriſhneſs; which in a thouſand outward and intermitting croſſes may yet be done well, as in this vail of tears, but in ſuch a boſome-affliction as this, cruſhing the very foundation of his inmoſt Nature, when he ſhall be forc't to love againſt a poſſibility, and to uſe a diſſimulation againſt his Soul in the perpetual and ceaſeleſs duties of a Husband, doubtleſs his whole duty of ſerving God muſt needs be blurr'd and tainted with a ſad unpreparedneſs and dejection of Spirit, wherein God has no delight. Who ſees not therefore how much more Chriſtianity it would be to break by Divorce that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than *to cover the altar of the Lord with continual tears, ſo that he regardeth not the offering any more*; rather than that the whole worſhip of a Chriſtian Mans Life ſhould languiſh and fade away beneath the weight of an immeaſurable grief and diſcouragement. And becauſe ſome think the Children of a ſecond Matrimony ſucceeding a Divorce, would not be a holy ſeed, it hinder'd not the Jews from being ſo; and why ſhould we not think them more holy than the off-ſpring of a former ill-twiſted Wedlock, begott'n only out of a beaſtial neceſſity, without any true love or contentment, or joy to their Parents, ſo that in ſome ſenſe we may call them the *Children of wrath* and anguiſh, which will as little conduce to their ſanctifying, as if they had been Baſtards, for nothing more than diſturbance of mind ſuſpends us from approaching to God: Such a diſturbance eſpecially, as both aſſaults our faith and truſt in Gods Providence, and ends, if there be not a Miracle of Vertue on either ſide, not only in bitterneſs and wrath, the canker of Devotion, but in a deſperate and vicious careleſneſs, when he ſees himſelf without fault of his, train'd by a deceitful bait into a ſnare of miſery, betray'd by an alluring Ordinance, and then made the thrall of heavineſs and diſcomfort by an undivorcing Law of God, as he erroniouſly thinks, but of Mans iniquity, as the truth is; for that God prefers the free and chearful worſhip of a Chriſtian, before the grievous and exacted obſervance of an unhappy Marriage, beſides, that the general Maxims of Religion aſſure us, will be more manifeſt by drawing a Parallel Argument from the ground of Divorcing an Idolatreſs, which was, leſt he ſhould alienate his heart from the true worſhip of God: And what difference is there whether ſhe pervert him to ſuperſtition by her inticing Sorcery, or diſenable him in the whole ſervice of God through the diſturbance of her unhelpful and unfit Society; and ſo drive him at laſt, through murmuring and deſpair, to thoughts of Atheiſm; neither doth

it leſſen the Cauſe of ſeparating, in that the one willingly allures him from the Faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the Wife looſes him a ſervant; and therefore by all the united force of the *Decalogue* ſhe ought to be disbanded, unleſs we muſt ſet Marriage above God and Charity, which is a Doctrin of Devils, no leſs than forbidding to Marry.

CHAP. VIII.

That an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc'd after a convenient ſpace giv'n to hope of Converſion. That place of Corinth. 7. *reſtor'd from a two-fold erroneous Expoſition, and that the common Expoſitors flatly contradict the Moral Law.*

AND here by the way, to illuſtrate the whole Queſtion of Divorce, e're this Treatiſe end, I ſhall not be loth to ſpend a few lines in hope to give a full reſolve of that which is yet ſo much controverted, whether an Idolatrous Heretick ought to be Divorc'd. To the reſolving whereof we muſt firſt know, that the *Jews* were commanded to Divorce an unbelieving *Gentile* for two cauſes: *Firſt*, becauſe all other Nations, eſpecially the *Canaanites*, were to them unclean. *Secondly*, to avoid ſeducement. That other Nations were to the *Jews* impure, even to the ſeparating of Marriage, will appear out of *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. compar'd with *Ezra* 9. 2. alſo Chap. 10. 10, 11. *Nehem.* 13. 30. This was the ground of that doubt rais'd among the *Corinthians* by ſome of the Circumciſion: Whether an unbeliever were not ſtill to be counted an unclean thing, ſo as that they ought to Divorce from ſuch a Perſon. This doubt of theirs St. *Paul* removes by an Evangelical reaſon, having reſpect to that Viſion of St. *Peter*, wherein the diſtinction of clean and unclean being aboliſht, all living Creatures were ſanctified to a pure and Chriſtian uſe, and Mankind eſpecially, now invited by a general Call to the Covenant of Grace. Therefore ſaith St. *Paul*, *The unbelieving Wife is ſanctifi'd by the Husband*; that is, made pure and lawful to his uſe, ſo that he need not put her away for fear, leſt her unbelief ſhould defile him; but that if he found her love ſtill towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The ſecond reaſon of that Divorce was to avoid ſeducement, as is prov'd by comparing thoſe Places of the Law, to that which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did by Divine Warrant in compelling the *Jews* to forgo their Wives; and this reaſon is moral and perpetual in the rule of Chriſtian Faith without evaſion; therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 6. *Miſ-yoke not together with Infidels*, which is interpreted of Marriage in the firſt place. And although the former legal Pollution be now done off, yet there is a ſpiritual contagion in Idolatry as much to be ſhun'd; and though ſeducement were not to be fear'd, yet where there is no hope of converting, there always ought to be a certain religious averſation and abhorring, which can no way ſort with Marriage: Therefore ſaith St. *Paul*, *What fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? What communion hath light with darkneſs? What concord hath Chriſt with Belial? What part hath he that believeth with an Infidel?* And in the next verſe but one, he moralizes and makes us liable to that command of *Iſaiah*; *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye.* And this Command thus Goſpelliz'd to us, hath the ſame force with that whereon *Ezra* grounded the pious neceſſity of divorcing. Neither had he other Commiſſion for what he did, then ſuch a general Command in *Deut.* as this, nay not ſo direct; for he is bid there not to Marry, but not bid to Divorce, and yet we ſee with what a zeal and confidence he was the Author of

a general Divorce between the faithful and unfaithful Seed. The Goſpel is more plainly on his ſide, according to three of the Evangeliſts, then the words of the Law; for where the caſe of Divorce is handled with ſuch a ſeverity as was fitteſt to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence; yet ſtill in the ſame Chapter, when it comes into queſtion afterwards, whether any Civil reſpect, or Natural relation which is deareſt, may be our Plea to divide, or hinder, or but delay our duty to Religion, we hear it determin'd, that Father, and Mother, and Wife, alſo, is not only to be hated, but forſak'n, if we mean to Inherit the great reward there promis'd. Nor will it ſuffice to be put off by ſaying we muſt forſake them only by not conſenting or not complying with them, for that were to be done, and roundly too, though being of the ſame Faith they ſhould but ſeek out of a fleſhly tenderneſs to weak'n our Chriſtian fortitude with worldly perſwaſions, or but to unſettle our conſtancy with timorous and ſoftning ſuggeſtions: As we may read with what a vehemence *Job*, the patienteſt of Men, rejected the deſperate counſels of his Wife; and *Moſes*, the meekeſt, being throughly offended with the prophane Speeches of *Zippera*, ſent her back to her Father. But if they ſhall perpetually at our Elbow ſeduce us from the true worſhip of God, or defile and daily ſcandalize our Conſcience by their hopeleſs continuance in misbelief, then ev'n in the due progreſs of reaſon, and that ever-equal Proportion which Juſtice proceeds by, it cannot be imagin'd that this cited place commands leſs than a total and final ſeparation from ſuch an Adherent, at leaſt that no force ſhould be us'd to keep them together; while we remember that God commanded *Abraham* to ſend away his irreligious Wife and her Son for the offences which they gave in a pious Family. And it may be gueſt, that *David* for the like cauſe diſpos'd of *Michael* in ſuch a ſort, as little differ'd from a diſmiſſion. Therefore againſt reiterated ſcandals and ſeducements which never ceaſe, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found: but abſolute departure. For what kind of Matrimony can that remain to be, what one duty between ſuch can be perform'd as it ſhould be from the heart, when their Thoughts and Spirits fly aſunder as far as Heaven from Hell; eſpecially if the time that hope ſhould ſend forth her expected bloſſoms be paſt in vain. It will eaſily be true, that the Father or Brother may be hated zealouſly, and lov'd Civilly or Naturally; for thoſe duties may be perform'd at diſtance, and do admit of any long abſence: But how the Peace and perpetual Cohabitation of Marriage can be kept, how that benevolent and intimate communion of Body can be held with one that muſt be hated with a moſt operative hatred, muſt be forſak'n and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied, he who can diſtinguiſh, hath the gift of an affection very odly divided and contriv'd: While others both juſt and Wiſe, and *Solomon* among the reſt, if they may not hate and forſake as *Moſes* enjoyns, and the Goſpel imports, will find it impoſſible not to Love otherwiſe then will ſort with the Love of God, whoſe jealouſie brooks no Corrival. And whether is more likely, that Chriſt bidding to forſake Wife for Religion, meant it by Divorce as *Moſes* meant it, whoſe Law grounded on moral Reaſon, was both his Office and his Eſſence to maintain, or that he ſhould bring a new Morality into Religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable Command, and dangerouſly derogating from our Love and Worſhip of God. As if when *Moſes* had bid Divorce abſolutely, and Chriſt had ſaid, hate and forſake, and his Apoſtle had ſaid, no Gummunication with Chriſt and *Belial*, yet, that Chriſt after all this could be underſtood to ſay, Divorce not, no not for Religion, ſeduce, or ſeduce not. What mighty and inviſible Remora is this in Matrimony able to demur, and to contemn all the Divorſive Engines in Heaven or Earth. Both which may now paſs away if this be true, for more than many Jots or Tit-

tles, a whole Moral Law is aboliſht. But if we dare believe it is not then in the Method of Religion, and to ſave the Honour and Dignity of our Faith, we are to retreat and gather up our ſelves from the obſervance of an Inferiour and Civil Ordinance, to the ſtrict maintaining of a general and religious Command, which is written, *Thou ſhalt make no Cov'nant with them*, Deut. 7. 2, 3. and that Cov'nant which cannot be lawfully made, we have directions and examples lawfully to diſſolve. Alſo *Chron.* 2. 19. *Shouldeſt thou Love them that hate the Lord?* No doubtleſs: For there is a certain ſcale of duties, there is a certain Hierarchy of Upper and Lower Commands, which for want of ſtudying in right order, all the World is in confuſion.

Upon theſe Principles I anſwer, that a right believer ought to Divorce an idolatrous Heretick, unleſs upon better hopes: However that it is in the believers choice to divorce or not.

The former Part will be manifeſt thus; firſt, an Apoſtate Idolater, whether husband or wife ſeducing, was to die by the decree of God, *Deut.* 13. 6,9. that Marriage therefore God himſelf disjoyns: For others born Idolaters the moral reaſon of their dangerous keeping, and the incommunicable Antagony that is between Chriſt and *Belial*, will be ſufficient to inforce the Commandment of thoſe two inſpir'd Reformers, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to put an Idolater away as well under the Goſpel.

The latter Part, that although there be no ſeducement fear'd, yet if there be no hope giv'n, the Divorce is Lawful, will appear by this, that Idolatrous Marriage is ſtill hateful to God, therefore ſtill it may be Divorc'd by the Patern of that Warrant that *Ezra* had, and by the ſame everlaſting reaſon: Neither can any Man give an account wherefore, if thoſe whom God joyns no Man can ſeparate, it ſhould not follow, that whom he joyns not, but hates to joyn, thoſe Men ought to ſeparate: But ſaith the Lawyer, that which ought not have been done, once done, avails. I anſwer, This is but a Chrotchet of the Law, but that brought againſt it is plain Scripture. As for what Chriſt ſpake concerning Divorce, 'tis confeſt by all knowing Men, he meant only between them of the ſame Faith. But what ſhall we ſay then to *S. Paul*, who ſeems to bid us not Divorce an Infidel willing to ſtay? We may ſafely ſay thus, that wrong Collections have been hitherto made out of thoſe words by Modern Divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our ſtay in Marriage with an Infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the Religious and Moral Law; but to inform the *Corinthians* that the Body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his deſire to live in Chriſtian Wedlock ſhewed any likelihood that his heart was opening to the Faith; and therefore adviſes to forbear departure ſo long, till nothing have been neglected to ſet forward a converſion: This I ſay he adviſes, and that with certain cautions, not commands: If we can take up ſo much credit for him, as to get him believ'd upon his own word; for what is this elſe but his counſel in a thing indifferent, *to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*; for though it be true that the Lord never ſpake it, yet from S. *Paul's* mouth we ſhould have took it as a command, had not he forewarn'd us, and diſclaim'd, which notwithſtanding if we ſhall ſtill avouch to be a Command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound S. *Paul*, but to outface him. Neither doth it follow, but that the Apoſtle may interpoſe his Judgment in a caſe of Chriſtian liberty, without the guilt of adding to Gods word. How do we know Marriage or ſingle Life to be of choice; but by ſuch like words as theſe, *I ſpeak this by permiſſion, not of commandment, I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my Judgment.* Why ſhall not the like Words have leave to ſignifie a freedom in this our preſent queſtion, though *Beza* deny. Neither is the Scripture hereby leſs inſpir'd, becauſe S. *Paul* confeſſes to have writt'n therein what he had not of command; for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to expreſs himſelf to Chriſtian Prudence, in a matter which God thought beſt to leave

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uncommanded. *Beza* therefore muſt be wairily read, when he taxes *S. Auſtin* of *Blaſphemy*, for holding, that *S. Paul* ſpake here as of a thing indifferent. But if it muſt be a Command, I ſhall yet the more evince it to be a Command, that we ſhould herein be left free: And that out of the Greek word us'd in the 12 *v.* which inſtructs us plainly, there muſt be a joynt Aſſent and Good liking on both ſides; he that will not deprave the Text, muſt thus render it; *If a Brother have an unbelieving Wife, and ſhe joyn in conſent to dwell with him* (which cannot utter leſs to us than a mutual agreement) let him not put her away for the meer ſurmiſe of Judaical uncleanneſs: And the reaſon follows, for the Body of an Infidel is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacency forbids all offer of ſeducement, which to a Perſon of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: If therefore ſeducement be fear'd, this place hinders not Divorce. Another caution was put in this ſuppoſed Command, of not bringing the believer into *Bondage* hereby, which doubtleſs might prove extream, if Chriſtian liberty and conſcience were left to the humour of a Pagan ſtaying at pleaſure to play with, and to vex and wound with a Thouſand ſcandals and burdens, above ſtrength to bear: If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a Soul come to nothing, then Charity commands that the believer be not wearied out with endleſs waiting under many grievances ſore to his ſpirit, but that reſpect be had rather to the preſent ſuffering of a true Chriſtian, than the uncertain winning of an obdur'd Heretick. The Counſel we have from *S. Paul* to hope, cannot countermand the Moral and Evangelick Charge we have from God to fear ſeducement, to ſeparate from the misbeliever, the unclean, the obdurate. The Apoſtle wiſheth us to hope, but does not ſend us a Wooll-gathering after vain hope; he ſaith, *How knoweſt thou, O Man, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Wife*, that is, till he try all due means, and ſet ſome reaſonable time to himſelf after which he may give over waſhing an *Ethiope*, if he will hear the advice of the Goſpel, *Caſt not Pearls before Swine*, ſaith Chriſt himſelf. *Let him be to thee as a Heathen. Shake the duſt off thy Feet.* If this be not enough, *hate and forſake*, what relation ſoever. And this alſo that follows muſt appertain to the Precept. *Let every man wherein he is call'd, therein abide with God*, v. 24. that is, ſo walking in his inferiour Calling of Marriage, as not by dangerous ſubjection to that Ordinance, to hinder and diſturb the higher Calling of his Chriſtianity. Laſt, and never too oft remember'd, whether this be a Command, or an Advice, we muſt look that it be ſo underſtood, as not to contradict the leaſt Point of Moral Religion that God hath formerly commanded, otherwiſe what do we but ſet the Moral Law and the Goſpel at Civil War together: And who then ſhall be able to ſerve thoſe two Maſters?

CHAP. IX.

That Adultery is not the greateſt Breach of Matrimony, that there may be other Violations as great.

NOW whether Idolatry or Adultery be the greateſt violation of Marriage, if any Demand, let him thus conſider, that among Chriſtian Writers touching Matrimony, there be three chief Ends thereof agreed on; Godly Society, *next* Civil, and *thirdly* that of the Marriage-bed. Of theſe the *firſt* in Name to be the higheſt and moſt excellent, no Baptiz'd Man can deny, nor that Idolatry ſmites directly againſt this prime end, nor that ſuch as the violated end is, ſuch is the violation: But he who affirms, Adultery to be the higheſt Breach, affirms the Bed to be the higheſt of Marriage, which is in truth a groſs and boriſh Opinion, how common ſoever; as far from the countenance of Scripture, as from the Light of all clean Philoſophy, or Civil Nature. And out of Queſtion, the chearful help that may be in Marriage toward ſanctity of Life, is the pureſt, and ſo the nobleſt end of that Contract:

tract: but if the particular of each Perſon be conſider'd, then of thoſe three ends which God appointed, that to him is greateſt which is moſt neceſſary; and Marriage is then moſt brok'n to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he moſt ſought therein, whether it were Religious, Civil, or Corporal Society. Of which wants to do him right by Divorce only, for the laſt and meaneſt, is a perverſe Injury, and the pretended reaſon of it, as frigid as frigidity it ſelf, which the *Code* and *Canon* are only ſenſible of. Thus much of this Controverſie. I now return to the former Argument. And having ſhewn that diſproportion, contrariety, or numneſs of mind may juſtly be Divorc'd, by proving already, that the Prohibition thereof oppoſes the expreſs end of Gods Inſtitution, ſuffers not Marriage to ſatisfie that intellectual and innocent deſire which God himſelf kindl'd in Man to be the Bond of Wedlock, but only to remedy a ſublunary and beſtial Burning, which frugal Diet, without Marriage, would eaſily chaſt'n. Next, that it drives many to tranſgreſs the Conjugal Bed, while the Soul wanders after that ſatisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath miſt; or elſe it ſits repining, even to Atheiſm, finding it ſelf hardly dealt with, but miſdeeming the cauſe to be in Gods Law, which is in Mans unrighteous Ignorance. I have ſhewn alſo how it untyes the inward knot of Marriage, which is peace and love (if that can be unty'd which was never knit) while it aims to keep faſt the outward formality; how it lets periſh the Chriſtian Man, to compel impoſſibly the Married Man.

CHAP. X.

The ſixth Reaſon of this Law, that to prohibite Divorce ſought for Natural Caſes, is againſt Nature.

THE ſixth Place declares this Prohibition to be as reſpectleſs of human Nature, as it is of Religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches, that an unlawful Marriage may be lawfully Divorc'd. And that thoſe who having throughly diſcern'd each others diſpoſition, which oft-times cannot be till after Matrimony, ſhall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of Nature on either ſide, blaſting all the content of their mutual Society, that ſuch Perſons are not lawfully Married (to uſe the Apoſtles words) *Say I theſe things as a Man, or ſaith not the Law alſo the ſame? for it is writt'n*, Deut. 22. *Thou ſhalt not ſow the Vineyard with divers ſeeds, leſt thou thou defile both. Thou ſhalt not plow with an Oxe and an Aſs together*, and the like. I follow the Pattern of S. *Paul's* reaſoning; *Doth God care for Aſſes and Oxen*, how ill they yoke together, *or is it not ſaid altogether for our ſakes? For our ſakes no doubt this is writt'n.* Yea the Apoſtle himſelf in the forecited 2 *Corinth.* 6. 14. alludes from that place of *Deut.* to forbid miſ-yoking Marriage; as by the Greek word is evident, though he inſtance but in one Example of miſ-matching with an Infidel; yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend ſecret of Nature, then to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite, and to ſow the furrow of Mans Nativity with ſeed of two incoherent and uncombining diſpoſitions; which Act being kindly and voluntary, as it ought, the Apoſtle in the Language he wrote call'd *Eunoia*, and the Latins *Benevolence*, intimating the original thereof to be in the underſtanding, and will; if not, ſurely; there is nothing which might more properly be call'd a malevolence rather, and is the moſt Injurious and Unnatural Tribute that can be extorted from a Perſon indu'd with reaſon, to be made pay out the beſt ſubſtance of his Body, and of his Soul too, as ſome think, when either for juſt and powerful Cauſes he cannot like, or from unequal Cauſes

ſes finds not recompence; And that there is a hidden efficacy of Love and Hatred in Man as well as in other kinds, not Moral, but Natural, which though not always in the Choice, yet in the Succeſs of Marriage will ever be moſt Predominant, beſides daily Experience, the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, whoſe Wiſdom hath ſet him next the Bible, acknowlegdes, 13. 16. *A Man*, ſaith he, *will cleave to his like.* But what might be the cauſe, whether each ones allotted *Genius* or proper Star, or whether the ſupernatural Influence of Schemes and Angular Aſpects, or this elemental *Craſis* here below, whether all theſe joyntly or ſingly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either Party, I dare not, with the Men I am like to claſh, appear ſo much a Philoſopher as to conjecture. The Ancient Proverb in *Homer* leſs obſtruſe, entitles this Work of leading each like Perſon to his like, peculiarly to God himſelf: Which is plain enough alſo by his naming of a Meet or like help in the firſt eſpouſal inſtituted; and that every Woman is meet for every Man, none ſo abſurd as to affirm. Seing then there is indeed a two-fold Seminary or Stock in Nature, from whence are deriv'd the Iſſues of Love and Hatred, diſtinctly flowing through the whole Maſs of created Things, and that Gods doing ever is to bring the due likeneſſes and harmonies of his Works together, except when out of two contraries, met to their own Deſtruction, he moulds a third Exiſtence; and that it is Error, or ſome evil Angel, which either blindly or maliciouſly hath drawn together in two Perſons ill imbarkt in Wedlock, the ſleeping diſcords and enmities of Nature, lull'd on purpoſe with ſome falſe Bait, that they may wake to Agony and Striſe, later then prevention could have wiſht, if from the bent of juſt and honeſt intentions beginning what was begun, and ſo continuing, all that is equal, all that is fair and poſſible hath been try'd, and no accomodation likely to ſucceed; what folly is it ſtill to ſtand combating and battering againſt Invincible Cauſes and Effects, with evil upon evil, till either the beſt of our days be lingred out, or ended with ſome ſpeeding ſorrow. The Wiſe *Eccleſiaſticus* adviſes rather, 37. 27: *My Son prove thy Soul in thy Life, ſee what is evil for it, and give not that unto it.* Reaſon he had to ſay ſo: For if the noiſomneſs or disfigurement of Body, can ſoon deſtroy the ſympathy of mind to Wedlock Duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of Mind, infuſe it ſelf into all the faculties and acts of the Body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy againſt the Fundamental Law-book of Nature, which *Moſes* never thwarts, but reverences; therefore he commands us to force nothing againſt Sympathy, or natural Order, no not upon the moſt abject Creatures; to ſhew that ſuch an Indignity cannot be offer'd to Man without an impious Crime. And certainly thoſe divine meditating Words of finding out a Meet and like help to Man, have in them a conſideration of more than the indefinite Likeneſs of Womanhood; nor are they to be made waſte Paper on, for the dulneſs of Cannon Divinity: No, nor thoſe other Allegorick Precepts of Beneficence fetcht out of the Cloſet of Nature, to teach us Goodneſs and Compaſſion in not compelling together unmatchable Societies, or if they meet through miſchance by all conſequence to disjoyn them, as God and Nature ſignifies, and lectures to us not only by thoſe recited Decrees, but ev'n by the firſt and laſt of all his viſible Works; when by his divorcing Command, the World firſt roſe out of Chaos, nor can be renewed again out of Confuſion, but by the ſeparating of unmeet Conſorts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The ſeventh Reaſon, That ſometimes Continuance in Marriage may be evidently the ſhortning or indangering of Life to either Party, both Law and Divinity concluding, that Life is to be preferr'd before Marriage, the intended Solace of Life.

SEventhly, The Canon-Law and Divines conſent, that if either Party be found contriving againſt anothers Life, they may be ſever'd by Divorce; for a ſin againſt the life of Marriage, is greater than a ſin againſt the Bed; the one deſtroys,the other but defiles. The ſame may be ſaid touching thoſe Perſons who being of a penſive nature and courſe of Life, have ſumm'd up all their ſolace in that free and lightſom Converſation which God and Man intend in Marriage; whereof when they ſee themſelves depriv'd by meeting an unſociable Conſort, they oft-times reſent one anothers miſtake ſo deeply, that long it is not e're grief end one of them.When therefore this danger is foreſeen,that the Life is in peril by living together, what matter is it whether helpleſs grief, or wilful practice be the cauſe: This is certain, that the preſervation of Life is more worth than the compulſory keeping of Marriage; and it is no leſs than cruelty, to force a Man to remain in that ſtate as the ſolace of his Life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the diſheartning of his Life. And what is Life without the vigour and ſpiritual exerciſe of Life? how can it be uſeful either to private or publick Imployment? ſhall it therefore be quite dejected, tho never ſo valuable, and left to moulder away in heavineſs for the ſuperſtitious and impoſſible performance of an ill-driv'n Bargain? Nothing more inviolable than Vows made to God, yet we read in *Numbers*, that if a Wife had made ſuch a Vow, the meer Will and Authority of her Husband might break it; how much more may he break the Error of his own bonds with an unfit and miſtak'n Wife, to the ſaving of his Welfare, his Life,yea his Faith and Vertue from the hazard of over-ſtrong Temptations; For if Man be Lord of the Sabbath, to the curing of a Fever, can he be leſs than Lord of Marriage in ſuch important Cauſes as theſe?

CHAP. XII.

The eight Reaſon, It is probable, or rather certain, that every one who happ'ns to marry, hath not the Calling, and therefore upon unfitneſs found and conſider'd, Force ought not to be us'd.

EIghtly, It is moſt ſure that ſome even of thoſe who are not plainly defective in Body, yet are deſtitute of all other Marriageable Gifts, and conſequently have not the Calling to marry,unleſs nothing be requiſite thereto but a meer inſtrumental Body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous Covenant a Reproach: Yet it is as ſure that many ſuch, not of their own deſire, but by the perſwaſion of Friends, or not knowing themſelves, do often enter into Wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the Duties of a Married Life, and the Gifts of a Single Life, what unfitneſs of Mind, what weariſomneſs, what ſcruples and doubts to an incredible Offence and Diſpleaſure are like to follow between, may be ſoon imagined? whom thus to ſhut up, and immure, and ſhut up together, the one with a miſchoſen Mate, the other in a miſtaken Calling, is not a Courſe that Chriſtian Wiſdom and Tenderneſs ought to uſe. As for the cuſtom that ſome Parents and Guardians have of forcing Marriages, it will be better to ſay nothing of ſuch a ſavage inhumanity, but only thus, that the Law which gives not all freedom of Divorce to any Creature indued with Reaſon ſo aſſaſſinated, is next in Cruelty.

CHAP.

CHAP XIII.

The ninth Reaſon, Becauſe Marriage is not a meer carnal Coition, but a human Society, where that cannot reaſonably be had, there can be no true Matrimony. Marriage compar'd with all other Cov'nants and Vows warrantably broken for the Good of Man. Marriage the Papiſts Sacrament, and unfit Marriage the Proteſtants Idol.

NInthly, I ſuppoſe it will be allow'd us that Marriage is a human Society, and that all human Society muſt proceed from the Mind rather than the Body, elſe it would be but a kind of animal or beaſtiſh Meeting; if the Mind therefore cannot have that due company by Marriage, that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, that Marriage can be no human Society, but a certain Formality; or gilding over of little better than a brutiſh Congreſs, and ſo in very wiſdom and pureneſs to be diſſolv'd.

But Marriage is more than human, *The Covenant of God, Prov.* 2. 17. therefore Man cannot diſſolve it. I anſwer, if it be more than human, ſo much the more it argues the chief Society thereof to be in the Soul rather than in the Body, and the greateſt breach thereof to be unfitneſs of Mind rather than defect of Body: For the Body can have leaſt Affinity in a Cov'nant more than human, ſo that the reaſon of diſſolving holds good the rather. Again I anſwer that the Sabbath is a higher Inſtitution, a Command of the firſt Table, for the breach whereof God hath far more and oftner teſtify'd his anger, than for Divorces, which from *Moſes* to *Malachi* he never took diſpleaſure at, nor then neither, if we mark the Text; and yet as oft as the Good of Man is concern'd, he not only permits, but commands to break the Sabbath. What Cov'nant more contracted with God, and leſs in Mans Power, than the Vow which hath once paſt his Lips? yet if it be found raſh, if offenſive, if unfruitful either to Gods Glory or the Good of Man, our Doctrine forces not error and unwillingneſs irkſomely to keep it, but counſels wiſdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoyn the indiſſoluble keeping of a Marriage found unfit againſt the Good of Man both Soul and Body, as hath been evidenc'd, is to make an Idol of Marriage, to advance it above the Worſhip of God and the Good of Man, to make it a tranſcendent Command, above both the ſecond and the firſt Table, which is a moſt prodigious Doctrine.

Next, whereas they cite out of the *Proverbs*, that it is the *Cov'nant of God*, and therefore more than human, that conſequence is manifeſtly falſe: For ſo the Cov'nant with *Zedechiah* made with the Infidel King of *Babel*, is call'd the *Cov'nant of God, Ezek.* 17. 19. which would be ſtrange to hear counted more than a human Cov'nant. So every Cov'nant between Man and Man, bound by Oath, may be call'd the Cov'nant of God, becauſe God therein is atteſted. So of Marriage he is the Author and the Witneſs; yet hence will not follow any divine Aſtriction more than what is ſubordinate to the Glory of God and the main Good of either Party; for as the Glory of God and their eſteemed Fitneſs one for the other, was the Motive which led them both at firſt to think without other Revelation, that God had joyned them together. So when it ſhall be found by their apparent unfitneſs, that their continuing to be Man and Wife is againſt the Glory of God, and their Mutual Happineſs, it may aſſure them that God never joyn'd them; who hath reveal'd his gracious Will not to ſet the Ordinance above the Man for whom it was ordain'd: Not to canonize Marriage either as a Tyranneſs or a Goddeſs over the enfranchis'd Life and Soul of Man: For wherein can God delight, wherein be worſhip'd, wherein be glorify'd by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking Couple? He that loved not to ſee the diſparity of ſeveral Cattel at the Plough, cannot be pleaſed with any vaſt unmeetneſs in Marriage. Where

can be the Peace and Love which muſt invite God to ſuch a Houſe, may it not be feared that the not divorcing of ſuch a helpleſs diſagreement, will be the divorcing of God finally from ſuch a Place? But it is a trial of our Patience they ſay: I grant it: But which of *Jobs* Afflictions were ſent him with that Law, that he might not uſe means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it ſubvert our Patience and our Faith too? Who ſhall anſwer for the periſhing of all thoſe Souls, periſhing by ſtubborn Expoſitions of particular and inferior Precepts againſt the general and ſupreme Rule of Charity? They dare not affirm that Marriage is either a Sacrament or a Myſtery, though all thoſe ſacred things give place to Man, and yet they inveſt it with ſuch an awful ſanctity, and give it ſuch adamantine Chains to bind with, as if it were to be worſhipt like ſome Indian Deity, when it can confer no Bleſſing upon us, but works more and more to our miſery. To ſuch Teachers the ſaying of St. *Peter* at the Council of *Jeruſalem* will do well to be applyed: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks* of Chriſtian Men, which neither the *Jews*, Gods ancient People, *nor we are able to bear*: And nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us.

CHAP. XIV.

Conſiderations concerning Familiſm, Antinomianiſm, and why it may be thought that ſuch opinions may proceed from the undue reſtraint of ſome juſt Liberty, then which no greater Cauſe to contemn Diſcipline.

TO theſe conſiderations this alſo may be added as no improbable conjecture, ſeeing that ſort of Men who follow *Anabaptiſm, Familiſm, Antinomianiſm*, and other fanatick dreams (if we underſtand them not amiſs) be ſuch moſt commonly as are by nature addicted to Religion, of Life alſo not debaucht, and that their Opinions having full ſwing, do end in ſatisfaction of the fleſh, it may be come with reaſon into the thoughts of a wiſe Man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the reſtraint of ſome lawful Liberty which ought to be giv'n Men, and is deny'd them. As by Phyſick we learn in menſtruous Bodies, where Natures current hath been ſtopt, that the ſuffocation and upward forcing of ſome lower part, affects the head and inward ſenſe with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the reſt of vulgar Men not ſo religiouſly profeſſing, do not give themſelves much the more to Whoredom and Adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial Diſcipline of Clergy Courts, but hating to hear of perfect Reformation; when as they foreſee that then Fornication ſhall be auſterely cenſur'd, Adultery puniſh'd, and Marriage the appointed refuge of Nature, though it hap to be never ſo incongruous and diſpleaſing, muſt yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpoſe but of ſtrife and hatred, a thing odious to God. This may be worth the ſtudy of skilful Men in Theology, and the reaſon of things: And *laſtly*, to examine whether ſome undue and ill grounded ſtrictneſs upon the blameleſs nature of Man, be not the cauſe in thoſe places, where already Reformation is, that the Diſcipline of the Church ſo often and ſo unavoidably brok'n, is brought into contempt and deriſion. And if it be thus, let thoſe who are ſtill bent to hold this obſtinate *Literality*, ſo prepare themſelves, as to ſhare in the account for all theſe Tranſgreſſions, when it ſhall be demanded at the laſt day, by one who will ſcan and ſift things with more than a literal Wiſdom of Equity; for if theſe reaſons be duly ponder'd, and that the Goſpel is more jealous of laying on exceſſive burdens than ever the Law was, leſt the Soul of a Chriſtian which is ineſtimable, ſhould be over tempted and caſt away, conſidering alſo, that many Properties of Nature, which the Power of Regeneration

generation it ſelf never alters, may cauſe diſlike of converſing, even between the moſt ſanctifi'd, which continually grating in harſh tune together, may breed ſome jar and diſcord, and that end in rancor and ſtrife, a thing ſo oppoſite both to Marriage, and to Chriſtianity, it would perhaps be leſs Scandal to Divorce a Natural Diſparity, then to link violently together an Unchriſtian Diſſention, committing two inſnared Souls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of Love, but with a hatred *Irreconcileable*, who were they diſſevered, would be ſtraight Friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical Servility muſt be ſtill urged, it may ſo fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly uſe as much Cruelty in forbidding to Divorce, as the Church of Antichriſt doth wilfully in forbidding to Marry.

The II. BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Ordinance of Sabbath and Marriage compar'd. Hyperbole no unfrequent Figure in the Goſpel. Exceſs cur'd by contrary Exceſs. Chriſt neither did, nor could, abrogate the Law of Divorce, but only reprieve the Abuſe thereof.

HItherto the Poſition undertaken hath been declar'd, and proved by a Law of God, that Law proved to be moral, and unabroliſhable, for many reaſons, equal, honeſt, charitable, juſt, annext thereto. It follows now, that thoſe Places of Scripture which have a ſeeming to revoke the prudence of *Moſes*, or rather that merciful Decree of God, be forthwith explain'd and reconcil'd. For what are all theſe Reaſonings worth, will ſome reply, when as the Words of Chriſt are plainly againſt all Divorce, except *in caſe of Fornication*. To whom he whoſe mind were to anſwer no more but this, *except alſo in caſe of Charity*, might ſafely appeal to the more plain Words of Chriſt in defence of ſo excepting, *Thou ſhalt do no manner of Work*, ſaith the Commandment of the Sabbath. Yes, ſaith Chriſt, Works of Charity. And ſhall we be more ſevere in Paraphraſing the conſiderate and tender Goſpel, than he was in expounding the rigid and peremptory Law? What was ever in all appearance leſs made for Man, and more for God alone, than the Sabbath? Yet when the good of Man comes into the Scales, we hear that voice of infinite Goodneſs and Benignity, that *Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for Sabbath*. What thing ever was more made for Man alone and leſs for God than Marriage? And ſhall we load it with a cruel and ſenceleſs Bondage utterly againſt both the Good of Man and the Glory of God? Let who ſo will now liſten, I want neither Pall nor Mitre, I ſtay neither for Ordination or Induction, but in the firm Faith of a knowing Chriſtian, which is the beſt and trueſt endowment of the Keys, I pronounce, the Man, who ſhall bind ſo cruelly a Good and Gracious Ordinance of God, hath not in that the Spirit of Chriſt. Yet that every Text of Scripture ſeeming oppoſite may be attended with a due Expoſition, this other Part enſues, and makes account to find no ſlender Arguments for this Aſſertion out of thoſe very Scriptures, which are commonly urg'd againſt it:

Firſt, Therefore let us remember as a Thing not to be deny'd, that all Places of Scripture wherein juſt reaſon of doubts ariſes from the Letter, are to be expounded by conſidering upon what Occaſion every Thing is ſet

down: And by comparing other Texts. The occaſion which induc'd our Saviour to ſpeak of Divorce, was either to convince the Extravagance of the Phariſees in that Point, or to give a ſharp and vehement Anſwer to a tempting Queſtion. And in ſuch caſes that we are not to repoſe all upon the literal Terms of ſo many Words, many Inſtances will teach us: Wherein we may plainly diſcover how Chriſt meant not to be tak'n Word for Word, but like a wiſe Phyſitian, adminiſtring one exceſs againſt another, to reduce us to a permiſs; where they were too remiſs, he ſaw it needful to ſeem moſt ſevere: In one Place, he cenſures an unchaſt Look to be Adultery already committed: Another time he paſſes over actual Adultery with leſs reproof, then for an unchaſt Look; not ſo heavily condemning ſecret Weakneſs, as open Malice: So here he may be juſtly thought to have giv'n this rigid Sentence againſt Divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good Man, who finds himſelf conſuming away in a diſconſolate and uninjoyn'd Matrimony, but to lay a Bridle upon the bold Abuſes of thoſe over-weening *Rabbies*; which he could not more effectually do, then by a Counterſway of Reſtraint curbing their wild exorbitance almoſt into the other Extream; as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their natural ſtraitneſs. And that this was the only Intention of Chriſt is moſt evident; if we attend but to his own Words and Proteſtation made in the ſame Sermon, not many verſes before he treats of Divorcing, that he came not to abrogate from the Law *one jot or tittle*, and denounce againſt them that ſhall ſo teach.

But St. *Luke* the verſe immediately before-going that of Divorce, inſerts the ſame *Caveat*, as if the latter could not be underſtood without the former; and as a witneſs to produce againſt this our wilful miſtake of Abrogating, which muſt needs confirm us, that whatever elſe in the political Law of more ſpecial relation to the *Jews* might ceaſe to us, yet that of thoſe Precepts concerning Divorce, not one of them was repeal'd by the Doctrine of Chriſt, unleſs we have vow'd not to believe his own cautious and immediate Profeſſion; for if theſe our Saviours Words, inveigh againſt all Divorce, and condemn it as Adultery, except it be for Adultery, and be not rather underſtood againſt the abuſe of thoſe Divorces permitted in the Law, then is that Law of *Moſes*, *Deut.* 24. 1. not only repeal'd and wholly annull'd againſt the Promiſe of Chriſt, and his known Profeſſion, not to meddle in Matters Judicial, but that which is more ſtrange, the very ſubſtance and purpoſe of that Law is contradicted and convinc'd both of Injuſtice and Impurity, as having authoriz'd and maintain'd legal Adultery by Statute. *Moſes* alſo cannot ſcape to be guilty of unequal and unwiſe Decrees, puniſhing one Act of ſecret Adultery by Death, and permitting a whole Life of open Adultery by Law. And albeit Lawyers write that ſome political Edicts, though not approv'd, are yet allowed to the ſcum of the People and the neceſſity of the Times; theſe Excuſes have but a weak Pulſe: For *Firſt*, we read, not that the ſcoundrel People, but the choiceſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt of that Nation have frequently us'd theſe Laws, or ſuch as theſe in the beſt and holieſt times. *Secondly* be it yielded, that in matters not very bad or impure, a human Lawgiver may ſlacken ſomething of that which is exactly Good, to the Diſpoſition of the People and the Times: But if the perfect, the pure, the righteous Law of God, for ſo are all his Statutes and his Judgments, be found to have allow'd ſmoothly without any certain Reprehenſion, that which Chriſt afterward declares to be Adultery, how can we free this Law from the horrible Inditement, of being both impure, unjuſt and Fallacious.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

How Divorce was permitted for hardneſs of Heart, cannot be underſtood by the common Expoſition. That the Law cannot permit, much leſs enact, a Permiſſion of Sin.

NEither will it ſerve to ſay this was permitted for the hardneſs of their Hearts, in that ſenſe, as is uſually explain'd, for the Law were then but a corrupt and erroneous School-maſter, teaching us to daſh againſt a vital Maxim of Religion, by doing foul Evil in hope of ſome uncertain Good.

This only Text not to be matcht again throughout the whole Scripture, whereby God in his perfect Law ſhould ſeem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy People under his own hand, a civil Immunity and free Charter to live and dye in a long ſucceſſive Adultery, under a Covenant of Works, till the *Meſſiah*, and then that indulgent Permiſſion to be ſtrictly deny'd by a Covenant of Grace; beſides the incoherence of ſuch a Doctrine, cannot, muſt not be thus interpreted, to the raiſing of a Paradox never known till then, only hanging by the twin'd thread of one doubtful Scripture, againſt ſo many other Rules and leading Principles of Religion, of Juſtice, and Purity of Life. For what could be granted more either to the Fear, or to the Luſt of any Tyrant or Expliticiat, than this Authority of *Moſes* thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to dam up Juſtice, and not only to admit of any *Romiſh* or *Auſtrian* Diſpences, but to enact a Statute of that which he dares not ſeem to approve. ev'n to the legitimate Vices, to make Sin it ſelf, the ever-alien and vaſſal Sin, a free Citizen of the Commonwealth, pretending only theſe or theſe plauſible Reaſons. And well he might, all the while that *Moſes* ſhall be alledged to have done as much without ſhowing any reaſon at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of *David*, *Pſal.* 94. 20. how any ſuch Authority as endeavours to *faſhion Wickedneſs by a Law*, ſhould derive it ſelf from God. And *Iſaiah* lays *Woe upon them that decree unrighteous Decrees*, 10. 1. Now which of theſe two is the better Lawgiver, and which deſerves moſt a Woe, he that gives out an Edict ſingly unjuſt, or he that confirms to Generations a fixt and unmoleſted Impunity of that which is not only held to be unjuſt, but alſo unclean, and both in a high degree, not only as they themſelves affirm, an injurious Expulſion of one Wife, but alſo an unclean freedom by more than a Patent to wed another adulterouſly? How can we therefore with ſafety thus dangerouſly confine the free ſimplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meerly amounts from ſo many Letters, when as it can conſiſt neither with his former and cautionary Word, nor with other more pure and holy Principles, nor finally with the ſcope of Charity, commanding by his expreſs Commiſſion in a higher grain. But all rather of neceſſity muſt be underſtood as only againſt the Abuſe of that wiſe and ingenuous Liberty which *Moſes* gave, and to terrifie a roaving Conſcience from ſinning under that Pretext.

CHAP. III.

That to allow Sin by Law, is againſt the Nature of Law, the End of the Lawgiver and the Good of the People. Impoſſible therefore in the Law of God. That it makes God the Author of Sin more than any thing Objected by the Jeſuits or Arminians againſt Predeſtination.

BUt let us yet further examine upon what Conſideration a Law of Licence could be thus giv'n to a holy People for the hardneſs of heart. I ſuppoſe all will anſwer, that for ſome good end or other. But here the contrary ſhall be prov'd. *Firſt*, that many ill effects, but no good end of

of ſuch a ſufferance can be ſhewn; *next*, that a thing unlawful can for no good end whatever be either done or allow'd by a poſitive Law. If there were any good end aim'd at, that end was then good, either to the Law, or to the Lawgiver Licenſing; or as to the Perſon Licens'd. That it could not be the end of the Law, whether Moral or Judicial to Licenſe a ſin, I prove eaſily out of *Rom.* 5. 20. *The Law enter'd that the offence might abound*, that is, that ſin might be made abundantly manifeſt to be hainous and diſpleaſing to God, that ſo his offer'd Grace might be the more eſteem'd. Now if the Law inſtead of aggravating and terifying ſin, ſhall give out Licence, it foils it ſelf, and turns recreant from its own end: It foreſtalls the pure Grace of Chriſt which is through righteouſneſs, with impure Indulgences which are through ſin. And inſtead of diſcovering ſin, for *by the Law is the knowledge thereof*, ſaith S. *Paul*, and that by certain and true Light for Men to walk in ſafely, it holds out falſe and dazling fires to ſtumble Men: Or like thoſe miſerable Flies to run into with delight, and be burnt: For how many Souls might eaſily think that to be lawful which the Law and Magiſtrate allow'd them? Again we read, 1 *Tim.* 1. 5. *The end of the Commandment is Charity out of a pure heart, and of a good Conſcience, and of Faith unfeigned.* But never could that be Charity to allow a People what they could not uſe with a pure heart, but with Conſcience and Faith both deceiv'd, or elſe deſpis'd. The more particular end of the Judicial Law is ſet forth to us clearly *Rom.* 13. That God hath giv'n to that Law *a Sword not in vain, but to be a Terror to evil works, a Revenge to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* If this terrible Commiſſion ſhould but forbear to puniſh wickedneſs, were it other to be accounted than partial and unjuſt? But if it begin to write Indulgence to vulgar uncleanneſs can it do more to corrupt and ſhame the end of its own being? *Laſtly*, if the Law allow ſin, it enters into a kind of Covenant with ſin, and if it do, there is not a greater ſinner in the World than the Law it ſelf. The Law, to uſe an Allegory ſomething different from that in *Philo Judæus* concerning *Amaleck*, though haply more ſignificant, the Law is the *Iſraelite*, and hath this abſolute Charge given it, *Deut.* 25. *To blot out the Memory of* ſin *the Amalekite from under Heav'n, not to forgit it.* Again, the Law is the *Iſraelite*, and hath this expreſs repeated Command *to make no Cov'nant with* ſin *the Canaanite*, but to expel him, leſt he prove a ſnare. And to ſay truth, it were too rigid and reaſonleſs to proclaim ſuch an Enmity between Man and Man, were it not the type of a greater Enmity between Law and ſin. I ſpeak ev'n now, as if ſin were condemn'd in a perpetual *Villenage* never to be free by Law, never to be *Manumitted*: But ſure ſin can have no Tenure by Law at all, but is rather an eternal Outlaw, and in hoſtility with Law paſt all Atonement: Both *Diagonial* Contraries, as much allowing one another, as Day and Night together both in one Hemiſphere. Or if it be poſſible, that ſin with his darkneſs may come to compoſition, it cannot be without foul Eclipſe and Twylight to the Law, whoſe brightneſs ought to ſurpaſs the Noon. Thus we ſee how this unclean Permittance defeats the ſacred and glorious end both of the Moral and Judicial Law.

As little Good can the Lawgiver propoſe to Equity by ſuch a laviſh Remiſneſs as this: If to remedy hardneſs of heart, *Paræus* and other Divines confeſs it more increaſes by this Liberty, than is leſſn'd: And how is it probable that their hearts were more hard in this, that it ſhould be yielded to than in any other Crime? Their hearts were ſet upon Uſury, and are to this Day, no Nation more; yet that which was the endamaging only of their Eſtates, was narrowly forbid; this which is thought the extream Injury and Diſhonour of their Wives and Daughters, with the defilement alſo of themſelves, is bounteouſly allow'd. Their hearts were as hard under their beſt Kings to offer in high Places, though to the true God; yet that but a ſmall

thing

thing is ſtrictly forewarn'd; this accounted a high Offence againſt one of the greateſt moral Duties, is calmly permitted and eſtabliſht. How can it be evaded but that the heavy Cenſure of Chriſt ſhould fall worſe upon this Lawgiver of theirs, than upon all the Scribes and Pharaſees? For they did but omit Judgment and Mercy to trifle in Mint and Cummin, yet all according to Law; but this their Lawgiver, altogether as punctual in ſuch Nicities, goes marching on to Adulteries, through the Violence of Divorce by Law againſt Law. If it were ſuch a curſed Act of *Pilate*, a ſubordinate Judge to *Cæſar*, over-ſwayed by thoſe hard hearts with much ado to ſuffer one Tranſgreſſion of Law but once, what is it then with leſs ado to publiſh a Law of Tranſgreſſion for many Ages? Did God for this come down and cover the Mount of *Sinai* with his Glory, uttering in Thunder thoſe his ſacred Ordinances out of the bottomleſs Treaſures of his Wiſdom and infinite pareneſs, to patch up an ulcerous ad rott'n Common-Wealth with ſtrict and ſtern Injunctions, to waſh the Skin and Garments for every unclean touch, and ſuch eaſie Permiſſion giv'n to pollute the Soul with Adulteries by Publick Authority, without diſgrace or queſtion? No it had been better that Man had never known Law or Matrimony, then that ſuch foul Iniquity ſhould be faſt'n upon the Holy One of *Iſrael*, the Judge of all the Earth, and ſuch a piece of Folly as *Belzebub* would not commit, to divide againſt himſelf and pervert his own ends; or if he to compaſs more certain miſchief, might yield perhaps to feign ſome good deed, yet that God ſhould enact a Licence of certain Evil for uncertain Good againſt his own Glory and Pureneſs, is abominable to conceive. And as it is deſtructive to the end of Law, and blaſphemous to the honour of the Lawgiver Licenſing, ſo is it as pernicious to the Perſon Licens'd. If a private friend admoniſh not, the Scripture ſaith, *he hates his Brother and lets him periſh*; but if he ſooth him, and allow him in his faults, the Proverbs teach us, *he ſpreads a net for his Neighbours feet, and worketh ruin*, If the Magiſtrate or Prince forget to Adminiſter due Juſtice and reſtrain not ſin; *Eli* himſelf could ſay, *it made the Lords people to tranſgreſs*. But if he count'nance them againſt Law by his own example, what Havock it makes both in Religion and Vertue among the People, may be gueſt by the anger it brought upon *Hophni* and *Phineas*, not to be appeas'd *with ſacrifice nor offering for ever*. If the Law be ſilent to declare ſin, the People muſt needs generally go aſtray, for the Apoſtle himſelf ſaith, *he had not known Luſt but by the Law*: And ſurely, ſuch a Nation ſeems not to be under the illuminating Guidance of Gods Law, but under the horrible doom rather of ſuch as deſpiſe the Goſpel, *he that is filthy let him be filthy ſtill*. But where the Law it ſelf gives a Warrant for ſin, I know not what condition of miſery to imagine miſerable enough for ſuch a People, unleſs that portion of the Wicked, or rather of the Damned, on whom God threatens in 21 *Pſalm*, *to rain ſnares*: But that queſtionleſs cannot be by any Law, which the Apoſtle ſaith, *is a Miniſtry ordain'd of God for our good*, and not ſo many ways and in ſo high a degree to our deſtruction, as we have now been graduating. And this is all the good can come to the Perſon Licens'd in his hardneſs of heart.

I am next to mention that, which becauſe it is a ground in Divinity, *Rom.* 3. will ſave the labour of demonſtrating, unleſs her giv'n Axioms be more doubted than in other Arts (although it be no leſs firm in the Precepts of Philoſophy) that a thing unlawful can for no good whatſoever be done, much leſs allow'd by a poſitive Law. And this is the matter why Interpreters upon that Paſſage in *Hoſea* will not conſent it to be a true ſtory, that the Prophet took a Harlot to Wife, becauſe God being a pure Spirit, could not command a thing repugnant to his own Nature, no not for ſo good an end as to exhibit more to the Life, a wholeſome and perhaps a converting Parable, to many an *Iſraelite*. Yet that he commanded the allowance of adulterous

dulterous and injurious Divorces for hardneſs of Heart, a reaſon obſcure and in a wrong Senſe, they can very ſavourily perſwade themſelves; ſo tenacious is the Leven of an old conceit. But they ſhift it, he permitted only. Yet ſilence in the Law is conſent, and conſent is acceſſory; why then is not the Law being ſilent, or not active againſt a Crime, acceſſory to its own Conviction, it ſelf judging? For though we ſhould grant, that it approves not, yet it wills; and the Lawyers Maxim is, that *the will compelled is yet the will.* And though *Ariſtotle* in his Ethicks, calls this *a mixt Action*, yet he concludes it to be voluntary and inexcuſable, if it be Evil. How juſtly then might human Law and Philoſophy riſe up againſt the Righteouſneſs of *Moſes*, if this be true which our vulgar Divinity fathers upon him, yea upon God himſelf, not ſilently and only negatively to Permit, but in his Law to divulge a written and general Priviledge to commit and perſiſt in unlawful Divorces with a high Hand, with Security and no ill Fame: For this is more than Permitting and Contriving; this in Maintaining: This is Warranting, this is Protecting, yea this is doing Evil, and ſuch an Evil as that reprobate Lawgiver did, whoſe laſting Infamy is ingrav'n upon him like a Surname *he who made* Iſrael *to Sin.* This is the loweſt Pitch contrary to God, that publick Fraud and Injuſtice can deſcend.

If it be affirm'd, that God as being Lord, may do what he will; yet we muſt know that God hath not two Wills, but one Will, much leſs two Contrary. If he once will'd Adultery ſhould be Sinful, and to be Puniſht by Death, all his Omnipotence will not allow him to Will the Allowance that his holieſt People might as it were by his own *Antimony*, or Counter-Statute live unreprov'd in the ſame Fact as he himſelf eſteem'd it, according to our common Explainers. The hidden ways of his Providence we adore and ſearch not; but the Law is his revealed Will, his compleat, his evident and certain Will; herein he appears to us as it were in human ſhape, enters into Cov'nant with us, ſwears to keep it, binds himſelf like a juſt Lawgiver to his own Preſcriptions, gives himſelf to be underſtood by Men, judges and is judg'd, meaſures and is commenſurate to the right Reaſon; cannot require leſs of us in one Cantle of his Law than in another, his legal Juſtice cannot be ſo fickle and ſo variable, ſometimes like a devouring Fire, and by and by connivent in the Embers, or, if I may ſo ſay, *Oſcitant* and *Supine.* The vigor of his Law could no more remit, than the hallowed Fire upon his Altar could be let go out. The Lamps that burnt before him might need ſnuffing, but the Light of his Law never. Of this alſo more beneath, in diſcuſſing a Solution of *Rivetus.*

The *Jeſuits* and that Sect among us which is nam'd of *Arminius*, are wont to charge us of making God the Author of Sin in two degrees eſpecially, not to ſpeak of his Permiſſion. *Firſt*, Becauſe we hold that he hath decreed ſome to Damnation, and conſequently to Sin, ſay they: *Next*, Becauſe thoſe means which are of ſaving Knowledge to others, he makes to them an occaſion of greater Sin. Yet conſidering the Perfection wherein Man was created, and might have ſtood, no Decree neceſſitating his free-Will, but ſubſequent though not in time, yet in order to Cauſes which were in his own Power, they might, methinks, be perſwaded to abſolve both God and us. When as the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Chryſippus* with their Followers the *Academics*, and the *Stoics*, who knew not what a conſummate and moſt adorned *Pandora* was beſtow'd upon *Adam*, to be the nurſe and guid of his arbitrary happineſs and perſeverance, I mean his native Innocence and Perfection, which might have kept him from being our true *Epimetheus*, and though they taught of Vertue and Vice, to be both the gift of *Divine Deſtiny*, they could yet give Reaſons not Invalid, to juſtifie the Councils of God and Fate from the Inſulſity of mortal Tongues: That Mans own Will ſelf corrupted is the adequat and ſufficient Cauſe of his Diſ-

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obedience *leſides Fate*; as *Homer* alſo wanted not to expreſs both in his *Iliads* and *Odiſſes*. And *Manilius* the Poet, although in his Fourth Book he tells of ſome *created both to Sin and Puniſhment*; yet without Murmuring and with an induſtrious Chearfulneſs acquits the *Deity*. They were not ignorant in their Heathen-lore, that it is moſt God-like to puniſh thoſe who of his Creatures became his Enemies with the greateſt Puniſhment; and they could attain alſo to think that the greateſt, when God himſelf throws a Man furtheſt from him; which then he held they did, when he blinded, hardn'd, and ſtirr'd up his Offenders to finiſh, and pile up their deſperate Work ſince they had undertak'n it. To baniſh for ever unto a local Hell, whether in the Air or in the Center, or in that uttermoſt and bottomleſs Gulph of *Chaos*, deeper from Holy Bliſs than the Worlds Diameter multiplied; they thought not a puniſhing ſo proper and proportionate for God to inflict, as to puniſh Sin with Sin. Thus were the common ſort of *Gentiles* wont to think, without any wry thoughts caſt upon Divine Governance. And therefore *Cicero* not in his *Tuſculan* or *Companian* Retirements among the learned Wits of that Age; but ev'n in the *Senate* to a mixt Auditory (though he were ſparing otherwiſe to broach his Philoſophy among Statiſts and Lawyers) yet as to this Point both in his Oration againſt *Piſo*, and in that which is about the Anſwers of the Sooth-ſayers againſt *Clodius*; he declares it publickly as no Paradox to common Ears, that God cannot puniſh Man more, nor make him more Miſerable, then ſtill by making him more Sinful. Thus we ſee, how in this Controverſie the Juſtice of God ſtood upright ev'n among Heathen Diſputers. But if any one be truly, and not pretendedly, Zealous for Gods Honour, here I call him forth before Men and Angels, to uſe his beſt and moſt adviſed Skill, leſt God more unavoidably then ever yet, and in the guiltieſt Manner be made the Author of Sin: If he ſhall not only deliver over and incite his Enimies by rebuke to Sin as a Puniſhment, but ſhall by Patent under his own Broad-Seal allow his Friend, whom he would Sanctifie and Save, whom he would Unite to himſelf and not Diſ-joyn, whom he would Correct by wholſome Chaſtning, and not Puniſh as he doth the Damned by lewd Sinning, if he ſhall allow theſe in his Law, the perfect Rule of his own pureſt Will, and our moſt edify'd Conſcience, the prepetrating of an odious and manifold Sin without the leaſt conteſting. 'Tis wonder'd, how there can be in God a ſecret and reveal'd Will; and yet what wonder, if there be in Man two anſwerable Cauſes. But here there muſt be two revealed Wills, grappling in a fraternal War with one another without any reaſonable Cauſe apprehended. This cannot be leſs then to ingraft Sin into the Subſtance of the Law, which Law is to provoke Sin by croſſing and forbidding, not by complying with it. Nay this is, which I tremble in uttering, to incarnate Sin into the unpuniſhing and well pleas'd Will of God. To avoid theſe dreadful Conſequences that tread upon the heels of thoſe Allowances to Sin, will be a task of far more difficulty, then to appeaſe thoſe Minds, which perhaps out of a vigilant and wary Conſcience except againſt Predeſtination. Thus finally we may Conclude, that a Law wholly giving Licence, cannot upon any good Conſideration be given to a holy People, for hardneſs of Heart in the vulgar Senſe.

CHAP. IV.

That if Divorce be no Command, no more is Marriage. That Divorce could be no Diſpenſation if it were Lawful. The Solution of Rivetus, *that God diſpens'd by ſome unknown way, ought not to ſatisfie a Chriſtian Mind.*

OThers think to evade the Matter by not granting any Law of Divorce, but only a Diſpenſation, which is contrary to the Words of Chriſt,

who himſelf calls it a *Law*, *Mark.* 10. 5. or if we ſpeak of a Command in the ſtricteſt Definition, then Marriage it ſelf is no more a Command than Divorce, but only a free Permiſſion to him who cannot contain. But as to Diſpenſation I affirm, the ſame as before of the Law, that it can never be given to the allowance of Sin, God cannot give it neither in reſpect of Himſelf, nor in reſpect of Man: Not in reſpect of Himſelf, being a moſt pure Eſſence, the juſt Avenger of Sin; neither can He make that ceaſe to be a Sin, which is in it ſelf unjuſt and impure, as all Divorces, they ſay, were, which were not for Adultery. Not in reſpect of Man, for then it muſt be either to his Good or to his Evil. Not to his Good; for how can that be imagin'd any Good to a Sinner whom nothing but Rebuke and due Correction can ſave, to hear the determinate Oracle of divine Law louder than any reproof diſpenſing and providing for the Impunity and Convenience of Sin, to make that doubtful, or rather lawful, which the end of the Law was to make moſt evidently hateful. Nor to the Evil of Man can a Diſpence be given; for if *the Law were ordain'd unto Life.* Rom. 7. 10. how can the ſame God publiſh Diſpences againſt that Law, which muſt needs be unto Death? Abſurd and monſtrous would that Diſpence be, if any Judge or Law ſhould give it a Man to cut his own throat, or to damn himſelf. Diſpence therefore preſuppoſes full Pardon, or elſe it is not a Diſpence, but a moſt baneful and bloody Snare. And why ſhould God enter Covenant with a People to be holy, as *the Command is holy, and juſt, and good*, Rom. 7. 12. and yet ſuffer an impure and treacherous Diſpence to miſlead and betray them under the Vizard of Law to a legitimate Practice of Uncleanneſs. God is no Covenant-breaker, he cannot do this.

Rivetus, a diligent and learned Writer, having well weighed what hath been written by thoſe Founders of Diſpence, and finding the ſmall Agreement among them, would feign work himſelf aloof theſe Rocks and Quick-ſands, and thinks it beſt to conclude, that God certainly did diſpenſe, but by ſome way to us unknown, and ſo to leave it. But to this I oppoſe, that a Chriſtian by no means ought reſt himſelf in ſuch an Ignorance; whereby ſo many Abſurdities will ſtrait reflect both againſt the Purity, Juſtice, and Wiſdom of God, the End alſo both of Law and Goſpel, and the compariſon of them both together. God indeed in ſome ways of his Providence is high and ſecret, paſt finding out: But in the Delivery and Execution of his Law, eſpecially in the managing of a Duty ſo daily and ſo familiar as this is, whereof we reaſon, hath plainly enough revealed himſelf, and requires the Obſervance thereof not otherwiſe than to the Law of Nature and of Equity imprinted in us ſeems correſpondent, and he hath taught us to love and to extol his Laws, not only as they are his, but as they are juſt and good to every wiſe and ſober Underſtanding. Therefore *Abraham* even to the Face of God himſelf, ſeemed to doubt of Divine Juſtice, if it ſhould ſwerve from that Irradiation wherewith it had enlightned the Mind of Man, and bound it ſelf to obſerve its own Rule. *Wilt thou deſtroy the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee; ſhall not the Judge of the Earth do Right?* thereby declaring that God hath created a Righteouſneſs in Right it ſelf, againſt which he cannot do. So *David*, *Pſal.* 119. *The Teſtimonies which thou haſt commanded are righteous and very faithful; Thy word is very pure, therefore thy Servant loveth it.* Not only then for the Authors ſake, but for its own Purity. *He is faithful*, ſaith *S. Paul, he cannot deny himſelf*: that is, cannot deny his own Promiſes, cannot but be true to his own Rules. He often pleads with Men the Uprightneſs of his ways by their own Principles. How ſhould we imitate him elſe to *be perfect as he is perfect.* If at pleaſure he can diſpenſe with golden Poetick Ages of ſuch pleaſing Licence, as in the fabled Reign of old *Saturn.* And this perhaps before the Law might have ſome Covert; but under ſuch an undiſpenſing Covenant as *Moſes* made with them, and not to tell us why and wherefore

wherefore Indulgence cannnot give quiet to the Breaſt of any intelligent Man. We muſt be reſolved how the Law can be pure and perſpicuous, and yet throw a polluted skirt over theſe *Eleuſtnian* Myſteries, that no Man can utter what they mean: Worſe in this then the worſt Obſcenities of Heathen Superſtition; for their filthineſs was hid, but the Myſtick Reaſon thereof known to their Sages. But this Jewiſh imputed filthineſs was daily and open, but the reaſon of it is not known to our Divines. We know of no deſign the Goſpel can have to impoſe new Righteouſneſs upon Works, but to remit the old by Faith without Works, if we mean juſtifying Works: We know no Myſtery our Saviour could have to lay new Bonds upon Marriage in the Covenant of Grace which himſelf had looſned to the Severity of Law. So that *Rivetus* may pardon us, if we cannot be contented with his non-Solution to remain in ſuch a peck of uncertainties and doubts, ſo dangerous and ghaſtly to the Fundamentals of our Faith.

CHAP. V.

What a Diſpenſation is.

THerefore to get ſome better Satisfaction, we muſt proceed to inquire as diligently as we can what a Diſpenſation is, which I find to be either properly ſo call'd, or improperly. Improperly ſo call'd is rather a particular and exceptive Law abſolving and diſobliging from a more general Command for ſome juſt and reaſonable Cauſe. As *Num.* 9. they who were unclean, or in a Journey, had leave to keep the Paſſover in the ſecond Month, but otherwiſe ever in the firſt. As for that in *Leviticus* of Marrying the Brothers Wife, it was a penal Statute rather then a Diſpence; and commands nothing injurious or in it ſelf unclean, only prefers a ſpecial reaſon of Charity before an inſtitutive Decency, and perhaps is meant for Life time only, as is expreſt beneath in the Prohibition of taking two Siſters. What other Edict of *Moſes*, carrying but the ſemblance of a Law in any other kind, may bear the name of a Diſpence, I have not readily to Inſtance. But a Diſpenſation moſt properly is ſome particular accident rarely hapning, and therefore not ſpecified in the Law, but left to the deciſion of Charity, even under the Bondage of *Jewiſh* rites, much more under the liberty of the Goſpel. Thus did *David enter into the Houſe of God, and did eat the Shewbread, he and his followers, which was* ceremonially *unlawful.* Of ſuch Diſpences as theſe it was that *Verdune* the *French* Divine ſo gravely diſputed in the Council of *Trent* againſt Friar *Adrian*, who held that the Pope might diſpenſe with any thing. *It is a fond perſuaſion*, ſaith Verdune, *that diſpenſing is a favour, nay it is as good diſtributive Juſtice as what is moſt, and the Prieſt Sins if he gives it not, for it is nothing elſe but a right Interpretation of Law.* Thus far that I can learn touching this Matter wholſomly decreed. But that God, who is the Giver of every Good and perfect Gift, *Jam.* 1. ſhould give out a Rule and Directory to ſin by, ſhould enact a Diſpenſation as long-liv'd as a Law whereby to live in priviledg'd Adultery for hardneſs of Heart, and this obdurate diſeaſe cannot be conceived how it was the more amended by this unclean remedy, is the moſt deadly and Scorpion-like gift that the Enemy of Mankind, could have given to any miſerable Sinner, and is rather ſuch a Diſpence, as that was which the Serpent gave to our firſt Parents. God gave Quails in his wrath, and Kings in his wrath, yet neither of theſe things Evil in themſelves, but that he whoſe Eyes cannot behold Impurity, ſhould in the Book of his Holy Covenant, his moſt unpaſſionate Law, give Licence and Statute for uncontrolled Adultery, although it go for the receiv'd Opinion, I ſhall never diſſuade my Soul from ſuch a Creed, ſuch an Indulgence as the ſhop of Antichriſt never forg'd a baſer.

CHAP. VI.

That the Jew *had no more Right to this ſuppoſed Diſpence then the Chriſtian hath, and rather not ſo much.*

BUT if we muſt needs diſpenſe, let us for a while ſo far diſpenſe with Truth as to grant, that Sin may be diſpens'd; yet there will be copious Reaſon found to prove, that the *Jew* had no more Right to ſuch a ſuppos'd Indulgence then the Chriſtian, whether we look at the clear Knowledge wherein he liv'd, or the ſtrict Performance of Works whereto he was bound. Beſides Viſions and Propheſies they had the Law of God, which in the *Pſalms* and *Proverbs* is chiefly prais'd for Sureneſs and Certainty, both eaſie and perfect to the Enlightning of the Simple. How could it be ſo obſcure then, or they ſo ſottiſhly blind in this Plain, Moral, and Houſhold Duty? They had the ſame Precepts about Marriage, Chriſt added nothing to their clearneſs, for that had argued them imperfect; he opens not the Law, but removes the *Phariſaick* miſts rais'd between the Law and the Peoples Eyes: The only Sentence which he adds, *What God hath joyn'd let no Man put aſunder*, is as obſcure as any Clauſe fetch'd out of *Geneſis*, and hath encreas'd a yet undecided Controverſie of *Clandeſtine* Marriages. If we examine over all his Sayings, we ſhall find him not ſo much interpreting the Law with his Words, as referring his own Words to be interpreted by the Law, and oftner obſcures his Mind in ſhort, and vehement, and compact Sentences, to blind and puzzle them the more, who would not underſtand the Law. The *Jews* therefore were as little to be diſpens'd with for lack of Moral Knowledge as we.

Next, none I think will deny, but that they were as much bound to perform the Law as any Chriſtian. That ſevere and rigorous Knife not ſparing the tender foreskin of any Male Infant, to carve into his fleſh the mark of that ſtrict and pure Covenant whereinto he entred, might give us to underſtand enough againſt the fancy of diſpenſing. St. *Paul* Teſtifies, that every *Circumcis'd Man is a Debtor to the whole Law*, Gal. 5. or elſe *Circumciſion is in vain*, *Rom.* 2. 25. How Vain then, and how Prepoſterous muſt it needs be to exact a Circumciſion of the fleſh from an Infant unto an outward ſign of Purity, and to diſpenſe an Uncircumciſion in the Soul of a grown Man to an inward and real Impurity? How vain again was that Law to impoſe tedious Expiations for every ſlight Sin of Ignorance and Error, and to Priviledge without Penance or Diſturbance an odious Crime, whether of Ignorance or Obſtinacy? How unjuſt alſo inflicting Death and Extripation for the mark of circumſtantial Pureneſs omitted, and proclaiming all honeſt and liberal Indemnity to the act of a ſubſtantial Impureneſs committed, making void the Covenant that was made againſt it. Thus if we conſider the Tenor of the Law, to be Circumcis'd and to perform all, not pardoning ſo much as the ſcapes of Error and Ignorance, and compare this with the Condition of the Goſpel, *Believe and be Baptized*, I ſuppoſe it cannot be long 'ere we grant, that the *Jew* was bound as ſtrictly to the Performance of every Duty as was Poſſible, and therefore could not be diſpens'd with more then the Chriſtian, perhaps not ſo much.

CHAP. VII.

That the Goſpel is apter to diſpenſe then the Law. Paræus *anſwered.*

IF then the Law will afford no Reaſon why the *Jew* ſhould be more gently dealt with then the Chriſtian, then ſurely the Goſpel can afford as little why the Chriſtian ſhould be leſs gently dealt with then the *Jew*.

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The Goſpel indeed exhorts to higheſt Perfection, but bears with weakeſt Infirmity more then the Law. Hence thoſe Indulgences, *All cannot receive this ſaying, Every Man hath his proper gift*, with expreſs charges not to *lay on Yokes which our Foreſathers could not bear.* The Nature of Man ſtill is as weak, and yet as hard, and that Weakneſs and Hardneſs as unfit and as unteachable to be harſhly uſed as ever. Ay but, ſaith *Paræus*, there is a greater Portion of Spirit poured upon the Goſpel, which requires from us perfecter Obedience. I anſwer, This does not prove that the Law therefore might give Allowance to ſin more then the Goſpel; and if it were no Sin, we know it the Work of the Spirit to *mortifie our corrupt Deſires and evil Concupiſcence*; but not to root up our natural affections and diſaffections, moving to and fro, even in wiſeſt Men upon juſt and neceſſary Reaſon, which were the true ground of that *Moſaick* Diſpence, and is the utmoſt Extent of our pleading. What is more or leſs perfect we diſpute not, but what is Sin or no Sin. And in that I ſtill affirm the Law required as perfect Obedience as the Goſpel. Beſides, that the prime end of the Goſpel is not ſo much to exact our Obedience, as to reveal Grace and the Satisfaction of our Diſobedience. What is now exacted from us, it is the accuſing Law that does it, even yet under the Goſpel, but cannot be more extreme to us now then to the *Jews* of Old; for the Law ever was of Works, and the Goſpel ever was of Grace.

Either then the Law by harmleſs and needful Diſpences, which the Goſpel is now made to deny, muſt have anticipated and exceeded the Grace of the Goſpel, or elſe muſt be found to have given politick and ſuperficial Graces without real Pardon, ſaying in general, Do this and live, and yet deceiving and damning under hand with unſound and hollow Permiſſions, which is utterly abhorring from the end of all Law, as hath been ſhewed. But if thoſe Indulgences were ſafe and ſinleſs out of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, as indeed they were, and yet ſhall be abrogated by the Goſpel, then the Law, whoſe end is by rigor to magnifie Grace, ſhall it ſelf give Grace, and pluck a fair Plume from the Goſpel, inſtead of haſtning us thither, alluring us from it. And whereas the Terror of the Law was as a Servant to ampliſie and illuſtrate the mildneſs of Grace: Now the unmildneſs of Evangelick Grace ſhall turn Servant to declare the Grace and Mildneſs of the rigorous Law. The Law was harſh to extol the Grace of the Goſpel, and now the Goſpel by a new affected ſtrictneſs of her own, ſhall extenuate the Grace which her ſelf offers. For by exacting a Duty which the Law diſpens'd, if we Perform it, then is Grace diminiſh'd, by how much Performance advances, unleſs the Apoſtle argue wrong: If we Perform it not, and periſh for not Performing, then are the Conditions of Grace harder then thoſe of Rigor. If through Faith and Repentance we periſh not, yet Grace ſtill remains the leſs, by requiring that which Rigour did not require, or at leaſt not ſo ſtrictly. Thus much therefore to *Paræus*, that if the Goſpel require perfecter Obedience then the Law as a Duty, it exalts the Law and debaſes it ſelf, which is diſhonourable to the Work of our Redemption. Seing therefore that all the Cauſes of any allowance that the *Jews* might have, remain as well to the *Chriſtians*, this is a certain Rule, that ſo long as the Cauſes remain, the Allowance ought. And having thus at length inquired the Truth concerning Law and Diſpence, their ends, their uſes, their limits, and in what manner both *Jew* and *Chriſtian* ſtand liable to the one, or capable of the other, we may ſafely conclude, that to affirm the giving of any Law or Lawlike Diſpence to Sin for hardneſs of Heart, is a Doctrine of that Extravagance, from the ſage Principles of Piety, that whoſo conſiders throughly, cannot but admire how this hath been digeſted all this while.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The true Senſe how Moſes *ſuffered Divorce for hardneſs of Heart.*

WHAT may we do then to ſalve this ſeeming Inconſiſtence? I muſt not diſſemble that I am confident it can be done no other way then this:

Moſes, Deut. 24. 1. Eſtabliſht a grave and prudent Law full of Moral Equity, full of due conſideration towards Nature, that cannot be reſiſted, a Law conſenting with the Laws of wiſeſt Men, and civileſt Nations, That when a Man hath Married a Wife, if it come to paſs he cannot love her by reaſon of ſome diſpleaſing natural Quality or Unfitneſs in her, let him write her a Bill of Divorce. The Intent of which Law undoubtedly was this, that if any Good and Peaceable Man ſhould diſcover ſome helpleſs diſagreement or diſlike either of Mind or Body, whereby he could not chearfully perform the Duty of a Husband, without the perpetual diſſembling of offence and diſturbance to his Spirit, rather then to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himſelf and to his wife, rather then to continue undertaking a Duty which he could not poſſibly diſcharge, he might diſmiſs her whom he could not tolerably and ſo not conſcionably retain. And this Law the Spirit of God by the Mouth of *Solomon, Prov.* 30. 21, 23. teſtifies to be a good and a neceſſary Law, by granting it, that *a hated Woman* (for ſo the *Hebrew* Word ſignifies, rather then *odious*, though it come all to one) that *a hated Woman, when ſhe is Married, is a thing that the Earth cannot bear.* What follows then but that the charitable Law muſt remedy what Nature cannot undergo? Now that many licentious and hard-hearted Men took hold of this Law to cloke their bad Purpoſes, is nothing ſtrange to believe. And theſe were they, not for whom *Moſes* made the Law, God forbid, but whoſe hardneſs of Heart taking ill advantage by this Law, he held it better to ſuffer as by Accident, where it could not be detected, rather then Good Men ſhould loſe their juſt and lawful Priviledge of remedy: Chriſt therefore having to Anſwer theſe tempting Phariſees, according as his cuſtom was, not meaning to inform their proud Ignorance what *Moſes* did in the true Intent of the Law, which they had ill cited, ſuppreſſing the true Cauſe for which *Moſes* gave it, and extending it to every ſlight matter, tells them their own, what *Moſes* was forc'd to ſuffer by their Abuſe of his Law. Which is yet more plain, if we mark that our Saviour in *Matth.* 5. cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the Pharaſaical Tradition falſly grounded upon that Law. And in thoſe other Places, *Chap.* 19. and *Mark.* 10. the Phariſees cite the Law, but conceal the Wiſe and Human Reaſon there expreſt; which our Saviour corrects not in them, whoſe Pride deſerv'd not his Inſtruction, only returns them what is proper to them; *Moſes for the hardneſs of your Heart ſuffer'd you*, that is, ſuch as you *to put away your Wives*; and *to you he Wrote this Precept* for that Cauſe, which (*to you*) muſt be read with an Impreſſion, and underſtood limitedly of ſuch as cover'd ill Purpoſes under that Law: And it was ſeaſonable that they ſhould hear their own unbounde Licence rebuk'd, but not ſeaſonable for them to hear a good Mans requiſite Liberty explain'd. But us he hath taught better, if we have Ears to hear. He himſelf acknowledg'd it to be a Law, *Mark* 10. and being a Law of God, it muſt have an undoubted *end of Charity, which may be us'd with a pure Heart, a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned*, as was heard: It cannot allow Sin, but is purpoſely to reſiſt Sin, as by the ſame *chap.* to *Timothy* appears. There we learn alſo, *that the Law is Good if a Man uſe it lawfully.* Out of doubt then there muſt be

be a certain good in this Law, which *Moſes* willingly allow'd, and there might be an unlawful Uſe made thereof by Hypocrites; and that was it which *Moſes* unwillingly ſuffer'd, foreſeeing it in general, but not able to diſcern it in particulars. Chriſt therefore mentions not here what *Moſes* and the Law intended, for good Men might know that by many other Rules: And the ſcornful Phariſees were not fit to be told, until they could imploy that knowledge they had leſs abuſively. Only he acquaints them with what *Moſes* by them was put to ſuffer.

CHAP. IX.

The Words of the Inſtitution how to be underſtood; and of our Saviours Anſwer to his Diſciples.

AND to entertain a little their overweening Arrogance as beſt befitted, and to amaze them yet further, becauſe they thought it no hard matter to fulfil the Law, he draws them up to that unſeparable Inſtitution which God ordain'd in the beginning before the Fall, when Man and Woman were both perfect, and could have no cauſe to ſeperate: juſt as in the ſame *Chap.* he ſtands not to contend with the arrogant young Man who boaſted his Obſervance of the whole Law, whether indeed he had kept it or not, but ſkrues him up higher to a task of that Perfection, which no Man is bound to imitate. And in like manner that Pattern of the firſt Inſtitution he ſet before the opinionative Phariſees to dazle them and not to bind us. For this is a ſolid Rule, that every Command given with reaſon, binds our Obedience no otherwiſe then that reaſon holds. Of this ſort was that Command in *Eden*; *Therefore ſhall a Man cleave to his Wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh:* Which we ſee is no Abſolute Command but with an Inference, *Therefore:* The reaſon then muſt be firſt conſider'd, that our Obedience be not Miſobedience. The firſt is, for it is not ſingle, becauſe the Wife is to the Husband *fleſh of his fleſh*, as in the Verſe going before. But this reaſon cannot be ſufficient of it ſelf; for why then ſhould he for his Wife leave his Father and Mother, with whom he is far *more fleſh of fleſh, and bone of bone*, as being made of their ſubſtance. And beſides it can be but a ſorry and ignoble Society of Life, whoſe inſeperable Injunction depends meerly upon fleſh and bones. Therefore we muſt look higher ſince Chriſt himſelf recals us to the beginning, and we ſhall find that the primitive Reaſon of never Divorcing was that ſacred and not vain Promiſe of God to remedy Mans lonelineſs by *making him a Meet help for him*, though not now in Perfection, as at firſt; yet ſtill in Proportion as things now are. And this is repeated *Verſe.* 20. when all other Creatures were fitly aſſociated and brought to *Adam*, as if the Divine Power had bin in ſome care and deep thought, becauſe *there was not yet found a help Meet for Man.* And can we ſo ſlightly depreſs the all wiſe-purpoſe of a deliberating God, as if his conſultation had produc'd no other good for Man but to joyn him with an accidental Companion of Propagation, which his ſudden Word had already made for every Beaſt? Nay a far leſs good to Man it will be found, if ſhe muſt at all adventures be faſtned upon him individually. And therefore even plain Senſe and Equity, and which is above them both, the all interpreting voice of Charity her ſelf cries loud, that this primitive Reaſon, this conſulted Promiſe of God *to make Meet help*, is the only Cauſe that gives Authority to this Command of not Divorcing, to be a Command. And it might be further added, that if the true Definition of a Wife were ask'd in good earneſt, this Clauſe being *a Meet help* would ſhew it ſelf ſo neceſſary, and ſo eſſential in that demonſtrative Argument, that it might be

be logically concluded: Therefore ſhe who Naturally and Perpetually is no Meet help can be no Wife; which clearly takes away the difficulty of diſmiſing ſuch a one. If this be not thought enough I anſwer yet further, that Marriage, unleſs it mean a fit and tolerable Marriage, is not inſeparable, neither by Nature nor Inſtitution. Not by Nature, for then thoſe *Moſaick* Divorces had been againſt Nature, if ſeparable and inſeparable be Contraries, as who doubts they be? And what is againſt Nature is againſt Law, if ſoundeſt Philoſophy abuſe us not: By this reckoning *Moſes* ſhould be moſt *Unmoſaick*, that is, moſt Illegal not to ſay moſt Unnatural. Nor is it inſeparable by the firſt Inſtitution: For then no ſecond Inſtitution in the ſame Law for ſo many Cauſes could diſſolve it; it being moſt unworthy a human (as *Plato*'s Judgment is in the fourth Book of his Laws) much more a Divine Lawgiver, to write two ſeveral Decrees upon the ſame thing. But what would *Plato* have deemed if the one of theſe were good, the other evil to be done? Laſtly, ſuppoſe it be inſeparable by Inſtitution, yet in competition with higher things, as Religion and Charity in maineſt Matters, and when the chief end is fruſtrate for which it was ordained, as hath been ſhewn, if ſtill it muſt remain inſeparable, it holds a ſtrange and lawleſs Propriety from all other Works of God under Heaven. From theſe many conſiderations we may ſafely gather, that ſo much of the firſt Inſtitution as our Saviour mentions; for he mentions not all, was but to quell and to put to *Non-plus* the Tempting Phariſees, and to lay open their Ignorance and ſhallow Underſtanding of the Scriptures. For, ſaith he, *Have you not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them Male and Female, and ſaid, for this cauſe ſhall a Man cleave to his Wife?* Which theſe blind Uſurpers of *Moſes*'s Chair could not gainſay? as if this ſingle reſpect of Male and Female were ſufficient againſt a Thouſand inconveniencies and miſchiefs, to clog a rational Creature to his endleſs Sorrow unrelinquiſhably, under the guileful Superſcription of his intended Solace and Comfort. What if they had thus anſwer'd? Maſter, if thou mean to make Wedlock as inſeparable as it was from the beginning, let it be made alſo a fit Society, as God meant it, which we ſhall ſoon underſtand it ought to be, if thou recite the whole Reaſon of the Law. Doubtleſs our Saviour had applauded their juſt Anſwer. For then they had expounded his Command of Paradiſe, even as *Moſes* himſelf expounded it by his Laws of Divorce, that is, with due and wiſe regard had to the Premiſes and Reaſons of the firſt Command, according to which without unclean and temporizing Permiſſions, he inſtructs us in this imperfect State, what we may lawfully do about Divorce.

But if it be thought that the Diſciples offended at the rigor of Chriſt's Anſwer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former Sentence pronounc'd to the Phariſees, it may be fully anſwered, that our Saviour continues the ſame Reply to his Diſciples, as Men leavened with the ſame Cuſtomary Licence which the Phariſees maintained, and diſpleaſed at the removing of a traditional Abuſe, whereto they had ſo long not unwillingly been uſed: It was no time then to contend with their ſlow and prejudicial Belief, in a thing wherein an ordinary meaſure of Light in Scripture, with ſome attention, might afterwards inform them well enough. And yet 'ere Chriſt had finiſhed this Argument, they might have pick't out of his own concluding Words an Anſwer more to their minds, and in effect the ſame with that which hath been all this while intreating Audience: *All Men*, ſaid he, *cannot receive this ſaying, ſave they to whom it is given: he that is able to receive let him receive it.* What Saying is this which is left to a Mans choice to receive or not receive? What but the

the Married Life? Was our Saviour ſo Mild and ſo Favourable to the weakneſs of a ſingle Man, and is he turn'd on the ſudden ſo rigorous and inexorable to the diſtreſſes and extreamities of an ill Wedded Man? Did he ſo graciouſly give leave to change the better ſingle Life for the worſe Married Life? Did he open ſo to us this hazardous and accidental door of Marriage to ſhut upon us like the gate of Death, without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worſt, moſt inſupportable, moſt unchriſtian Miſchance of Marriage, for all the miſchiefs and ſorrows that can enſue, being an Ordinance which was eſpecially given as a Cordial and Exhilarating Cup of Solace, the better to bear other our Croſſes and Afflictions? Queſtionleſs this were a hard-heartedneſs of undivorcing, worſe then that in the Jews, which they ſay extorted the Allowance from *Moſes*, and is utterly diſſonant from all the Doctrine of our Saviour. After theſe Conſiderations therefore to take a Law out of Paradiſe given in time of Original Perfection, and to take it barely without thoſe juſt and equal Inferences and Reaſons which mainly eſtabliſh it, nor ſo much as admitting thoſe needful and ſafe Allowances wherewith *Moſes* himſelf interprets it to the faln Condition of Man, argues nothing in us but raſhneſs and contempt of thoſe means that God left us in his pure and chaſt Law, without which it will not be poſſible for us to perform the ſtrict Impoſition of this Command: Or if we ſtrive beyond our ſtrength, we ſhall ſtrive to obey it otherwiſe than God commands it. And lamented Experience daily teaches the bitter and vain Fruits of this our Preſumption, forcing Men in a thing wherein we are not able to judge either of their ſtrength or of their ſufferance. Whom neither one voice or other by Natural Addiction, but only Marriage ruins, which doubtleſs is not the fault of that Ordinance; for God gave it as a Bleſſing, not always of Mans miſchuſing; it being an Error above Wiſdom to prevent, as Examples of Wiſeſt men ſo Miſtaken manifeſt: It is the Fault therefore of a preverſe Opinion that would have it continued in deſpight of Nature and Reaſon, when indeed it was never ſo truly joyn'd. All thoſe Expoſitors upon the fifth of *Matthew* confeſs the Law of *Moſes* to be the Law of the Lord, wherein no Addition or Diminution hath Place; yet coming to the point of Divorce, as if they fear'd not to be call'd leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven, any ſlight evaſion will content them to reconcile thoſe Contradictions which they make between Chriſt and *Moſes*, between Chriſt and Chriſt.

CHAP. X.

The vain ſhift of thoſe who make the Law of Divorce to be only the Premiſes of a ſucceeding Law.

SOme will have it no Law, but the granted Premiſes of another Law, following, contrary to the Words of Chriſt, *Mark* 10. 5. and all other Tranſlations of graveſt Authority, who render it in Form of a Law; agreeable to *Mal.* 2. 16. as it is moſt ancient and modernly expounded. Beſides, the Bill of Divorce, and the particular occaſion therein mention'd, declares it to be orderly and legal. And what avails this to make the Matter more righteous, if ſuch an adulterous Condition ſhall be mention'd to build a Law upon without either Puniſhment or ſo much as forbidding: They pretend it is implicitly reprov'd in theſe Words, *Deut.* 24. 4. *after ſhe is defil'd*; but who ſees not that this Defilement is only in reſpect of returning to her former Husband after an intermixt Marriage; elſe why was not the defiling Condition firſt forbidden, which would have ſaved the labour of this after Law: Nor is it ſeemly

or piouſly attributed to the Juſtice of God and his known Hatred of Sin, that ſuch a heinous fault as this through all the Law ſhould be only whipp'd with an implicite and oblique touch(which yet is falſly ſuppos'd)and that his peculiar People ſhould be let wallow in adulterous Marriages almoſt two thouſand years for want of a direct Law to prohibit them: 'Tis rather to be confidently aſſumed that this was granted to apparent neceſſities, as being of unqueſtionable Right and Reaſon in the Law of Nature, in that it ſtill paſſes without Inhibition, even when greateſt Cauſe is given to us to expect it ſhould be directly forbidden:

CHAP. XI.

The other ſhift of ſaying Divorce was permitted by Law, but not approv'd. More of the Inſtitution.

BUT it was not approv'd. So much the worſe that it was allow'd, as if ſin had overmaſter'd the Word of God, to conform her ſteddy and ſtrait Rule to Sins Crookedneſs, which is impoſſible. Beſides, what needed a poſitive Grant of that which was not approv'd? It reſtrain'd no liberty to him that could but uſe a little fraud, it had been better ſilens'd, unleſs it were approv'd in ſome caſe or other. But ſtill it was not approv'd. Miſerable Excuſers! He who doth Evil that Good may come thereby, approves not what he doth; and yet the grand Rule forbids him, and counts *his Damnation* juſt if he do it. The Sorcereſs *Medea* did not approve her own evil Doings, yet look'd not to be excus'd for that: And it is the conſtant Opinion of *Plato*'s *Protagoras*, and other of his Dialogues agreeing with that Proverbial Sentence among the *Greeks*, that *No Man is wicked willingly*. Which alſo the *Peripateticks* do rather diſtinguiſh then deny. What great thank then if any Man reputed wiſe and conſtant, will neither do nor permit others under his charge to do that which he approves not, eſpecially in matter of Sin. But for a Judge, but for a Magiſtrate and Shepherd of his People, to ſurrender up his Approbation againſt Law and his own Judgment to the Obſtinacy of his Heart, what more un-Judge-like, more un-Magiſtrate-like, and in War more un-Commander-like? Twice in a ſhort time it was the undoing of the *Roman* State, *Firſt* when *Pompey*, *Next* when *Marcus Brutus*, had not Magnanimity enough but to make ſo poor a Reſignation of what they approv'd, to what the boiſterous Tribunes and Souldiers bawl'd for. Twice it was the ſaving of two the greateſt Common-wealths in the World,of *Athens* by *Themiſtocles* at the Sea fight of *Salamis*; of *Rome* by *Fabius Maximus* in the *Punic* War, for that theſe two matchleſs Generals had the Fortitude at home againſt the raſhneſs and the clamours of their own Captains and Confederates,to withſtand the doing or permitting of what they could not approve in their Duty of their great Command. Thus far of Civil Prudence. But when we ſpeak of Sin, let us look again upon the old reverend *Eli*; who in his heavy Puniſhment found no difference between the doing and permitting of what he did not approve. If hardneſs of heart in the People may be an Excuſe, why then is *Pilate* branded through all memory? He approv'd not what he did, he openly proteſted, he waſhed his hands and laboured not a little,ere he would yield to the hard hearts of a whole People, both Princes and Plebeians importuning and tumulting even to the Fear of a Revolt. Yet is there any will undertake his Cauſe? If therefore *Pilate* for ſuffering but one Act of Cruelty againſt Law, though with much Unwillingneſs teſtify'd,at the violent Demand of a whole Nation,ſhall ſtand ſo black upon Record to all Poſterity? Alas for *Moſes*! what ſhall we ſay for him, while we are taught to believe he ſuffer'd not one Act only both of Cruelty and Uncleanneſs in one Divorce,but made it a plain and laſting Law againſt Law, whereby Ten Thouſand Acts accounted both cruel

and

and unclean, might be daily committed, and this without the leaſt Suit or Petition of the People that we can read of.

And can we conceive without vile Thoughts, that the Majeſty and Holineſs of God could endure ſo many Ages to Gratifie a ſtubborn People in the Practice of a foul polluting Sin, and could he expect they ſhould abſtain, he not ſignifying his Mind in a plain Command, at ſuch time eſpecially when he was framing their Laws and them to all poſſible Perfection? But they were to look back to the firſt Inſtitution, nay rather why was not that individual Inſtitution brought out of Paradiſe, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the Body of the Law, that Men might have underſtood it to be a Command? For that any Sentence that bears the Reſemblance of a Precept, ſet there ſo out of Place in another World at ſuch a diſtance from the whole Law, and not once mention'd there, ſhould be an obliging Command to us, is very diſputable, and parhaps it might be deny'd to be a Command without further Diſpute: However, it Commands not abſolutely, as hath been clear'd, but only with reference to that precedent Promiſe of God, which is the very ground of his Inſtitution; if that appear not in ſome tolerable ſort, how can we affirm ſuch a Matrimony to be the ſame which God inſtituted? In ſuch an Accident, it will beſt behove our Soberneſs to follow rather what Moral *Sinai* preſcribes equal to our ſtrength, then fondly to think within our ſtrength all that loſt Paradiſe relates.

CHAP. XII.

The third ſhift of them who eſteem it a meer Judicial Law. Prov'd again to be a Law of Moral Equity.

ANother while it ſhall ſuffice them, that it was not a Moral but a Judicial Law and ſo was abrogated. Nay rather not abrogated becauſe Judicial; which Law the Miniſtry of Chriſt came not to deal with. And who put it in Mans power to exempt, where Chriſt ſpeaks in general of not Abrogating *the leaſt jot or tittle*, and in ſpecial not that of Divorce, becauſe it follows among thoſe Laws which he premis'd expreſly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abuſive Traditions: Which is moſt evidently to be ſeen in the 16 of *Luke*, where this caution of not Abrogating is inſerted immediately, and not otherwiſe then purpoſely, when no other Point of Law is touch'd but that of Divorce. And if we mark the 31 *verſe* of *Mat.* 5. he there cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the licentious Gloſs which traduc'd the Law; that therefore which he cited, that he Abrogated, and not only Abrogated but Diſſallowed and flatly Condemned, which could not be the Law of *Moſes*, for that had been foully to the Rebuke of his great Servant. To Abrogate a Law made with Gods Allowance, had been to tell us only that ſuch a Law was now to ceaſe: But to refute it with an Ignominious note of civillizing Adultery, caſts the Reproof, which was meant only to the Phariſees, even upon him that made the Law. But yet if that be Judicial which belongs to a Civil Court, this Law is leſs Judicial then Nine of the Ten Commandments: For Antiquaries affirm, that Divorces proceeded among the *Jews* without knowledge of the Magiſtrate, only with Hands and Seals under the Teſtimony of ſome *Rabbi's*, to be then preſent. *Perkins in a Treatiſe of Conſcience*, Grants, that what in the Judicial Law is of common Equity, binds alſo the Chriſtian: And how to judge of this preſcribes two ways; if wiſe Nations have enacted the like Decree: Or if it maintain the good of Family, Church, or Commonwealth. This therefore is a pure moral *Oeconomical* Law, too haſtily imputed of tolerating Sin; being rather ſo clear in Nature and Reaſon, that it was left

to a Mans own Arbitrement, to be determined between God and his own Conſcience; not only among the *Jews*, but in every wiſe Nation: The Reſtraint whereof, who is not too thick ſighted, may ſee how hurtful and diſtractive it is to the Houſe, the Church, and Commonwealth. And that Power which Chriſt never took from the Maſter of a Family, but rectified only to a right and wary uſe at Home; that Power the undiſcerning Canoniſt hath improperly uſurpt into his Court-leet, and beſcribl'd with a thouſand trifling Impertinences, which yet have fill'd the Life of Man with ſerious Trouble and Calamity. Yet grant it were of Old a Judicial Law, it need not be the leſs Moral for that, being Converſant, as it is about Vertue or Vice. And our Saviour diſputes not here the Judicature, for that was not his Office, but the Morality of Divorce, whether it be Adultery or no; if therefore he touch the Law of *Moſes* at all, he touches the Moral Part thereof, which is abſurd to imagin, that the Covenant of Grace ſhould reform the exact and perfect Law of Works, Eternal and Immutable; of if he touch not the Law at all, then is not the Allowance thereof diſallow'd to us.

CHAP. XIII.

The ridiculous Opinion, that Divorce was permitted from the Cuſtom in Ægypt. *That* Moſes *gave not this Law unwillingly.* Perkins *confeſſes this Law was not Abrogated.*

OThers are ſo ridiculous as to alledge, that this Licence of Divorcing was given them, becauſe they were ſo accuſtom'd in *Ægypt*. As if an ill Cuſtom were to be kept to all Poſterity; for the Diſpenſation is both Univerſal and of time Unlimited, and ſo indeed no Diſpenſation at all; for the over-dated Diſpenſation of a thing Unlawful, ſerves for nothing but to increaſe hardneſs of Heart, and makes Men but wax more Incorrigible, which were a great reproach to be ſaid of any Law or Allowance that God ſhould give us. In theſe Opinions it would be more Religion to adviſe well, leſt we make our ſelves juſter then God, by cenſuring raſhly that for Sin which his unſpotted Law without rebukes allows, and his People without being conſcious of diſpleaſing him have us'd. And if we can think ſo of *Moſes*, as that the *Jewiſh* Obſtinacy could compel him to write ſuch impure Permiſſions againſt the Word of God and his own Judgment, doubtleſs it was his Part to have proteſted publickly what Straits he was driven to, and to have declar'd his Conſcience when he gave any Law againſt his Mind; for the Law is the Touchſtone of Sin and of Conſcience, and muſt not be intermix'd with corrupt Indulgences; for then it loſes the greateſt Praiſe it has of being certain and infallible, not leading into Error, as the *Jews* were led by this Connivence of *Moſes*, if it were a Connivence. But ſtill they fly back to the primitive Inſtitution, and would have us reenter Paradiſe againſt the Sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the Place in *Geneſis* contains the Deſcription of a fit and perfect Marriage, with an Interdict of ever Divorcing ſuch a Union; but where Nature is diſcover'd to have never joyn'd indeed, but vehemently ſeeks to part, it cannot be there conceived that God forbids it, nay he commands it both in the Law and in the Prophet *Malachy*, which is to be our Rule. And *Perkins* upon this Chapter of *Matthew* deals plainly, that our Saviour here confutes not *Moſes*'s Law, but the falſe Gloſſes that deprav'd the Law; which being true, *Perkins* muſt needs Grant, that ſomthing then is left to that Law which Chriſt found no fault with; and what can that be but the Conſcionable Uſe of ſuch Liberty as the plain Words import? So that by his own

own Inference, Chriſt did not abſolutely intend to reſtrain all Divorces, to the only Cauſe of Adultery. This therefore is the true Scope of our Saviours Will, that he who looks upon the Law concerning Divorce, ſhould alſo look back upon the Inſtitution, that he may endeavour what is perfecteſt: And he that looks upon the Inſtitution, ſhall not refuſe as ſinful and unlawful thoſe Allowances which God affords him in his following Law, leſt he make himſelf Purer then his Maker, and preſuming above Strength, ſlip into Temptations irrecoverably. For this is wonderful, that in all thoſe Decrees concerning Marriage, God ſhould never once mention the prime Inſtitution to Diſſuade them from Divorcing, and that he ſhould forbid ſmaller Sins, as oppoſite to the hardneſs of their Hearts, and let this Adulterous Matter of Divorce paſs ever unreproved.

This is alſo to be marvelled, that ſeing Chriſt did not condemn whatever it was that *Moſes* ſuffered, and that thereupon the Chriſtian Magiſtrate permits Uſury and open Stews, and here with us Adultery to be ſo ſlightly Puniſhed, which was publiſhed by Death to theſe hard Hearted *Jews*, why we ſhould ſtrain thus at the Matter of Divorce, which may ſtand ſo much with Charity to permit, and make no ſcruple to allow Uſury eſteem'd to be ſo much againſt Charity. But this it is to embroyl our Selves againſt the Righteous, and all-wiſe Judgments and Statutes of God; which are not Variable and Contrarious, as we would make them, one while Permitting and another while Forbidding, but are moſt Conſtant and moſt Harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majeſtick Law of God, bearing in her Hand the Wages of Life and Death, harbour ſuch a Repugnance within her ſelf as to require an unexempted and impartial Obedience to all her Decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debaſe her ſelf to faulter ſo many Ages with circumcis'd Adulteries by unclean and ſlubbering Permiſſions.

CHAP. XIV.

That Beza's *Opinion of regulating Sin by Apoſtolick Law cannot be ſound.*

YET *Beza*'s Opinion is, that a politick Law (but what politick Law I know not, unleſs one of *Machiavel*'s) may regulate Sin; may here indeed, I grant with Imperfection for a time, as thoſe Canons of the Apoſtles did in Ceremonial Things: But as for Sin, the Eſſence of it cannot conſiſt with Rule; and if the Law fail to regulate Sin, and not to take it utterly away, it neceſſarily confirms and eſtabliſhes Sin. To make a regularity of Sin by Law, either the Law muſt ſtreighten Sin into no Sin, or Sin muſt crook the Law into no Law. The Judicial Law can ſerve to no other end then to be the Protector and Champion of Religion and honeſt Civility, as is ſet down plainly *Rom.* 13. and is but the Arm of Moral Law, which can no more be ſeparate from Juſtice then Juſtice from Vertue. Their Office alſo in a different manner ſteers the ſame Courſe; the one teaches what is good by Precept, the other unteaches what is bad by Puniſhment. But if we give way to politick Diſpenſations of lewd uncleanneſs, the firſt good Conſequence of ſuch a Relax will be the juſtifying of Papal Stews, joyn'd with a Toleration of Epidemick Whoredom. Juſtice muſt revolt from the end of her Authority, and become the Patron of that whereof ſhe was created the Puniſher. The example of Uſury, which is commonly alleged, makes againſt the Allegation which it brings, as I touch'd before. Beſides that Uſury, ſo much as is permitted by the Magiſtrate, and demanded with common Equity, is neither againſt the Word of God, nor the Rule of Charity, as hath been often diſcuſs'd by Men of eminent Learning and Judgment. There muſt be therefore ſome other Example found out to ſhew us wherein Civil Policy may with Warrant from God ſettle Wickedneſs by Law, and

make

make that Lawful which is Lawleſs. Although I doubt not but upon deeper Conſideration, that which is true in Phyſick will be found as true in Policy, that as of bad Pulſes thoſe that beat moſt in order are much worſe than thoſe that keep the moſt inordinate Circuit, ſo of Popular Vices thoſe that may be committed legally, will be more pernicious than thoſe that are left to their own courſe at Peril, not under a ſtinted Privilege to ſin orderly and regularly, which is an implicite Contradiction, but under due and fearleſs Execution of Puniſhment.

The Political Law, ſince it cannot regulate Vice, is to reſtrain it by uſing all means to root it out. But if it ſuffer the weed to grow up to any pleaſurable or contented height upon what Pretext ſoever, it faſtens the root, it prunes and dreſſes Vice, as if it were a good Plant. Let no Man doubt therefore to affirm, that it is not ſo hurtful or diſhonourable to a Commonwealth, nor ſo much to the hardening of hearts, when thoſe worſe Faults pretended to be fear'd are committed, by who ſo dares under ſtrict and executed Penalty, as when thoſe leſs Faults tolerated for fear of greater harden their Faces, not their Hearts only, under the Protection of publick Authority. For what leſs Indignity were this, then as if Juſtice Her ſelf, the Queen of Vertues (deſcending from her Sceptred Royalty) inſtead of conquering ſhould compound and treat with Sin, her eternal Adverſary and Rebel, upon ignoble Terms? Or as if the Judicial Law were like that untruſty Steward in the Goſpel, and inſtead of calling in the Debts of his moral Maſter, ſhould give out ſubtile and ſly Acquittances to keep himſelf from begging? Or let us Perſon him like ſome wretched itinerary Judge, who to gratifie his Delinquents before him, would let them baſely break his Head, leaſt they ſhould pull him from the Bench, and throw him over the Bar. Unleſs we had rather think both Moral and Judicial full of Malice and deadly Purpoſe conſpir'd to let the Debtor *Iſraelite*, the Seed of *Abraham*, run on upon a Bankrupt Score, flattered with inſufficient and enſnaring Diſcharges, that ſo he might be haled to a more cruel Forfeit for all the indulgent Arrears, which thoſe Judicial Acquitments had engaged him in. No, no, this cannot be that the Law, whoſe Integrity and Faithfulneſs is next to God, ſhould be either the ſhameleſs Broker of our Impunities, or the intended Inſtrument of our Deſtruction. The Method of holy Correction, ſuch as became the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, is not to bribe Sin with Sin, to capitulate and hire out one Crime with another; but with more noble and graceful Severity then *Popilius* the *Roman* Legate uſed with *Antiochus*, to limit and level out the direct way from Vice to Vertue, with ſtreighteſt and exacteſt Lines on either ſide, not winding nor indenting ſo much as to the right hand of fair Pretences. Violence indeed and Inſurrection may force the Law to ſuffer what it cannot mend; but to write a Decree in Allowance of Sin, as ſoon can the hand of Juſtice rot off. Let this be ever concluded as a Truth, that will out-live the Faith of thoſe that ſeek to bear it down.

CHAP. XV.

That Divorce was not given for Wives only, as Beza *and* Paræus *write. More of the Inſtitution.*

LAſtly, if Divorce were granted, as *Beza* and others ſay, not for Men, but to releaſe afflicted Wives; certainly it is not only a Diſpenſation, but a moſt merciful Law, and why it ſhould not yet be in force, being wholly needful, I know not what can be in cauſe but ſenſleſs Cruelty. But yet to ſay, Divorce was granted for relief of Wives rather then of Husbands, is but weakly conjectur'd, and is manifeſtly the extreme ſhift of a huddled Expoſition. Whenas it could not be found how hardneſs of heart ſhould be leſſen'd by Liberty of Divorce, a fancy was devis'd to hide the flaw by commenting, that Divorce was permitted only for the

the help of Wives. Palpably Uxorious! Who can be Ignorant that Woman was Created for Man, and not Man for Woman; and that a Husband may be injur'd as inſufferably in Marriage as a Wife? What an injury is it after Wedlock not to be belov'd, what to be ſlighted, what to be contented with in point of Houſe Rule who ſhall be the head, not for any parity of Wiſdom, for that were ſomething reaſonable, but out of a Female Pride? *I ſuffer not*, ſaith S. *Paul, the Woman to uſurp Authority over the Man.* If the Apoſtle could not ſuffer it into what Mould is he mortified that can? *Solomon* ſaith, *That a bad Wife is to her Husband as rottenneſs to his Bones, a continual dropping. Better dwell in the Corner of the Houſe top, or in the wilderneſs*, then with ſuch a one. *Whoſo hideth her hideth the Wind, and one of the four miſchiefs that the earth cannot bear.* If the Spirit of God wrote ſuch Aggravations as theſe, and (as may be gueſt by theſe Similitudes) counſels the Man rather to Divorce than to live with ſuch a Collegue; and yet on the other ſide expreſſes nothing of the Wives Suffering with a bad Husband. Is it not moſt likely, that God in his Law had more Pitty towards Man thus wedlock'd, than towards the Woman that was created for another? The ſame Spirit relates to us the courſe which the *Medes* and *Perſians* took by occaſion of *Vaſhti*, whoſe meer denyal to come at her Husband's ſending loſt her the being Queen any longer, and ſet up a wholeſom Law, *that every Man ſhould bear rule in his own houſe.* And the Divine Relater ſhews us not the leaſt Sign of diſliking what was done; how ſhould he, if *Moſes* long before was nothing leſs mindful of the Honour and Pre-eminence due to Man. So that to ſay Divorce was granted for Woman rather than Man, was but fondly invented. Eſteeming therefore to have aſſerted thus an injur'd Law of *Moſes* from the unwarranted and guilty Name of a Diſpenſation, to be again a moſt equal and requiſite Law, we have the Word of Chriſt himſelf, that he came not to alter the leaſt Tittle of it; and ſignifies no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt him that ſhall teach to do ſo. On which relying I ſhall not much waver to affirm, that thoſe Words which are made to intimate, as if they forbad all Divorce but for Adultery (tho *Moſes* have conſtituted otherwiſe) thoſe Words taken circumſcriptly, without regard to any precedent Law of *Moſes*, or Atteſtation of *Chriſt* himſelf, or without Care to preſerve thoſe his fundamental and ſuperiour Laws of Nature and Charity, to which all other Ordinances give up their Seal, are as much againſt plain Equity and the Mercy of Religion, as thoſe Words of *Take, eat, this is my Body*, elementally underſtood, are againſt Nature and Senſe.

And ſurely the reſtoring of this degraded Law hath well recompens'd the diligence that was uſed by enlightening us further to find out, wherefore Chriſt took off the Phariſees from alleging the Law, and referr'd them to the firſt Inſtitution, not condemning, altering, or aboliſhing this Precept of Divorce, which is plainly Moral, for that were againſt his Truth, his Promiſe, and his Prophetick Office; but knowing how fallaciouſly they had cited and conceal'd the particular and natural Reaſon of the Law, that they might juſtifie any froward Reaſon of their own, he lets go that Sophiſtry unconvinc'd, for that had been to teach them elſe, which his purpoſe was not. And ſince they had taken Liberty which the Law gave not, he Amuſes and Repels their Tempting Pride with a Perfection of Paradiſe, which the Law requir'd not; not thereby to oblige our performance to that whereto the Law never enjoyn'd the fallen Eſtate of Man; for if the firſt Inſtitution muſt make Wedlock whatever happen, inſeparable to us, it muſt make it alſo as perfect as meetly helpful, and as comfortable as God promis'd it ſhould be, at leaſt in ſome Degree; otherwiſe it is not equal or proportionable to the Strength of Man, that he ſhould be reduc'd into ſuch indiſſoluble Bonds to his aſſured Miſery, if all the other Conditions of that Covenant be manifeſtly alter'd.

CHAP. XVI.

How to be underſtood, that they muſt be one Fleſh: And how that thoſe whom God hath joyn'd Man ſhould not ſunder.

NExt he ſaith, *they muſt be one fleſh*, which when all Conjecturing is done, will be found to import no more but to make Legitimate and Good the Carnal Act, which elſe might ſeem to have ſomething of Pollution in it; and infers thus much over, that the fit Union of their Souls by ſuch as may even incorporate them to love and amity: But that can never be where no Correſpondent is of the Mind; nay inſtead of being one fleſh, they will be rather two Carcaſes chain'd unnaturally together; or, as it may happen, a living Soul bound to a dead Corps, a Puniſhment too like that inflicted by the Tyrant *Mezentius*, ſo little worthy to be received as that remedy of lonelineſs which God meant us. Since we know it is not the joyning of another Body will remove Lonelineſs, but the uniting of another compliable Mind, and that it is no Bleſſing but a Torment, nay a baſe and brutiſh Condition to be one fleſh, unleſs where a Nature can in ſome Nature fix an Unity of Diſpoſition. The meaning there of theſe Words, *For this cauſe ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife*, was firſt to ſhew us the dear Affection which Naturally grows in every not unnatural Marriage, even to the leaving of Parents, or other Familiarity whatſoever. Next, it juſtifies a Man in ſo doing, that nothing is done undutifully to Father or Mother. But he that ſhould be here ſternly commanded to cleave to his Error, a diſpoſition which to his he finds will never cement a quotidian of ſorrow and diſcontent in his houſe, let us be excus'd to pauſe a little, and bethink us every way round ere we lay ſuch a flat Soleciſm upon the gracious, and certainly not in inexorable, not ruſhleſs and flinty Ordinance of Marriage. For in the meaning of theſe Words muſt be thus block'd up within their own Letters from all Equity and fair Deduction, they will ſerve then well indeed their turn, who affirm Divorce to have been granted only for Wives; whenas we ſee no Word of this Text binds Women, but Men only, what it binds. No Marvel then if *Salomith* (Siſter to *Herod*) ſent a Writ of Eaſe to *Caſtobarus* her Husband. which (as *Joſephus* there atteſts) was Lawful only to Men. No Marvel though *Placidia* the Siſter of *Honorius* threatned the like to Earl *Conſtantius* for a trivial Cauſe, as *Photius* relates from *Olympiodorus*. No Marvel any thing if Letters muſt be turn'd into Paliſadoes, to ſtake out all requiſite Senſe from entring to their due Enlargement.

Laſtly, Chriſt himſelf tells who ſhould not be put aſunder, Namely, thoſe whom God hath Joyn'd. A plain Solution of this great Controverſie, if Men would but uſe their eyes; for when is it that God may be ſaid to joyn, when the Parties and their Frierids conſent? No ſurely, for that may concur to lewdeſt ends. Or is it when Churches Rites are finiſh'd? Neither; for the Efficacy of thoſe depends upon the preſuppoſed fitneſs of either Party. Perhaps after Carnal Knowledge? Leaſt of All; for that may joyn Perſons whom neither Law nor Nature dares joyn: 'tis left, that only then when the Minds are fitly diſpoſed and enabled to maintain a chearful Converſation, to the Solace and Love of each other, according as God intended and promiſed in the very firſt Foundation of Matrimony, *I will make him a Help Meet for him*; for ſurely what God intended and promiſed, that only can be thought to be his joyning, and not the contrary. So likewiſe the Apoſtle witneſſeth 1 *Cor.* 7. 15. that in Marriage *God hath called us to Peace*. And doubtleſs in what reſpect he hath call'd

call'd us to Marriage, in that alſo he hath joyned us. The reſt, whom either diſpropertion or deadneſs of Spirit, or ſomething diſtaſteful and averſe in the immutable Bent of Nature renders conjugal, Error may have joyn'd, but God never joyn'd againſt the meaning of his own Ordinance. And if he joyn'd them not, then is there no Power above their own conſent to hinder them from unjoyning, when they cannot reap the ſobereſt ends of being together in any tolerable ſort. Neither can it be ſaid properly, that ſuch twain were ever Divors'd, but only parted from each other, as twoPerſons unconjunctive and unmarriable together. But if,whom God hath made a fit help, Frowardneſs or private Injuries hath made unfit; that being the ſecret of Marriage God can better judge then Man, neither is Man indeed fit or able to decide this Matter: However it be, undoubtedly a peaceful Divorce is a leſs Evil, and leſs in Scandal than a hateful hardhearted and deſtructiveContinuance of Marriage in the Judgment of *Moſes* and of Chriſt, that juſtifies him in chuſing the leſs Evil,which if it were an Honeſt and Civil Prudence in the Law, what is there in the Goſpel forbidding ſuch a kind of Legal Wiſdom, though we ſhould admit the common Expoſitors?

CHAP. XVII.

The Sentence of Chriſt concerning Divorce how to be expounded. What Grotius *hath obſerved. Other Additions.*

HAving thus unfolded thoſe ambiguous Reaſons, wherewith Chriſt (as his wont was) gave to the Phariſees that came to ſound him ſuch an Anſwer as they deſerv'd, it will not be uneaſie to explain the Sentence it ſelf now that follows, *Whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife, except it be for fornication, and ſhall Marry another, committeth Adultery*, *Firſt*, therefore I will ſet down what is obſerv'd by*Grotius* upon this point,a Man of general Learning.Next I produce what mine own thoughts gave me before I had ſeen his Annotations. *Origen*, ſaith he, notes that Chriſt nam'd Adultery rather as one Example of other like caſes, then as one only exception. And that it is frequent not only in Human but in Divine Laws, to expreſs one kind of Fact, whereby other cauſes of like Nature may have the like Plea, as *Exod.* 21. 18, 19, 20, 26. *Deut.* 19. 5. And from the Maxims of Civil Law he ſhews, that even in ſharpeſt Penal Laws the ſame reaſon hath the ſame Right; and in genteler Laws, that from likeCauſes to like, the Law interprets rightly.But it may be objected,ſaith he,that nothing deſtroys the end of Wedlock ſo much as Adultery. To which he Anſwers, that Marriage was not ordain'd only for Copulation,but for mutual help and comfort of Life: And if we mark diligently the Nature of our Saviours Commands, we ſhall find that both their beginning and their end conſiſts in Charity; whoſe Will is that we ſhould be ſo good to others, as that we be not cruel to our ſelves. And hence it appears why *Mark* and *Luke*, and S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, mentioning this Precept of Chriſt add no exception: Becauſe exceptions that ariſe from NaturalEquity are included ſilently under general Terms: It would be conſider'd therefore whether the ſame equity may not have place in other caſes leſs frequent. Thus far he. From hence is what I add: Firſt, that this Saying of Chriſt, as it is uſually expounded, can be no Law at all, that a Man for no Cauſe ſhould ſeparate but for Adultery, except it be a ſupernatural Law, not binding us as we are had it been the Law of Nature, either the *Jews*, or ſome other Wiſe and Civil Nation would have preſs'd it: Or let it be ſo, yet that Law, *Deut.* 24. 1. Whereby a Man hath leave to part, whenas for juſt and natural Cauſe diſcover'd he cannot love, is a Law ancienter and deeper ingraven in blameleſs Nature then the other: Therefore the inſpired Lawgiver *Moſes* took care

that this ſhould be ſpecified and allowed: The other he let vaniſh in ſilence, not once repeated in the Volum of his Law, even as the reaſon of it vaniſh'd with Paradiſe. *Secondly*, this can be no new Command, for the Goſpel enjoys no new Morality, ſave only the infinite Enlargement of Charity, which in this reſpect is called the *new Commandment* by S. *John*, as being the Accompliſhment of every Command. *Thirdly*, it is no Command of Perfection further then it partakes of Charity, which is *the Bond of Perfection*. Thoſe Commands therefore which compel us to ſelf Cruelty above our ſtrength, ſo hardly will help forward to Perfection, that they hinder and ſet backward in all the common Rudiments of Chriſtianity, as was prov'd. It being thus clear, that the Words of Chriſt can be no kind of Command as they are vulgarly taken, we ſhall now ſee in what Senſe they may be a Command, and that an excellent one, the ſame with that of *Moſes*, and no other. *Moſes* had granted that only for a Natural Annoyance, Defect, or Diſlike, whether in Body or Mind (for ſo the *Hebrew* words plainly note) which a Man could not force himſelf to live with, he might give a Bill of Divorce, thereby forbidding any other Cauſe wherein Amendment or Reconciliation might have Place. This Law the Phariſees depraving extended to any Slight contentious Cauſe whatſoever. Chriſt therefore ſeing where they halted urges the negative Part of that Law, which is neceſſarily underſtood (for the determinate Permiſſion of *Moſes* binds them from further Licence) and checking their ſupercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconcileable Offence (except Fornication) can juſtifie a Divorce. He touches not here thoſe Natural and Perpetual Hinderances of Society, whether in Body or Mind, which are not to be remov'd; for ſuch as they are apteſt to cauſe an unchangeable Offence, ſo are they not capable of Reconcilement becauſe not of Amendment: They do not break indeed, but they annihilate the Bands of Marriage more then Adultery. For that Fault committed argues not always a hatred either Natural or Incidental againſt whom it is committed; neither does it infer a diſability of future Helpfulneſs, or Loyalty, or loving Agreement, being once paſt and pardon'd, where it can be pardon'd: But that which Naturally diſtaſtes, and *finds no Favour in the Eyes* of Matrimony, can never be conceal'd, never appeas'd, never intermitted, but proves a perpetual Nullity of Love and Contentment, a Solitude and dead Vacation of all acceptable Converſing. *Moſes* therefore permits Divorce, but in caſes only that have no hands to joyn, and more need Separating then Adultery. Chriſt forbids it, but in Matters only that may accord, and thoſe leſs then Fornication. Thus is *Moſes*'s Law here plainly confirm'd, and thoſe Cauſes which he permitted not a jot gainſaid. And that this is the true Meaning of this Place I prove by no other Author then S. *Paul* himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. upon which Text Interpreters agree, that the Apoſtle only repeats the Precept of Chriſt: Where while he ſpeaks of *the Wifes Reconcilement to her Husband*, he puts it out of Controverſie, that our Saviour meant chiefly Matters of ſtriſe and reconcilement; of which ſort he would not that any difference ſhould be the occaſion of Divorce, except Fornication. And that we may learn better how to value a grave and prudent Law of *Moſes*, and how unadviſedly we ſmatter with our Lips, when we talk of Chriſts aboliſhing any Judicial Law of his great Father, except in ſome Circumſtances which are Judaical rather then Judicial, and need no aboliſhing, but ceaſe of themſelves: I ſay again, that this recited Law of *Moſes* contains a Cauſe of Divorce greater beyond Compare then that for Adultery; and whoſo cannot ſo conceive it, errs and wrongs exceedingly a Law of deep Wiſdom for want of well Fadoming. For let him mark, no Man urges the juſt divorcing of Adultery as it is a Sin, but as it is an Injury to Marriage; and though it be but once committed, and that without

Malice,

Malice, whether through Importunity or Opportunity, the Goſpel does not therefore diſſuade him who would therefore Divorce; but that Natural Hatred, whenever it ariſes, is a greater Evil in Marriage then the Accident of Adultery, a greater Defrauding, a greater Injuſtice, and yet not Blameable, he who underſtands not after all this Repreſenting, I doubt, his Will like a hard Spleen draws faſter then his Underſtanding can well ſanguifie. Nor did that Man ever know or feel what it is to Love truly, nor ever yet comprehend in his thoughts what the true Intent of Marriage is. And this alſo will be ſomewhat above his Reach, but yet no leſs a Truth for lack of his Perſpective, that as no Man apprehends what Vice is ſo well as he who is truly Vertuous, no Man knows Hell like him who converſes moſt in Heaven, ſo there is none that can eſtimate the Evil and the Affliction of a Natural Hatred in Matrimony, unleſs he have a Soul gentle enough and ſpacious enough to contemplate what is true Love.

And the Reaſon, why Men ſo diſeſteem this Wiſe Judging Law of God, and count Hate, or *the not finding of Favour*, as it is there term'd, a Humorous, a Diſhoneſt, and Slight Cauſe of Divorce, is becauſe themſelves apprehend ſo little of what true Concord means: For if they did, they would be juſter in their balancing between Natural Hatred and Caſual Adultery; this being but a Tranſient Injury, and ſoon amended, I mean as to the Party againſt whom the Treſpaſs is: But that other being an unſpeakable and unremitting Sorrow and Offence, whereof no Amends can be made, no Cure, no ceaſing but by Divorce, which like a Divine Touch in one Moment heals all, and (like the Word of God) in one inſtant huſhes outrageous Tempeſts into a ſudden Stilneſs and Peaceful Calm. Yet all this ſo great a Good of Gods own enlarging to us, is by the hard Reins of them that ſit us, wholly diverted and imbezell'd from us. Maligners of Mankind! But who hath taught you to mangle thus, and make more gaſhes in the Miſeries of a blameleſs Creature, with the leaden Daggers of your literal Decrees, to whoſe Eaſe you cannot add the Tithe of one ſmall Atom, but by letting alone your unhelpful Surgery. As for ſuch as think wandring Concupiſcence to be here newly and more preciſely forbidden then it was before, if the Apoſtle can convince them; we know, that we are to *know Luſt by the Law*, and not by any new Diſcovery of the Law. The Law of *Moſes* knew what it Permitted, and the Goſpel knew what it Forbid; he that under a peeviſh Conceit of debarring Concupiſcence ſhall go about to make a Novice of *Moſes* (not to ſay a worſe thing for Reverence ſake) and ſuch a one of God himſelf, as is a horror to think, to bind our Saviour in the default of a downright Promiſe Breaking, and to bind the Diſunions of complaining Nature in Chains together, and curb them with a Canon bit; 'tis he that commits all the Whoredom and Adultery, which himſelf adjudges, beſides the former Guilt ſo manifold that lies upon him. And if none of theſe Conſiderations with all their weight and gravity can avail to the Diſpoſſeſſing him of his precious Literaliſm, let ſome-one or other intreat him but to read on in the ſame 19 of *Matth.* till he come to that Place that ſays, *Some make themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake.* And if then he pleaſe to make uſe of *Origens* Knife, he may do well to be his own Carver.

CHAP. XVIII.

Whether the Word of our Saviour be rightly Expounded only of actual Fornication to be the cauſe of Divorce. The Opinion of Grotius, *with other Reaſons.*

BUT becauſe we know that Chriſt never gave a Judicial Law, and that the Word *Fornication* is variouſly Significant in Scripture, it will

be much right done to our Saviours Words, to conſider diligently, whether it be meant here, that nothing but actual Fornication prov'd by Witneſs can Warrant a Divorce, for ſo our Canon Law judges. Nevertheleſs, as I find that *Grotius* on this Place, hath obſerv'd the Chriſtian Emperours, *Theodoſius* the *Second*, and *Juſtinian*, Men of high Wiſdom and reputed Piety, decreed it to be a Divorcive Fornication, if the Wife attempted either againſt the Knowledge, or obſtinately againſt the Will of her Husband, ſuch things as gave open Suſpitions of Adulterizing, as the wilful haunting of Feaſts, and Invitations with Men not of her near Kindred, the lying forth of her Houſe without probable Cauſe, the frequenting of Theatres againſt her Husbands Mind, her endeavour to Prevent or Deſtroy Conception. Hence that of *Jerom*, *Where Fornication is ſuſpected the Wife may lawfully be divorc'd*; not that every Motion of a Jealous Mind ſhould be regarded, but that it ſhould not be exacted to prove all things by a Viſibility of Law Witneſſing, or elſe to Hoodwink the Mind: For the Law is not able to Judge of theſe Things but by the Rule of Equity, and by permitting a Wiſe Man to walk the middle way of Prudent Circumſpection, neither wretchedly Jealous, not ſtupidly and tamely Patient. To this Purpoſe hath *Grotius* in his Notes. He ſhews alſo, that Fornication is taken in Scripture for ſuch a continual, headſtrong Behaviour, as tends to plain Contempt of the Husband, and Proves out of *Judges* 19. 2. where the *Levites* Wife is ſaid to have plaid the Whore againſt him; which *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint*, with the *Chaldean*, interpret only of Stubbornneſs and Rebellion againſt her Husband: And to this I add, that *Kimchi* and the two other Rabbies who gloſs the Text, are in the ſame Opinion. *Ben. Gerſom* Reaſons, that had it been Whoredom, a *Jew* and a *Levite* would have diſdain'd to fetch her again. And this I ſhall contribute, that had it been Whoredom, ſhe would have choſen any other Place to run to, then to her Fathers Houſe, it being ſo Infamons for an *Hebrew* Woman to play the Harlot, and ſo Opprobrious to the Parents. Fornication then in this Place of the *Judges* is underſtood for Stubborn Diſobedience againſt the Husband, and not for Adultery. A Sin of that ſudden Activity as to be already committed, when no more is done, but only lookt Unchaſtely: Which yet I would be loth to Judge whorthy a Divorce, though in our Saviours Language it be called Adultery. Nevertheleſs, when palpable and frequent Signs are given, the Law of God, *Num.* 5. ſo far gave way to the Jealouſie of a Man, as that the Woman ſet before the Sanctuary with her Head uncovered, was adjur'd by the Prieſt to ſwear whether ſhe were Falſe or no, and conſtrain'd to drink that *bitter Water* with an undoubted *Curſe of Rottenneſs and Tympany* to follow, unleſs ſhe were Innocent. And the Jealous Man had not been Guiltleſs before God, as ſeems by the laſt *verſe*, if having ſuch a Suſpition in his Head, he ſhould neglect his Trial; which if to this day it be not to be us'd, or be thought as uncertain of Effect as our Antiquated Law of *Ordalium*, yet all Equity will Judge, that many Adulterous Demeanours, which are of lewd Suſpition and Example, may be held ſufficient to incur a Divorce, though the Act it ſelf hath not been prov'd. And ſeing the Generoſity of our Nation is ſo, as to account no Reproach more Abominable, then to be nicknam'd the Husband of an Adultereſs, that our Law ſhould not be as ample as the Law of God to vindicate a Man from that Ignoble Sufferance, is our barbarous Unskilfulneſs, not conſidering, that the Law ſhould be exaſperated according to our eſtimation of the Injury. And if it muſt be ſuffer'd till the Act be viſibly Prov'd, *Solomon* himſelf, whoſe Judgment will be granted to ſurpaſs the Acuteneſs of any Canoniſt, confeſſes, *Prov.* 30. 19, 20. that for the Act of Adultery it is as difficult to be found as the *Track of an Eagle in the Air, or the Way of a Ship in the Sea*; ſo that a Man may be put to unmanly Indignities

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'ere it be found out. This therefore may be enough to inform us, that Divorcive Adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmoſt Act, and that to be atteſted always by Eye Witneſs, but may be extended alſo to divers obvious Actions, which either plainly lead to Adultery, or give ſuch Preſumption whereby ſenſible Men may ſuſpect the Deed to be already done. And this the rather may be thought, in that our Saviour choſe to uſe the Word *Fornication*, which Word is found to ſignifie other Matrimonial Tranſgreſſions of main Breach to that Covenant, beſides actual Adultery. For that Sin needed not the riddance of Divorce, but of Death by the Law, which was active even till then, by the Example of the Woman taken in Adultery; or if the Law had been dormant, our Saviour was more likely to have told them of their Neglect, then to have let a capital Crime ſilently ſcape into a Divorce: Or if it be ſaid, his buſineſs was not to tell them what was Criminal in the Civil Courts, but what was Sinful at the Bar of Conſcience, how dare they then, having no other Ground then theſe our Saviours Words, draw that into Trial of Law, which both *Moſes* and our Saviour have left to the Juriſdiction of Conſcience? But we take from our Saviour, ſay they, only that it was Adultery, and our Law of it ſelf applies the Puniſhment. But by their leave that ſo argue, the great Lawgiver of all the World, who knew beſt what was Adultery both to the *Jew* and to the *Gentile*, appointed no ſuch applying, and never likes when Mortal Men will be vainly preſuming to outſtrip his Juſtice.

CHAP. XIX.

Chriſt's manner of Teaching. St. Paul *adds to this Matter of Divorce without Command to ſhew the Matter to be of Equity, not of Rigour. That the Bondage of a Chriſtian may be as much, and in Peace as little, in ſome other Marriages beſides Idolatrous. If thoſe Arguments therefore be good in that one Caſe, why not in thoſe other. Therefore the Apoſtle himſelf adds* ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ.

THus at length we ſee both by this and by other Places, that there is ſcarce any one Saying in the Goſpel but muſt be read with Limitations and Diſtinctions to be rightly underſtood; for Chriſt gives no full Comments or continued Diſcourſes, but (as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician Phraſes it) ſpeaks oft in Monoſyllables, like a Maſter ſcattering the heavenly Grain of his Doctrine, like Pearls here and there, which requires a skilful and laborious Gatherer, who muſt compare the Words he finds with other Precepts, with the end of every Ordinance, and with the general Analogy of Evangelick Doctrine: Otherwiſe many particular Sayings would be but one Repugnant Riddle, and the Church would offend in granting Divorce for Frigidity, which is not here accepted with Adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly which gave Reaſon to St. *Paul* of his own Authority as he Profeſſes, and without Command from the Lord, to enlarge the ſeeming Conſtruction of thoſe Places in the Goſpel, by adding a Caſe wherein a Perſon deſerted, which is ſomething leſs then Divors'd, may lawfully Marry again. And having declar'd his Opinion in one Caſe, he leaves a further Liberty for Chriſtian Prudence to determine in Caſes of like Importance, uſing Words ſo Plain, as are not to be ſhifted off, *that a Brother or a Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes*, adding alſo, that *God hath called us to Peace* in Marriage.

Now if it be Plain, that a Chriſtian may be brought into unworthy *Bondage*, and his Religious *Peace* not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hinder'd in Wedlock by Miſyoking with a Diverſity of Nature as well as of Religion, the Reaſons of St. *Paul* cannot be made

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ſpecial to that one Caſe of Infidelity, but are of equal Moment to a Divorce, whereever Chriſtian Liberty and Peace are without fault equally obſtructed. That the Ordinance which God gave to our Comfort, may not be pinn'd upon us to our undeſerved Thraldom, to be coop'd up as it were in Mockery of Wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed Lonelineſs and Diſcontent, if nothing worſe enſue. There being nought elſe of Marriage left between ſuch, but a diſpleaſing and forc'd Remedy againſt the Sting of a Brute deſire: Which fleſhly accuſtoming, without the Souls union and commixture of Intellectual Delight, as it is rather a ſoiling then a fulfilling of Marriage Rites, ſo is it enough to abaſe the Mettle of a Generous Spirit, and ſinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of Endeavour in all his Actions, or (which is worſe) leaves him in a deſpairing plight of abject and hardned Thoughts: Which condition rather then a good Man ſhould fall into, a Man uſeful in the Service of God and Mankind, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us to Diſpenſe with the moſt ſacred Ordinance of his Worſhip, even for a bodily healing to diſpenſe with that holy and ſpeculative Reſt of Sabbath, much more then with the erroneous Obſervance of an ill knotted Marriage, for the ſuſtaining of an overcharged Faith and Perſeverance.

CHAP. XX.

The Meaning of S. Paul, *that* Charity believeth all things. *What is to be ſaid to the Licence which is vainly fear'd will grow hereby. What to thoſe who never have done preſcribing Patience in that caſe. The Papiſts moſt ſevere againſt Divorce, yet moſt eaſie to all Licence. Of all the Miſeries in Marriage God is to be clear'd, and the Faults to be laid on Mans unjuſt Laws.*

AND though bad Cauſes would take Licence by this Pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their Conſcience be it who ſhall ſo do. This was that hardneſs of Heart, and abuſe of a good Law, which *Moſes* was content to ſuffer, rather then good Men ſhould not have it at all to uſe needfully. And he who to run after one loſt ſheep left ninety nine of his own flock at random in the Wilderneſs, would little perplex his thoughts for the obduring of nine hundred and ninety ſuch as will daily take worſe Liberties, whether they have Permiſſion or not. To conclude, as without Charity God hath given no Commandment to Men, ſo without it neither can Men rightly believe any Commandment given. For every Act of true Faith, as well that whereby we believe the Law, as that whereby we endeavour the Law, is wrought in us by Charity, according to that in the Divine Hymn of *S. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 13. *Charity believeth all things*; not as if ſhe were ſo credulous, which is the Expoſition hitherto current, for that were a trivial Praiſe, but to teach us that Charity is the high Governeſs of our Belief, and that we cannot ſafely aſſent to any Precept written in the Bible, but as Charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the ſame Apoſtle to the *Ephe.* 4. 14, 15. where he tells us, that the way to get a ſure undoubted Knowledge of things, is to hold that for Truth which accords moſt with Charity. Whoſe unerring Guidance and Conduct having follow'd as a Loadſtar with all Diligence and Fidelity in this Queſtion, I truſt (through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favour'd me) to have done no every days work, in aſſerting after many Ages the Words of Chriſt with other Scriptures of great Concernment from burdenſome and remorſleſs Obſcurity, tangled with manifold Repugnances, to their native luſtre and conſent between each other; hereby alſo diſſolving tedious and *Gordian* Difficulties, which have hitherto moleſted the Church of God, and are now decided not with the Sword of *Alexander*, but with the immaculate Hands of Charity, to the unſpeakable Good of Chriſtendom. And let the extream Literaliſt ſit down now and revolve

volve whether this in all neceſſity be not the due Reſult of our Saviours Words; or if he perſiſt to be otherwiſe opinion'd, let him well adviſe, leaſt thinking to gripe faſt the Goſpel, he be found inſtead with the Cannon Law in his Fiſt: Whoſe boiſterous Edicts tyranizing the bleſſed Ordinance of Marriage into the Quality of a moſt unnatural and unchriſtianly yoke, have given the fleſh this advantage to hate it, and turn aſide, oft times unwillingly, to all diſſolute Uncleanneſs, even till Puniſhment it ſelf is weary and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading Luſts and uncontrolled Adulteries. Yet Men whoſe Creed is Cuſtom, I doubt not but will be ſtill endeavouring to hide the Sloth of their own timerous Capacities with this Pretext, that for all this 'tis better to endure with Patience and Silence this Affliction which God hath ſent. And I agree 'tis true, if this be exhorted and not enjoyn'd; but withal it will be wiſely done to be as ſure as may be, that what Mans Iniquity hath laid on be not imputed to Gods ſending, leaſt under the colour of an affected Patience we detain our ſelves at the Gulphs mouth of many hideous Temptations, not to be withſtood without proper Gifts, which (as *Perkins* well notes) God gives not ordinarily, no not to moſt earneſt Prayers. Therefore we pray, *Lead us not into Temptation*; a vain Prayer, if having led our ſelves thither we love to ſtay in that perillous Condition. God ſends Remedies as well as Evils, under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquit himſelf, is acceſſary to his own Ruin; nor will it excuſe him though he ſuffer through a ſluggiſh Fearfulneſs to ſearch throughly what is lawful, for fear of diſquieting of a ſecure Falſity of an old Opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piouſly ſaid, to him who would diſmiſs his Frigidity, bear your Tryal, take it, as if God would have you live this Life of Continence: If he exhort this I hear him as an Angel, though he ſpeak without Warrant; but if he would compel me, I know him for Satan. To him who Divorſes an Adultreſs Piety might ſay, Pardon her; you may ſhew much Mercy, you may win a Soul; yet the Law both of God and Man leaves it freely to him; for God loves not to plow out the heart of our endeavours with over hard and ſad Tasks. God delights not to make a Drudge of Vertue, whoſe Actions muſt be all elective and unconſtrained. Forc'd Vertue is as a Bolt overſhot, it goes neither forward nor backward, and does no good as it ſtands. Seeing therefore that neither Scripture nor Reaſon hath laid this unjuſt Auſterity upon Divorce, we may reſolve that nothing elſe hath wrought it but that Letter-bound Servility of the Canon Doctors, ſuppoſing Marriage to be a Sacrament, and out of the Art they have to lay unneceſſary Burdens upon all Men, to make a fair ſhew in the fleſhly Obſervance of Matrimony, though Peace and Love with all other conjugal Reſpects fare never ſo ill. And indeed the Papiſts, who are the ſtricteſt Forbidders of Divorce, are the eaſieſt Libertines to admit of groſſeſt Uncleanneſs; as if they had a Deſign by making Wedlock a ſupportleſs Yoke to violate it moſt, under colour of preſerving it moſt inviolable; and withal delighting (as their Myſtery is) to make Men the Day-labourers of their own Afflictions, as if there were ſuch a ſcarcity of Miſeries from abroad, that we ſhould be made to melt our choiceſt home Bleſſings, and coin them into Croſſes, for want whereby to hold Commerce with Patience. If any therefore who ſhall hap to read this Diſcourſe, hath been through Miſadventure ill engaged in this contracted Evil here complain'd of, and finds the Fits and Workings of a high Impatience frequently upon him, of all thoſe wild Words, which Men in Miſery think to eaſe themſelves by uttering, let him not open his Lips againſt the Providence of Heaven, or tax the ways of God and his Divine Truth: For they are equal, eaſie, and not burdenſom; nor do they ever croſs the juſt and reaſonable Deſires of Men, nor involve this our Portion of mortal Life into a neceſſity of Sadneſs and Malecontent, by Laws commanding over the unreducible Antipathies of Nature ſooner or later found, but allow us to remedy

medy and ſhake off thoſe Evils into which Human Error hath led us through the midſt of our beſt Intentions, and to ſupport our incident Extremities by that Authentick Precept of Sovereign Charity, whoſe grand Commiſſion is to do and to diſpoſe over all the Ordinances of God to Man, that Love and Truth may advance each other to everlaſting. While we literally ſuperſtitious through cuſtomary Faintneſs of Heart, not venturing to pierce with our free Thoughts into the full Latitude of Nature and Religion, abandon our ſelves to ſerve under the Tyranny of uſurp'd Opinions, ſuffering thoſe Ordinances which were alotted to our ſolace and reviving, to trample over us and hale us into a Multitude of Sorrows, which God never meant us. And where he ſets us in a fair Allowance of way, with honeſt Liberty and Prudence to our Guard, we never leave ſubtilizing and caſuiſting till we have ſtraitned and pared that liberal Path into a Razors Edge to walk on, between a Precipice of unneceſſary Miſchief on either ſide, and ſtarting at every falſe Alarm we do not know, which way to ſet a foot forward with Manly Confidence and Chriſtian Reſolution, through the confuſed Ringing in our Ears of Panick Scruples and Amazements.

CHAP. XXI.

That the Matter of Divorce is not to be try'd by Law, but by Conſcience, as many other Sins are. The Magiſtrate can only ſee that the Condition of Divorce be juſt and equal. The Opinion of Fagius, *and the reaſons of this Aſſertion.*

ANother Act of Papal Encroachment it was, to pluck the Power and Arbitrement of Divorce from the Maſter of the Family, into whoſe hands God and the Law of all Nations had put it, and Chriſt ſo left it preaching only to the Conſcience, and not Authorizing a Judicial Court to toſs about and divulge the unaccountable and ſecret Reaſon of diſaffections between Man and Wife, as a thing moſt improperly anſwerable to any ſuch kind of Tryal. But the Popes of *Rome* perceiving the great Revenue and high Authority it would give them even over Princes, to have the judging and deciding of ſuch a main conſequence in the Life of Man as was Divorce, wrought ſo upon the Superſtition of thoſe Ages, as to diveſt them of that Right which God from the Beginning had entruſted to the Husband: By which means they ſubjected that Antient and Naturally domeſtick Prerogative to an external and unbefitting Judicature. For although differences in Divorce about Dowries, Joyntures, and the like, beſides the puniſhing of Adultery, ought not to paſs without referring, if need be, to the Magiſtrate, yet that the abſolute and final hindering of Divorce cannot belong to any Civil or Earthly Power, againſt the Will and Conſent of both Parties, or of the Husband alone, ſome Reaſons will be here urg'd as ſhall not need to decline the Touch. But firſt I ſhall recite what hath been already yielded by others in favour of this Opinion. *Grotius* and many more agree, that notwithſtanding what Chriſt ſpake therein to the Conſcience, the Magiſtrate is not thereby enjoyn'd ought againſt the Preſervation of Civil Peace, of Equity, and of Convenience. Among theſe *Fagius* is moſt remarkable, and gives the ſame Liberty of Pronouncing Divorce to the Chriſtian Magiſtrate as the Moſaick had. *For whatever* (ſaith he) *Chriſt ſpake to the regenerate, the Judge hath to deal with the vulgar: If therefore any through hardneſs of heart will not be a tolerable Wife to her Husband, it will be lawful as well now as of old to paſs the Bill of Divorce, not by Private, but by Publick Authority. Nor doth Man ſeparate them then, but God by his Law of Divorce given by* Moſes. *What can hinder the Magiſtrate from ſo doing, to whoſe Government all outward things are ſubject, to ſeparate and remove from Perpetual Vexation and no ſmall danger, thoſe Bodies whoſe Minds are already ſeparate; it being his Office to procure peaceable and convenient Living in the Common-wealth; and being as certain*

tain alſo, that they ſo neceſſarily ſeparated cannot all receive a ſingle Life. And this I obſerve, that our Divines do generally comdemn ſeparation of bed and board, without the Liberty of Second Choice: If that therefore in ſome caſes be moſt purely neceſſary, as who ſo blockiſh to deny? Then is this alſo as needful. Thus far by others is already well ſtept, to inform us that Divorce is not a Matter of Law but of Charity: If there remain a Furlong yet to end the queſtion, theſe following Reaſons may ſerve to gain it with any Apprehenſion not too unlearned or too wayward. *Firſt*, becauſe oft times the Cauſes of ſeeking Divorce reſide ſo deeply in the radical and innocent Affections of Nature, as is not within the Dioceſe of Law to tamper with. Other Relations may aptly enough be held together by a Civil and Vertuous Love: But the Duties of Man and Wife are ſuch as are chiefly converſant in that Love, which is moſt antient and meerly Natural, whoſe two prime Statutes are to joyn it ſelf to that which is good, and acceptable, and friendly; and to turn aſide and depart from what is diſagreeable, diſpleaſing and unlike: Of the two, this latter is the ſtrongeſt, and moſt equal to be regarded; for although a Man may often be unjuſt in ſeeking that which he Loves, yet he can never be unjuſt or blameable in retiring from his endleſs Trouble and Diſtaſte, whenas his tarrying can redound to no true Content on either ſide. Hate is of all things the mightieſt divider, nay it is diviſion it ſelf. To couple Hatred therefore, though Wedlock try all her Golden Links, and borrow to her aid all the Iron Manacles and Fetters of Law, it does but ſeek to twiſt a Rope of Sand, which was a task they ſay that pos'd the Devil: And that ſluggiſt Fiend in Hell *Ocnus*, whom the Poems tells us of, brought his idle Cordage to as a good effect, which never ſerv'd to bind with, but to feed the Aſs that ſtood at his Elbow. And that the reſtrictive Law againſt Divorce attains as little to bind any thing truly in a diſjoynted Marriage, or to keep it bound, but ſerves only to feed the Ignorance and definitive Impertinence of a doltiſh Canon, were no abſurd Alluſion. To hinder therefore thoſe deep and ſerious Regreſſes of Nature in a reaſonable Soul parting from that miſtaken Help which he juſtly ſeeks in a Perſon created for him, recollecting himſelf from an unmeet help which was never meant, and to detain him by Compulſion in ſuch an unpredeſtined Miſery as this, is in a Diameter againſt both Nature and Inſtitution: But to interpoſe a Juriſdictive Power over the inward and irremediable Diſpoſition of Man, to command love and ſympathy, to forbid diſlike againſt the guiltleſs Inſtinct of Nature, is not within the Province of any Law to reach, and were indeed an uncommodious Rudeneſs, not a juſt Power: For that Law may barely with Nature, and traverſe her ſage Motions, was an Error in *Callicles* the Rhetorician, whom *Socrates* from high Principles confutes in *Plato*'s *Gorgias*. If therefore Divorce may be ſo natural, and that Law and Nature are not to go contrary; then to forbid Divorce compulſively, is not only againſt Nature, but againſt Law.

Next, It muſt be remembred, that all Law is for ſome Good, that may be frequently attain'd, without the admixture of a worſe Inconvenience; and therefore many groſs Faults, as Ingratitude and the like, which are too far within the Soul, to be cur'd by conſtraint of Law, are left only to be wrought on by Conſcience and Perſwaſion. Which made *Ariſtotle* in the 10th. of his *Ethicks* to *Nicomachus*, aim at a kind of Diviſion of Law into private or perſwaſive, and publick or compulſive. Hence it is that the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any Good end of ſuch Prohibition, but rather multiplies Evil. For if Natures reſiſtleſs ſway in Love or Hate be once compell'd, it grows careleſs of it ſelf, Vitious, Uſeleſs to Friends, Unſerviceable and Spiritleſs to the Common-wealth. Which *Moſes* rightly foreſaw, and all wiſe Lawgivers that ever knew Man, what kind of Creature he was. The Parliament alſo and Clergy of *England* were not Ignorant of this, when

they conſented, that *Henry* the 8th. might put away his Queen *Anne* of *Cleve*, whom he could not like after he had been wedded half a Year; unleſs it were that contrary to the Proverb, they made a Neceſſity of that which might have been a Vertue in them to do: For even the Freedom and Eminence of Mans Creation gives him to be a Law in this Matter to himſelf, being the Head of the other Sex which was made for him; whom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither ſhould he be forc'd to retain in Society to his own overthrow, nor to hear any Judge therein above himſelf. It being alſo an unſeemly Affront to the ſequeſtr'd and vail'd Modeſty of that Sex, to have her Unpleaſingneſs and other Concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by thoſe hired Maſters of Tongue-fence. Such uncomely Exigences it befel no leſs a Majeſty then *Henry* the VIII. to be reduc'd to, who finding juſt reaſon in his Conſcience to forego his Brothers Wife, after many Indignities of being deluded, and made a Boy of by thoſe two Cardinal Judges, was conſtrain'd at laſt for want of other Proof, that ſhe had been Carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, even to uncover the Nakedneſs of that Vertuous Lady, and to recite openly the obſcene Evidence of his Brothers Chamberlain. Yet it pleas'd God to make him ſee all the Tyranny of *Rome*, by diſcovering this which they exercis'd over Divorce, and to make him, the Beginner of a Reformation to this whole Kingdom, by firſt aſſerting into his *Familiary* Power the Right of juſt Divorce. 'Tis true, an Adultreſs cannot be ſham'd enough by any Publick Proceeding; but the Woman whoſe Honour is not impeach'd, is leſs injur'd by a ſilent diſmiſſion, being otherwiſe not liberally dealt with, then to endure a clamouring debate of utterleſs things, in a buſineſs of that civil Secrecy and difficult Diſcerning, as not to be over much queſtion'd by neareſt Friends. Which drew that Anſwer from the greateſt and worthieſt *Roman* of his time *Paulus Æmilius*, being demanded why he would put away his Wife for no viſible Reaſon, *This Shoo* (ſaid he, and held it out on his foot) *is a neat ſhoo, a new ſhoo, and yet none of you know where it wrings me*: Much leſs by the unfamiliar Cognizance of a fee'd Gameſter can ſuch a private difference be examin'd, neither ought it.

Again, if Law aim at the firm eſtabliſhment and preſervation of Matrimonial Faith, we know that cannot thrive under violent means, but is the more violated. Is it not when two unfortunately met are by the Canon forc'd to draw in that Yoke an unmerciful days work of Sorrow, till Death unharneſs 'em, that then the Law keeps Marriage moſt unviolated and unbroken? But when the Law takes order that Marriage be accounted and reſponſible to perform that Society, whether it be Religious, Civil, or Corporal, which may be conſcionably requir'd and claim'd therein, or elſe to be diſſolv'd, if it cannot be undergone. This is to make Marriage moſt indiſſoluble, by making it a juſt and equal Dealer, a Performer of thoſe due helps which inſtituted the Covenant, being otherwiſe a moſt unjuſt Contract, and no more to be maintain'd under Tuition of Law then the vileſt Fraud, or Cheat, or Theft, that may be committed. But becauſe this is ſuch a ſecret kind of Fraud or Theft, as cannot be diſcern'd by Law, but only by the Plaintiff himſelf; therefore to Divorce was never counted a Political or Civil Offence, neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor by any Judicial Intendment of Chriſt, further then could be diſcern'd to tranſgreſs the Allowance of *Moſes*, which was of neceſſity ſo large, that it doth all one as if it ſent back the Matter undeterminable at Law, and intractable by rough Dealing, to have Inſtructions and Admonitions beſtow'd about it by them whoſe Spiritual Office is to adjure and to denounce, and ſo left to the Conſcience. The Law can only appoint the juſt and equal Conditions of Divorce, and is to look how it is an Injury to the Divorc'd, which in truth it can be none, as a meer Separation; for if ſhe conſent, wherein has the Law to right her?

Or

or conſent not, then it is either juſt, and ſo deſerved; or if unjuſt, ſuch in all likelihood was the Divorcer, and to part from an unjuſt Man is a Happineſs, and no Injury to be lamented. But ſuppoſe it to be an Injury, the Law is not able to amend it, unleſs ſhe think it other then a miſerable Redreſs to return back from whence ſhe was expelled, or but intreated to be gone, or elſe to live apart ſtill married without Marriage, a married Widdow. *Laſt*, if it be to chaſten theDivorcer,what Law puniſhes a Deed which is not moral but natural,a Deed which cannot certainly be found to be anInjury? Or how can it be puniſhed by prohibiting theDivorce,but that the innocent muſt equally partake both in the Shame and in the Smart? So that which way ſoever we look the Law can to no rational Purpoſe forbid Divorce, it can only take care that the Conditions of Divorce be not injurious. Thus then we ſee the Trial of Law, how impertinent it is to this Queſtion of Divorce, how helpleſs next, and then how hurtful.

CHAP. XXII.

The laſt Reaſon why Divorce is not to be reſtrained in Law, it being againſt the Law of Nature and of Nations. The larger Proof whereof referred to Mr. Seldens *Book* De Jure Naturali & Gentium. *An Objection of* Paræus *anſwered. How it ought to be ordered by the Church. That this will not breed any worſe Inconvenience, nor ſo bad as is now ſuffered.*

THerefore the laſt Reaſon, why it ſhould not be, is, the Example we have, not only from the nobleſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths, guided by the cleareſt Light of human Knowledge, but alſo from the Divine Teſtimonies of God himſelf, lawgiving in Perſon to a Sanctified People. That all this is true, whoſo deſires to know at large with leaſt Pains,and expects not over long Rehearſals of that which is by others already ſo judiciouſly gathered, let him haſten to be Acquainted with that Noble Volum written by our Learned *Selden, Of the Law of Nature and Nations*, a Work more uſeful and more worthy to be perus'd, whoſoever ſtudies to be a great Man in Wiſdom, Equity and Juſtice, then all thoſe *Decretals and Sumleſs Sums*, which the *Pontifical Clerks* have doted on, ever ſince that unfortunate Mother famouſly ſinn'd thrice, and died Impenitent of her bringing into the World thoſe two misbegotten Infants, and for ever Infants, *Lombard* and *Gratian*, him the Compiler of Canon Iniquity, t'other the *Tubalcain* of Scholaſtick Sophiſtry, whoſe overſpreading Barbariſm hath not only infus'd their own Baſtardy upon the fruitfulleſt Part of human Learning, not only diſſipated and dejected the clear Light of Nature in us, and of Nations, but hath tainted alſo the Fountains of Divine Doctrins, and render'd the pure and ſolid Law of God unbeneficial to us by their Calumnious Dunceries. Yet this Law which their unskilfulneſs hath made liable to all Ignominy, the Purity and Wiſdom of this Law ſhall be the Buckler of our Diſpute. Liberty of Divorce we claim not, we think not but from this Law; theDignity, theFaith,the Authority thereof is now grown among Chriſtians, O Aſtoniſhment! A Labour of no mean Difficulty and Envy to defend. That it ſhould not be counted a ſaltring Diſpence, a flattering Permiſſion of Sin, the Bill of Adultery, a Snare, is the Expence of all this Apology. And all that we ſolicite is, that it may be ſuffered to ſtand in the Place where God ſet it amidſt the Firmament of his holy Laws

to ſhine, as it was wont, upon the Weakneſſes and Errors of Men, periſhing elſe in the ſincerity of their honeſt Purpoſes: For certain, there is no Memory of Whoredoms and Adulteries left among us now, when this warranted Freedom of Gods own giving is made Dangerous and Diſcarded for a Scrole of Licence. It muſt be your Suffrages and Votes, O *Engliſhmen*, that this exploded Decree of God and *Moſes* may ſcape and come off fair, without the Cenſure of a ſhameful Abrogating: Which, if yonder Sun ride ſure, and means not to break Word with us to Morrow, was never yet abrogated by our Saviour. Give Sentence, if you pleaſe, that the frivolous Canon may reverſe the infallible Judgment of *Moſes* and his great Director. Or, if it be the Reformed Writers, whoſe Doctrine perſuades this rather, their Reaſons I dare affirm are all ſilens'd, unleſs it be only this. *Paræus* on the *Corinthians* would prove, that hardneſs of Heart in Divorce is no more now to be Permitted, but to be amers'd with Fine and Impriſonment. I am not willing to diſcover the forgettings of Reverend Men, yet here I muſt: What Article or Clauſe of the whole new Covenant can *Paræus* bring to exaſperate the Judicial Law, upon any Infirmity under the the Goſpel? (I ſay Infirmity, for if it were the high Hand of Sin, the Law as little would have endur'd it as the Goſpel) it would not ſtretch to the dividing of an Inheritance; it refus'd to condemn Adultery, not that theſe things ſhould not be done at Law, but to ſhew that the Goſpel hath not the leaſt Influence upon Judicial Courts, much leſs to make them ſharper and more heavy, leaſt of all to arraign before a Temporal Judge that which the Law without Summons acquitted. But (ſaith he) the Law was the time of Youth, under violent Affections, the Goſpel in us is mature Age, and ought to ſubdue Affections. True, and ſo ought the Law too, if they be found Inordinate, and not meerly Natural and Blameleſs. Next I diſtinguiſh that the time of the Law is compar'd to Youth and Pupillage in reſpect of the Ceremonial Part, which led the *Jews* as Children through Corporal and Gariſh Rudiments, until the Fulneſs of time ſhould Reveal to them the higher Leſſons of Faith and Redemption. This is not meant of the Moral Part, therein it ſoberly concern'd them not to be Babies, but to be Men in good earneſt: The ſad and awful Majeſty of that Law was not to be jeſted with: to bring a bearded Nonage with Laſcivious Diſpenſations before that Throne, had been a lewd Affront, as it is now a groſs Miſtake. But what Diſcipline is this, *Paræus*, to nouriſh violent Affections in Youth, by cockering and wanton Indulgences, and to chaſtiſe them in mature Age, with a boyiſh Rod of Correction? How much more coherent is it to Scripture, that the Law as a ſtrict Scholmaſter ſhould have puniſh'd every Treſpaſs without Indulgence ſo baneful to Youth, and that the Goſpel ſhould now correct that by Admonition and Reproof only, in in free and mature Age, which was puniſh'd with ſtripes in the Childhood and Bondage of the Law. What therefore it allow'd then ſo fairly, much leſs is to be whipp'd now, eſpecially in Penal Courts: And if it ought now to trouble the Conſcience, why did that angry Accuſer and Condemner Law reprieve it? So then, neither from *Moſes* nor from Chriſt hath the Magiſtrate any Authority to proceed againſt it. But what, ſhall then the Diſpoſal of that Power return again to the Maſter of a Family? Wherefore not, ſince God there put it, and the preſumptuous Canon thence bereft it? This only muſt be provided, that the ancient Manner be obſerv'd in preſence of the Miniſter and other grave ſelected Elders, who after they ſhall have admoniſh'd and preſs'd upon him the Words of our Saviour, and he ſhall have proteſted in the Faith of the eternal Goſpel, and the hope he has of happy Reſurrection, that otherwiſe then thus he cannot do, and thinks himſelf and this his caſe not contain'd in that Prohibition of Divorce which Chriſt pronounc'd, the Matter not being of Malice,

but

but of Nature, and ſo not capable of Reconciling, to conſtrain him further were to Unchriſten him, to Unman him, to throw the Mountain of *Sinai* upon him, with the weight of the whole Law to boot, flat againſt the Liberty and Eſſence of the Goſpel, and yet nothing available either to the Sanctity of Marriage, the good of Husband, Wife, or Children, nothing profitable either to Church or Commonwealth, but hurtful and pernicious to all theſe Reſpects. But this will bring in Confuſion: Yet theſe cautious Miſtruſters might conſider, that what they thus object lights not upon this Book, but upon that which I engage againſt them, the Book of God and *Moſes*, with all the Wiſdom and Providence, which had forecaſt the worſt of Confuſion that could ſucceed, and yet thought fit of ſuch a Permiſſion. But let them be of Good Cheer, it wrought ſo little diſorder among the *Jews*, that from *Moſes* till after the Captivity, not one of the Prophets thought it worth the Rebuking; for that of *Malachy* well look'd into will appear to be not againſt Divorcing, but rather againſt keeping ſtrange Concubines, to the vexation of their *Hebrew* Wives. If therefore we Chriſtians may be thought as good and tractable as the *Jews* were, and certainly the Prohibiters of Divorce preſume us to be better, then leſs Confuſion is to be fear'd for this among us then was among them. If we be worſe, or but as bad, which lamentable Examples confirm we are, then have we more, or at leaſt as much, need of this permitted Law, as they to whom God therefore gave it (as they ſay) under a harſher Covenant. Let not therefore the frailty of Man go on thus inventing needleſs Troubles to it ſelf, to groan under the falſe Imagination of a Strictneſs never impos'd from above; enjoyning that for Duty which is an impoſſible and vain Superarrogating. *Be not Righteous overmuch*, is the Counſel of *Eccleſiaſtes*; *why ſhouldſt thou deſtroy thy ſelf?* Let us not be thus over-curious to ſtrain at Atoms, and yet to ſtop every vent and cranny of Permiſſive Liberty, leſt Nature wanting thoſe needful Pores and breathing Places which God hath not debarr'd our Weakneſs, either ſuddenly break out into ſome wide Rupture of open Vice and frantick Hereſie, or elſe inwardly feſter with Repining and Blaſphemous Thoughts, under an unreaſonable and fruitleſs Rigor of unwarranted Law. Againſt which Evils nothing can more beſeem the Religion of the Church, or the Wiſdom of the State, then to conſider timely and provide. And in ſo doing let them not doubt but they ſhall vindicate the miſreputed Honour of God and his great Lawgiver, by ſuffering him to give his own Laws according to the Condition of Mans Nature beſt known to him, without the unſufferable imputation of diſpenſing legally with many Ages of ratified Adultery. They ſhall recover the miſattended Words of Chriſt to the ſincerity of their true Senſe from manifold Contradictions, and ſhall open them with the Key of Charity. Many helpleſs Chriſtians they ſhall raiſe from the depth of Sadneſs and Diſtreſs, utterly unfitted as they are to ſerve God or Man: Many they ſhall reclaim from obſcure and giddy Sects, many regain from diſſolute and bruitiſh Licence, many from deſperate hardneſs if ever that were juſtly pleaded. They ſhall ſet free many Daughters of *Iſrael*, not wanting much of her ſad plight whom *Satan had bound eighteen years*. Man they ſhall reſtore to his juſt Dignity and Prerogative in Nature, preferring the Souls free Peace, before the Promiſcuous draining of a carnal Rage, Marriage from a perillous Hazard and Snare, they ſhall reduce to be a more certain haven and retirement of happy Society; when they ſhall judge according to God and *Moſes*, and how not then according to Chriſt? When they ſhall judge it more Wiſdom and Goodneſs to break that Covenant ſeemingly and keep it really, then compulſion of Law to keep it ſeemingly, and by cumpulſion of blameleſs Nature to break it really, at leaſt if it were ever truly joyn'd. The vigor of Diſcipline they may then turn with better ſucceſs upon the proſtitute Looſeneſs of the

the Times, when Men finding in themſelves the Infirmities of former Ages, ſhall not be conſtrain'd above the gift of God in them, to unprofitable and impoſſible Obſervances never required from the civilleſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt Nations, whoſe other Excellences in Moral Vertue they never yet could equal. *Laſt of all*, to thoſe whoſe Mind is ſtill to maintain textual Reſtriction, whereof the bare ſound cannot conſiſt ſometimes with Humanity, much leſs with Charity, I would ever Anſwer by putting them in Remembrance of a Command above all Commands, which they ſeem to have forgot, and who ſpake it ;in compariſon whereof this which they ſo exalt, is but a petty and ſubordinate Precept. *Let them go* therefore with whom I am loth to couple them, yet they will needs run into the ſame blindneſs with the Phariſees; *let them go therefore* and conſider well, what this Leſſon means, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*; for on that *Saying, all the Law and Prophets depend*, much more the Goſpel, whoſe end and excellence is Mercy and Peace: Or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this? Which yet I ſhall not doubt to leave with them as a Concluſion, That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his Commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity.

The END.

Tetrachordon:

EXPOSITIONS

Upon the Four chief Places in

SCRIPTURE,

Which Treat of *Marriage*, or *Nullities* in *Marriage*.

On { *Gen.* 1. 27, 28. compar'd and explain'd by *Gen.* 2. 18, 23, 24.
Deut. 24. 1, 2.
Matth. 5. 31, 32. with *Matth.* 19. from the 3d, v. to the 11th.
1 *Cor.* 7. from the 10th, to the 16th.

Wherein the

Doctrine and Diſcipline

OF

DIVORCE,

As was lately Publiſh'd, is Confirm'd by Explanation of Scripture, by Teſtimony of Ancient Fathers, of Civil Laws in the Primitive CHURCH, of famouſeſt Reformed Divines:

And *Laſtly*, by an intended ACT of the PARLIAMENT, and CHURCH of *ENGLAND* in the laſt Year of *EDWARD* the Sixth.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

——Σχαιῶσι χρῶνται προσφόρως σοφαὶ
Δόξης ἀχρεῖος, κοὐ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι·
Τῶν δ' ἅλις ὁπόσοις εἰδέναι τι ποικίλον,
Κρείσσων νομισθείς ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φανῆ. *Euripid. Medea.*

Printed in the Year MDCXCVII.

TO THE
PARLIAMENT.

THat which I knew to be the part of a good Magiſtrate, aiming at true Liberty through the right Information of Religious and Civil Life, and that which I ſaw, and was partaker of your Vows and Solemn Cov'nants, Parliament of England, your Actions alſo manifeſtly tending to exalt the Truth, and to depreſs the Tyranny of Error, and ill cuſtom, with more conſtancy and proweſs then ever yet any, ſince that Parliament which put the firſt Scepter of this Kingdom into his hand whom God and extraordinary Vertue made their Monarch, were the Cauſes that mov'd me one elſe not placing much in the eminence of a Dedication, to preſent your high notice with a Diſcourſe, conſcious to it ſelf of nothing more then of diligence, and firm affection to the publick Good. And that ye took it ſo as Wiſe and Impartial Men, obtaining ſo great power and dignity, are wont to accept, in matters both doubtful and important, what they think offer'd them well meant, and from a rationa' Abi'ity, I had no leſs then to perſwade me. And on that perſwaſion am return'd, as to a famous and free Port, my ſelf alſo bound by more then a Maritime Law, to expoſe as freely what Fraught age I conceive to bring off no trifles. For although it be generally known, how and by whom ye have been inſtigated to a hard Cenſure of that former Book entitl'd, The Doctrine, and Diſcipline of Divorce, an Opinion held by ſome of the beſt among reformed Writers without ſcandal or confutement, though now thought new and dangerous by ſome of our ſevere Gnoſtics whoſe little reading, and leſs meditating holds ever with hardeſt Obſtinacy that which it took up with eaſieſt Credulity, I do not find yet that ought, for the furious incitements which have been us'd, hath iſſu'd by your appointment, that might give the leaſt interruption or diſrepute either to the Author, or to the Book. Which he who will be better adviſ'd then to call your Neglect, or Connivence at a thing imagin'd ſo perilous, can attribute it to nothing more juſtly, then to the deep and quiet ſtream of your direct and calm deliberations; that gave not way either to the fervent raſhneſs, or the immaterial gravity of thoſe who ceas'd not to exaſperate without cauſe. For which Uprightneſs and incorrupt Refuſal of what ye were incens'd to, Lords and Commons (though it were done to Juſtice, not to me, and was a peculiar Demonſtration how far your ways are different from the raſh Vulgar) beſides thoſe Allegiances of Oath and Duty, which are my publick Debt to your publick Labours, I have yet a Store of Gratitude laid up, which cannot be Exhauſted; and ſuch Thanks perhaps they may live to be, as ſhall more then whiſper to the next Ages. Yet that the Author may be known to ground himſelf upon his own Innocence, and the Merit of his Cauſe, not upon the favour of a Diverſion, or a Delay to any juſt Cenſure, but wiſhes rather he might ſee thoſe his Detracters at any fair meeting, as learned debatements are privileg'd with a due freedom under equal Moderators, I ſhall here briefly ſingle one of them (becauſe he hath oblig'd me to it) who I perſwade me having ſcarce read the Book, nor knowing him who write it, or at leaſt feigning the Latter, hath not forborn to ſcandalize him, unconferr'd with, unadmoniſht, undealt with by any Paſtorly or Brotherly Convincement, in the moſt open and invective manner, and at the moſt bitter opportunity that drift or ſet deſign could have invented. And this, when as the Canon Law, though commonly moſt favouring the boldneſs of their Prieſts, puniſhes the Naming or Traducing of any Perſon in the Pulpit, was by him made no ſcrup'e. If I ſhall therefore take Licence by the right of Nature, and that Liberty wherein I was born, to defend my ſelf publickly againſt a Printed Calumny, and do willingly appeal to thoſe Judges to whom I am accus'd, it can be no immoderate, or unallowable courſe of ſeeking ſo juſt and needful Reparations. Which I had done long ſince, had not theſe Imployments, which are now viſible, deferr'd me. It was Preacht before ye, Lords and Commons, in Auguſt laſt upon a ſpecial day of Humiliation that there was a wicked Book abroad, and ye were taxt of Sin that it was yet uncenſur'd, the Book deſerving to be Burnt, and Impudence alſo was charg'd upon the Author, who durſt ſet his Name to it, and Dedicate it to your ſelves. Firſt, Lords and Commons, I pray to that God before whom ye then were proſtrate, ſo to forgive ye thoſe Omiſſions and Treſpaſſes, which ye deſire moſt ſhould find Forgiveneſs, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew to the World how eaſily ye abſolve your ſelves of that which this Man calls your Sin, and is indeed your Wiſdom, and your Nobleneſs, whereof to this day ye have done well not to repent. He terms it a Wicked Book, and why but for allowing other Cauſes of Divorce then Chriſt and his Apoſtles mention; and with the ſame Cenſure condemns of Wickedneſs not only Martin Bucer, that Elect Inſtrument of Reformation, highly honour'd and had in reverence by Edward the ſixth, and his whole Parliament, whom alſo I had Publiſht in Engliſh by a Good Providence, about a week before this Calumnious Digreſſion was Preach'd; ſo that if he knew not Bucer then, as he ought to have known, he might at leaſt have known him ſome months after, ere the Sermon came in Print, wherein notwithſtanding he perſiſts in his former Sentence, and condemns again of wick-

edneſs,

edneſs, either ignorantly or wilfully, not only Martin Bucer, and all the Choiceſt and Holieſt of our Reformers, but the whole Parliament and Church of England in thoſe beſt and pureſt times of Edward the ſixth. All which I ſhall prove with good Evidence, at the end of theſe Explanations. And then let it be judg'd and ſeriouſly conſider'd with what hope the Affairs of our Religion are committed to one among others, who hath now only left him which of the twain he will chooſe, whether this ſhall be his palpable Ignorance, or the ſame Wickedneſs of his own Book, which he ſo laviſhly imputes to the Writings of other Men: and whether this of his, that thus peremptorily defames and attaints of wickedneſs unſpotted Churches, unblemiſht Parliaments, and the moſt eminent Reſtorers of Chriſtian Doctrine, deſerve not to be Burnt firſt. And if his heat had burſt out only againſt the Opinion, his wonted Paſſion had no doubt been ſilently born with wonted Patience. But ſince againſt the charity of that ſolemn place and meeting, it ſerv'd him further to inveigh opprobriouſly againſt the Perſon, branding him with no leſs then Impudence, only for ſetting his Name to what he had writt'n, I muſt be excus'd not to be ſo wanting to the defence of an Honeſt Name, or to the reputation of thoſe good Men who afford me their Society but to be ſenſible of ſuch a foul endeavour'd Diſgrace: Not knowing ought either in mine own Deſerts, or the Laws of this Land, why I ſhould be ſubject, in ſuch a Notorious and Illegal manner, to the intemperances of this Mans Preaching Choler. And indeed to be ſo prompt and ready in the midſt of his humbleneſs, to toſs reproaches of this Bulk and Size, argues as if they were the Weapons of his Exerciſe, I am ſure not of his Miniſtery, or of that days work. Certainly to ſubſcribe my Name at what I was to own, was what the State had order'd and requires. And he who liſts not to be malicious, would call it ingenuity, clear conſcience, willingneſs to avouch what might be queſtion'd, or to be better inſtructed. And if God were ſo diſpleas'd with thoſe, Iſa. 58. who on the ſolemn faſt were wont to ſmite with the fiſt of Wickedneſs, it could be no ſign of his own humiliation accepted, which diſpos'd him to ſmite ſo keenly with a reviling tongue. But if only to have writ my Name muſt be counted Impudence, how doth this but juſtify another, who might affirm with as good Warrant, that the late Diſcourſe of Scripture and Reaſon, which is certain to be chiefly his own Draught, was publiſht without a Name out of baſe fear, and the ſly avoidance of what might follow to his detriment, if the party at Court ſhould hap to reach him. And I, to have ſet my Name, where he accuſes me to have ſet it, am ſo far from recanting, that I offer my hand alſo if need be, to make good the ſame opinion which I there maintain, by inevitable Conſequences drawn parallel from his own principal Arguments in that of Scripture and Reaſon; which I ſhall pardon him, if he can deny, without ſhaking his own Compoſition to peices. The Impudence therefore, ſince he weighed ſo little what a groſs Revile that was to give his Equal, I ſend him back again for a Philactery to ſtitch upon his Arrogance, that Cenſures not only before Conviction ſo bitterly without ſo much as one Reaſon giv'n, but cenſures the Congregation of his Governours to their faces, for not being ſo haſty as himſelf to cenſure.

And whereas my other Crime is, that I addreſs'd the Dedication of what I had ſtudied, to the Parliament, how could I better declare the Loyalty which I owe to that Supream and Majeſtick Tribunal, and the Opinion which I have of the high entruſted Judgment, and perſonal Worth aſſembl'd in that Place With the ſame Affections therefore, and the ſame addicted Fidelity, Parliament of England, I here again have brought to your Peruſal on the ſame Argument theſe following Expoſitions of Scripture. The former Book, as pleas'd ſome to think, who were thought judicious, had of Reaſon in it to a ſufficiency; what they requir'd was, that the Scriptures there alledg'd, might be diſcuſs'd more fully. To their deſires thus much further hath been labour'd in the Scriptures. Another ſort alſo, who wanted more Authorities, and Citations, have not been here unthought of. If all this attain not to ſatisfie them, as I am confident, that none of theſe our great Controverſies at this day, hath had a more demonſtrative explaining, I muſt confeſs to admire what it is, for doubtleſs it is not Reaſon now a days that ſatisfies or ſuborns the common Credence of Men, to yield ſo eaſily, and grow ſo vehement in matters much more diſputable, and far leſs conducing to the daily Good and Peace of Life. Some whoſe neceſſary ſhifts have long enur'd them to cloak the defects of their unſtudied Years, and hatred now to learn, under the appearance of a grave ſolidity, which eſtimation they have gain'd among weak perceivers, find the eaſe of ſlighting what they cannot refute, and are determin'd, as I hear, to hold it not worth the anſwering. In which number I muſt be forc'd to reck'n that Doctor, who in a late equivocating Treatiſe plauſibly ſet afloat againſt the Dippers, diving the while himſelf with a more deep Prelatical Malignance againſt the preſent State and Church Government, mentions, with Ignominy, the Tractate of Divorce; yet anſwers nothing, but inſtead thereof (for which I do not commend his marſhalling) ſets Moſes alſo among the Crew of his Anabaptiſts; as one who to a holy Nation, the Common-wealth of Iſrael, gave Laws breaking the Bonds of Marriage to inordinate Luſt. Theſe are no mean ſurges of Blaſphemy, not only dipping Moſes, the divine Lawgiver, but daſhing with a high hand againſt the Juſtice and Purity of God himſelf: as theſe enſuing Scriptures plainly and freely handl'd ſhall verifie to the Launcing of that old Apoſtemated Error. Him therefore I leave now to his repentance.

Others, which is their courteſie, confeſs, that Wit and Parts may do much to make that ſeem true which is not (as was Objected to Socrates by them who could not reſiſt his efficacy, that he ever made the worſt cauſe ſeem the better) and thus thinking themſelves diſcharg'd of the difficulty, love not to wade further into the fear of a Convincement. Theſe will be their Excuſes to decline the full examining of

this

this ſerious Point. So much the more I preſs it and repeat it, Lords and Commons, that ye beware while Time is, 'ere this grand Secret, and only Art of Ignorance affecting Tyranny, grow powerful and rule among us. For if ſound Argument and Reaſon ſhall be thus put off, either by an undervaluing ſilence, or the maſterly Cenſure of a railing word or two in the Pulpit, or by rejecting the Force of Truth, as the meer Cunning of Eloquence and Sophiſtry, what can be the end of this, but that all good Learning, and Knowledge will ſuddenly decay: Ignorance, and illiterate Preſumption, which is yet but our Diſeaſe will turn at length into our very Conſtitution, and prove the Hectick *Evil of this Age: Worſe to be fear'd, if it get once to reign over us, than any fifth Monarchy. If this ſhall be the Courſe, that what was wont to be a* Chief Commendation, *and the Ground of other Mens Confidence in an Author, his Diligence, his Learning, his Elocution whether by Right, or by ill Meaning granted him, ſhall be turn'd now to a Diſadvantage and Suſpicion againſt him, that what he writes, though unconfuted, muſt therefore be miſtruſted, therefore not receiv'd for the Induſtry, the Exactneſs, the Labour in it confeſs'd to be more then ordinary, as if Wiſdom had now forſak'n the thirſty and laborious Inquirer to dwell againſt her Nature with the arrogant and ſhallow Babler, to what purpoſe all thoſe pains and that continual ſearching requir'd of us by* Solomon *to the attainment of underſtanding; why are Men bred up with ſuch care and expence to a Life of perpetual ſtudies, why do your ſelves with ſuch endeavour ſeek to wipe off the Imputation of intending to diſcourage the progreſs and advance of Learning? He therefore whoſe heart can bear him to the high pitch of your noble Enterpriſes, may eaſily aſſure himſelf that the prudence and far judging circumſpectneſs of ſo grave a Magiſtracy ſitting in* Parliament *who have before them the prepar'd and purpos'd Act of their moſt Religious Predeceſſors to imitate in this queſtion, cannot reject the clearneſs of theſe reaſons, and theſe allegations both here and formerly offer'd them; nor can over-look the neceſſity of ordaining more wholſomly and more humanly in the caſualties of Divorce, then our Laws have yet eſtabliſht: If the moſt urgent and exceſſive grievances hapning in domeſtick Life, be worth the laying to heart, which, unleſs charity be far from us, cannot be neglected. And that theſe things both in the right conſtitution, and in the right reformation of a Common wealth call for ſpeedieſt redreſs, and ought to be the firſt conſider'd, enough was urg'd in what was prefac'd to that Monument of* Bucer, *which I brought to your remembrance, and the other time before. Hence forth, except new cauſe be giv'n I ſhall ſay leſs and leſs. For if the Law make not timely proviſion, let the Law, as reaſon is, bear the cenſure of thoſe conſequences, which her own default now more evidently produces. And if Men want Manlineſs to expoſtulate the right of their due Ranſom, and to ſecond their own Occaſions, they may ſit hereafter and bemoan themſelves to have neglected through faintneſs the only Remedy of their Sufferings, which a ſeaſonable and well grounded ſpeaking might have purchas'd them. And perhaps in time to come, others will know how to eſteem what is not every day put into their hands, when they have mark'd Events, and better weigh'd how hurtful and unwiſe it is, to hide a ſecret and pernicious Rupture under the ill Counſel of a baſhful ſilence. But who would diſtruſt ought or not be ample in his hopes of your wiſe and Chriſtian Determinations? who have the Prudence to conſider, and ſhould have the Goodneſs like Gods, as ye are call'd, to find out readily, and by juſt Law to adminiſter thoſe Redreſſes which have of old, not without God ordaining, been granted to the Adverſities of Mankind, ere they who needed, were put to aſk. Certainly, if any other have enlarg'd his thoughts to expect from this Government ſo juſtly undertaken, and by frequent Aſſiſtances from Heaven ſo apparently upheld, glorious Changes and Renovations both in Church and State, he among the foremoſt might be nam'd, who prays that the Fate of* England *may tarry for no other Deliverers.*

JOHN MILTON.

TETRACHORDON:

EXPOSITIONS upon the four chief *Places* in *Scripture*, which treat of MARRIAGE, or *Nullities* in MARRIAGE.

Gen. 1. 27.

So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him; Male and Female created he them.

28. *And God bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them be fruitful,* &c.

Gen. 2. 18.

And the Lord God ſaid, It is not good that Man ſhould be alone, I will make him a Help meet for him.

23. *And Adam ſaid, This is now Bone of my Bones, and Fleſh of my Fleſh; She ſhall be called Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man.*

24. *Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and ſhall cleave unto his Wife, and they ſhall be one Fleſh.*

Gen. 1. 27.

So God created Man in his own Image.] To be inform'd aright in the whole Hiſtory of Marriage, that we may know for certain, not by a forc'd Yoke, but by an impartial Definition, what Marriage is, and what is not Marriage; it will undoubtedly be ſafeſt, faireſt, and moſt with our Obedience, to enquire, as our Saviour's Direction is, how it was in the Beginning. And that we begin ſo high as Man created after Gods own Image, there want not earneſt Cauſes. For nothing now adays is more degenerately forgott'n, than the true Dignity of Man, almoſt in every reſpect, but eſpecially in this prime Inſtitution of Matrimony, wherein his native Preeminence ought moſt to ſhine. Although, if we conſider, that juſt and natural Priviledges Men neither can rightly ſeek, nor dare fully claim, unleſs they be ally'd to inward Goodneſs, and ſtedfaſt Knowledge, and that the want of this quells them to a ſervile ſenſe of their own conſcious unworthineſs, it may ſave the Wondring why in this Age many are ſo oppoſite both to Human and to Chriſtian Liberty, either while they underſtand not, or envy others that do; contenting, or rather priding themſelves in a ſpecious Humility and Strictneſs bred out of low Ignorance, that never yet conceiv'd the Freedom of the Goſpel; and is therefore by the Apoſtle to the *Coloſſians* rankt with no better Company, then Will-Worſhip and the meer ſhew of Wiſdom. And how injurious herein they are, if not to themſelves, yet to their neighbours, and not to them only, but to the all-wiſe and bounteous Grace offer'd us in our Redemption, will orderly appear.

[*In the Image of God created he him.*] It is enough determin'd, that this Image of God wherein Man was created, is meant Wiſdom, Purity, Juſtice, and Rule over all Creatures. All which being loſt in *Adam*, was recover'd with Gain by the Merits of Chriſt. For albeit our firſt Parent had Lordſhip over Sea, and Land, and Air, yet there was a Law without him, as a Guard ſet over him. But Chriſt having cancell'd the Hand writing of Ordinances which was againſt us, *Col.* 2. 14. and interpreted the fulfilling of all through Charity, hath in that reſpect ſet us over Law, in the free Cuſtody of his Love, and left us victorious under the Guidance of his living Spirit, not under the dead Letter; to follow that which moſt edifies, moſt aids and furthers a Religious

gious Life, makes us holieſt and likeſt to his immortal Image, not that which makes us moſt conformable and captive to civil and ſubordinate Precepts; whereof the ſtricteſt Obſervance may oft times prove the Deſtruction not only of many innocent Perſons and Families, but of whole Nations. Although indeed no Orndiance human or from Heav'n can bind againſt the Good of Man; ſo that to keep them ſtrictly againſt that end, is all one with to break them. Men of moſt renowned Vertue have ſometimes by tranſgreſſing, moſt truly kept the Law; and wiſeſt Magiſtrates have permitted and diſpens'd it; while they lookt not peeviſhly at the Letter, but with a greater Spirit at the Good of Mankind; if always not writt'n in the Characters of Law, yet engrav'n in the Heart of Man by a divine Impreſſion. This Heathens could ſee, as the well-read in Story can recount of *Solon* and *Epaminondas*, whom *Cicero* in his *firſt* Book of *Invention* nobly defends. *All Law*, ſaith he, *we ought refer to the common Good and interpret by that, not by the Scrowl of Letters. No Man obſerves Law for Laws Sake, but for the Good of them for whom it was made.* The reſt might ſerve well to lecture theſe Times, deluded through Belly-doctrines into a devout Slavery. The Scripture alſo affords us *David* in the Shew-bread, *Hezekiah* in the Paſſeover, ſound and ſafe Tranſgreſſors of the literal Command, which alſo diſpens'd not ſeldom with it ſelf; and taught us on what juſt Occaſions to do ſo: Until our Saviour for whom that Great and God-like Work was reſerv'd, redeem'd us to a State above Preſcriptions by diſſolving the whole Law into Charity. And have we not the Soul to underſtand this, and muſt we againſt this Glory of Gods tranſcendent Love towards us be ſtill the Servants of a literal Indictment?

[*Created he him.*] It might be doubted why he ſaith, *In the Image of God created he him*, not them, as well as *Male and Female* them; eſpecially ſince that Image might be common to them both, but *Male and Female* could not, however the *Jews* fable, and pleaſe themſelves with the accidental Concurrence of *Plato*'s Wit, as if Man at firſt had been created *Hermaphrodite*: But then it muſt have been *Male and Female* created he him. So had the Image of God been equally common to them both, it had no doubt been ſaid, In the Image of God created he them. But St. *Paul* ends the Controverſy by explaining, that the Woman is not primarily and immediately the Image of God, but in reference to the Man. *The Head of the Woman*, ſaith he, 1 *Cor.* 11. *is the Man: He the Image and Glory of God, She the Glory of the Man:* He not for her, but ſhe for him. Therefore his Precept is, *Wives be ſubject to your own Husbands as is fit in the Lord*, *Col.* 3. 18. *In every thing*, *Eph.* 5. 24. Nevertheleſs Man is not to hold her as a Servant, but receive her into a part of that Empire which God proclaims him to, though not equally, yet largely, as his own Image and Glory: For it is no ſmall Glory to him, that a Creature ſo like him, ſhould be made ſubject to him. Not but that particular Exceptions may have place, if ſhe exceed her Husband in Prudence and Dexterity, and he contentedly yield, for then a ſuperiour and more natural Law comes in, that the wiſer ſhould govern the leſs wiſe, whether Male or Female. But that which far more eaſily and obediently follows from this Verſe, is, that, ſeeing Woman was purpoſely made for Man, and he her Head, it cannot ſtand before the Breath of this divine Utterance, that Man, the Portraiture of God, joyning to himſelf for his intended Good and Solace an inferiour Sex, ſhould ſo become her Thrall, whoſe Wilfulneſs or Inability to be a Wife fruſtrates the occaſional End of her Creation, but that he may acquit himſelf to Freedom by his natural Birth-right, and that indelible Character of Priority which God crown'd him with. If it be urg'd that Sin hath loſt him this, the Anſwer is not far to ſeek, that from her the Sin firſt proceeded, which keeps her juſtly in the ſame Proportion ſtill beneath. She is not to gain by being firſt in the Tranſgreſſion, that Man ſhould further looſe to her, becauſe already he hath loſt by her Means. Oft it happens that in this Matter he is without Fault;

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ſo that his Puniſhment herein is cauſeleſs: And God hath the Praiſe in our Speeches of him, to ſort his puniſhment in the ſame kind with the offence. Suppoſe he err'd; it is not the intent of God or Man, to hunt an Error ſo to the Death with a Revenge beyond all meaſure and proportion. But if we argue thus, this affliction is befaln him for his ſin, therefore he muſt bear it, without ſeeking the only remedy, firſt it will be falſe that all afflictions comes for ſin, as in the caſe of *Job*, and of the Man born blind, *Joh.* 9. 3. was evident; Next by that reaſon, all miſeries coming for ſin, we muſt let them all lye upon us like the Vermin of an Indian *Cathariſt*, which his fond Religion forbids him to moleſt. Were it a particular Puniſhment inflicted through the Anger of God upon a Perſon, or upon a Land, no Law hinders us in that regard, no Law but bids us remove it if we can: Much more if it be a dangerous Temptation, withal, much more yet, if it be certainly a Tempation, and not certainly a Puniſhment, though a Pain. As for what they ſay we muſt bear with patience, to bear with patience, and to ſeek effectual remedies, implies no contradiction. It may no leſs be for our diſobedience, our unfaithfulneſs, and other ſins againſt God, that Wives become Adulterous to the Bed, and queſtionleſs we ought to take the affliction as patiently, as Chriſtian Prudence would wiſh; yet here by is not loſt the Right of Divorcing for Adultery. No you ſay, becauſe our Saviour excepted that only. But why, if he were ſo bent to puniſh our ſins, and try our patience in binding on us a diſaſtrous Marriage, why did he except Adultery? Certainly to have been bound from Divorce in that caſe alſo had been as plentiful a puniſhment to our ſins, and not too little work for the patienteſt. Nay, perhaps they will ſay it was too great a ſufferance: And with as ſlight a reaſon, for no Wiſe Man but would ſooner pardon the Act of Adultery once and again committed by a Perſon worth pitty and forgiveneſs, then to lead a wearieſom Life of unloving and unquiet Converſation with one who neither affects nor is affected, much leſs with one who exerciſes all Bitterneſs, and would commit Adultery too, but for envy leſt the perſecuted condition ſhould thereby get the benefit of his freedom, 'Tis plain therefore, that God enjoyns not this ſuppoſed ſtrictneſs of not Divorcing either to puniſh us, or to try our patience.

Moreover, if Man be the Image of God, which conſiſts in Holineſs, and Woman ought in the ſame reſpect to be the Image and Companion of Man, in ſuch wiſe to be lov'd, as the Church is belov'd of Chriſt, and if, as God is the Head of Chriſt, and Chriſt the Head of Man, ſo Man is the Head of Woman; I cannot ſee by this Golden dependance of Headſhip and Subjection, but that Piety and Religion is the main Tye of Chriſtian Matrimony: So as if there be found between the Pair a notorious diſparity either of Wickedneſs or Hereſie, the Husband by all manner of Right is diſingag'd from a Creature, not made and inflicted on him to the vexation of his Righteouſneſs; the Wife alſo, as her Subjection is terminated in the Lord, being her ſelf the redeem'd of Chriſt, is not ſtill bound to be the Vaſſal of him, who is the Bondſlave of Satan: She being now neither the Image nor the Glory of ſuch a Perſon, nor made for him, nor left in Bondage to him; but hath Recourſe to the Wing of Charity, and Protection of the Church; unleſs there be a hope on either ſide; yet ſuch a hope muſt be meant, as may be a rational hope, and not an endleſs ſervitude. Of which hereafter.

But uſually it is objected, that if it be thus, then there can be no true Marriage between Misbelievers and Irreligious Perſons? I might anſwer, let them ſee to that who are ſuch; the Church hath no Commiſſion to judge thoſe without, 1 *Cor.* 5. But this they will ſay perhaps, is but penuriouſly to reſolve a doubt, I anſwer therefore, that where they are both Irreligious, the Marriage may be yet true enough to them in a civil relation. For there are left ſome Remains of Gods Image in Man, as he is meerly Man; which Reaſon God gives againſt the ſhedding of Mans Blood, *Gen.* 9. as being made in Gods Image

Image, without Expreſſion, whether he were a Good Man or a Bad, to exempt the ſlayer from Puniſhment. So that in thoſe Marriages where the Parties are alike void of Religion, the Wife owes a Civil Homage and Subjection, the Husband owes a Civil Loyalty. But where the Yoke is miſyok't, Heretick with Faithful, Godly with Ungodly, to the greivance and manifeſt Endangering of a Brother or Siſter, Reaſons of a higher ſtrain then Matrimonial bear ſway; unleſs the Goſpel inſtead of freeing us, debaſe it ſelf to make us Bondmen, and ſuffer Evil to controul Good.

[*Male and Female Created he them.*] This contains another end of Matching Man and Woman, being the Right and Lawfulneſs of the Marriage Bed; though much inferiour to the former end of her being his Image and Help in Religious Society. And who of weakeſt inſight may not ſee that this Creating, of them Male and Female, cannot in any order of Reaſon, or Chriſtianity, be of ſuch moment againſt the better and higher purpoſes of their Creation, as to enthral Husband or Wife to Duties or to Sufferings, unworthy and unbeſeeming the Image of God in them? Now when as not only Men, but good Men do ſtand upon their Right, their Eſtimation, their Dignity in all other Actions and Deportments with Warrant enough and good Conſcience, as having the Image of God in them, it will not be difficult to determine what is unworthy and unſeemly for a Man to do or ſuffer in Wedlock; and the like proportionally may be found for Woman: If we love not to ſtand diſputing below the Principles of Humanity. He that ſaid, *Male and Female created he them* immediatly before that ſaid alſo in the ſame verſe, *In the Image of God Created he him*, and redoubl'd it, that our thoughts might not be ſo full of Dregs as to urge this poor conſideration of *Male* and *Female*, without remembring the nobleneſs of that former repetition; leaſt when God ſends a Wiſe Eye to examin our trivial Gloſſes, they be found extreamly to creep upon the ground: Eſpecially ſince they confeſs that what here concerns Marriage is but a brief Touch, only preparative to the Inſtitution which follows more expreſly in the next Chapter: And that Chriſt ſo took it, as deſiring to be brieſeſt with them who came to tempt him, account ſhall be given in due Place.

V. 28. *And God Bleſſed them, and God ſaid unto them, be Fruitful, and Multiply, and repleniſh the Earth*, &c.

This declares another end of Matrimony, the Propagation of Mankind; and is again repeated to *Noah* and his Sons. Many things might be noted on this place not ordinary, nor unworthy the noting; but I undertook not a general Comment. Hence therefore we ſee the deſire of Children is Honeſt and Pious; if we be not leſs Zealous in our Chriſtianity, then *Plato* was in his Heatheniſm; who in the ſixth *of his Laws*, counts off-ſpring therefore deſirable, that we may leave in our ſtead Son's of our Sons, continual Servants of God: A Religious and Prudent Deſire, if People knew as well what were requir'd to Breeding as to Begetting; which defire perhaps was a cauſe why the Jews hardly could endure a Barren Wedlock: And *Philo* in his Book of ſpecial Laws eſteems him only worth Pardon that ſends not Barrenneſs away. *Carvilius* the firſt Recorded in *Rome* to have ſought Divorce, had it granted him for the Barrenneſs of his Wife, upon his Oath that he Married to the end he might have Children; as *Dionyſius* and *Gellius* are Authors. But to diſmiſs a Wife only for Barreneſs is hard: And yet in ſome the deſire of Children is ſo great, and ſo juſt, yet ſometime ſo neceſſary, that to condemn ſuch a one to a Childleſs Age, the Fault apparently not being in him, might ſeem perhaps more ſtrict then needed. Sometimes Inheritances, Crowns, and Dignities are ſo intereſted and annext in their common Peace and Good to ſuch or ſuch Lineal Deſcent, that it may prove a great Moment both in the affairs of Men and of Religion, to conſider throughly what might be done herein, notwithſtanding the waywardneſs of our School Doctors.

Gen.

Gen. 2. 18.

And the Lord ſaid, It is not Good that Man ſhould be alone; I will make him a Help Meet for him.

V. 23. *And Adam ſaid*, &c. V. 24. *Therefore ſhall a Man leave*, &c.

THis Second Chapter is granted to be a Commentary on the firſt; and theſe Verſes granted to be an Expoſition of that former Verſe, *Male and Female Created he them*, and yet when this Male and Female is by the explicite Words of God himſelf here declar'd to be not meant other then a fit Help, and meet Society; ſome who would ingroſs to themſelves the whole Trade of Interpreting, will not ſuffer the clear Text of God to do the Office of explaining it ſelf.

[*And the Lord God ſaid it is not Good.*] A Man would think, that the conſideration of who ſpake, ſhould raiſe up the Attention of our Minds to enquire better, and obey the Purpoſe of ſo great a Speaker: For as we order the Buſineſs of Marriage, that which he here ſpeaks is all made vain; and in the deciſion of Matrimony, or not Matrimony, nothing at all regarded. Our Preſumption hath utterly chang'd the State and Condition of this Ordinance: God ordain'd it in Love and Helpfulneſs to be indiſſoluble, and we in outward act and formality to be a forc't Bondage; ſo that being ſubject to a Thouſand Errors in the beſt Men, if it prove a Bleſſing to any, it is of meer Accident, as Mans Law hath handl'd it, and not of Inſtitution.

It is not Good for Man to be alone.] Hitherto all things that have been nam'd, were approv'd of God to be very Good: Lonelineſs is the firſt thing which Gods Eye Nam'd not Good: Whether it be a thing, or the want of ſomething, I labour not; let it be their Tendance, who have the Art to be induſtriouſly Idle. And here *alone* is meant alone without Woman; otherwiſe *Adam* had the Company of God himſelf, and Angels to converſe with; all Creatures to delight him ſeriouſly, or to make him ſport. God could have created him out of the ſame Mould a Thouſand Friends and Brother *Adams* to have been his Conſorts, yet for all this till *Eve* was giv'n him God reckn'd him to be alone.

[*It is not Good.*] God here preſents himſelf like to a Man deliberating; both to ſhew us that the matter is of high Conſequence, and that he intended to found it according to Natural Reaſon, not Impulſive Command, but that the Duty ſhould ariſe from the Reaſon of it, not the Reaſon be ſwallow'd up in a reaſonleſs Duty. *Not Good*, was as much to *Adam* before his Fall, as not pleaſing, not expedient; but ſince the coming of Sin into the World, to him who hath not receiv'd the Continence, it is not only not expedient to be alone, but plainly ſinful. And therefore he who wilfully abſtains from Marriage, not being ſupernaturally gifted, and he who by making the Yoke of Marriage unjuſt and intolerable, cauſes Men to abhor it, are both in a Diabolical Sin, equal to that of Antichriſt who forbids to Marry. For what difference at all whether he abſtain Men from Marrying, or reſtrain them in a Marriage, hapning totally diſcommodious, diſtaſtful, diſhoneſt and pernicious to him without the appearance of his Fault? For God does not here preciſely ſay, I make a Female to this Male, as he did briefly before, but expounding himſelf here on purpoſe, he ſaith, becauſe it is not Good for Man to be alone, I make him therefore a Meet Help. God ſupplies the Privation of not Good, with the perfect Gift of a real and poſitive Good; it is Mans perverſe Cooking who hath turn'd this Bounty of God into a Scorpion, either by weak and ſhallow Conſtructions, or by proud Arrogance and Cruelty to them, who neither in their Purpoſes nor in their Actions have offended againſt the due Honour of Wedlock.

Now whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaking in the Spirit, 1 *Cor.* 7. pronounces quite

quite contrary to this Word of God, *It is Good for Man not to touch a Woman*, and God cannot contradict himſelf, it inſtructs us that his commands and words, eſpecially ſuch as bear the manifeſt Title of ſome Good to Man, are not to be ſo ſtrictly wrung, as to command without regard to the moſt natural and miſerable neceſſities of Mankind. Therefore the Apoſtle adds a Limitation in the 26 v. of that *Chap.* for the preſent neceſſity it is Good; which he gives us doubtleſs as a Pattern how to reconcile other Places by the general Rule of Charity.

[*For Man to be alone.*] Some would have the Senſe hereof to be in reſpect of Procreation only: And *Auſtin* conteſts, that Manly Friendſhip in all other regards had been a more becomming Solace for *Adam*, then to ſpend ſo many Secret Years in an empty World with one Woman. But our Writers deſervedly reject this crabbed opinion; and defend, that there is a peculiar comfort in the Married ſtate beſides the genial Bed, which no other Society affords. No Mortal Nature can endure either in the actions of Religion, or ſtudy of Wiſdom, without ſometime ſlackning the cords of intenſe thought and labour: Which leaſt we ſhould think faulty, God himſelf conceals us not his own Recreations before the World was built; *I was*, ſaith the eternal Wiſdom, *daily his Delight, playing always before him.* And to him indeed Wiſdom is as a high Tower of Pleaſure, but to us a ſteep Hill, and we toiling ever about the bottom: He executes with eaſe the Exploits of his Omnipotence, as eaſy as with us it is to will: But no worthy Enterprize can be done by us without continual Plodding and Wearieſomneſs to our faint and ſenſitive Abilities. We cannot therefore always be contemplative, or pragmatical abroad, but have need of ſome delightful Intermiſſions, wherein the enlarg'd Soul may leave off a while her ſevere Schooling; and like a glad Youth in wandring Vacancy, may keep her Hollidays to Joy and harmleſs Paſtime. Which as ſhe cannot well do without Company, ſo in no Company ſo well as where the different Sex in moſt reſembling Unlikeneſs, and moſt unlike Reſemblance cannot but pleaſe beſt, and be pleas'd in the Aptitude of that Variety. Whereof leaſt we ſhould be too timerous, in the Awe that our flat Sages would form us and dreſs us: Wiſeſt *Solomon* among his graveſt Proverbs countenances a kind of Raviſhment and erring Fondneſs in the Entertainment of wedded Leiſures; and in the Song of Songs, which is generally beleiv'd, even in the jollieſt Expreſſions to figure the Spouſals of the Church with Chriſt, ſings of a thouſand Raptures between thoſe two lovely Ones far on the hither ſide of carnal Enjoyment. By theſe Inſtances, and more which might be brought, we may imagine, how indulgently God provided againſt Mans Lonelineſs; that he approv'd it not, as by himſelf declar'd not good; that he approv'd the Remedy thereof, as of his own ordaining, conſequently good; and as he ordain'd it, ſo doubtleſs proportionably to our fall'n Eſtate he gives it; elſe were his Ordinance at leaſt in vain, and we for all his Gift ſtill empty handed. Nay ſuch an unbounteous Giver we ſhould make him, as in the Fables *Jupiter* was to *Ixion*, giving him *a Cloud* inſtead of *Juno*, giving him a monſtrous iſſue by her, the Breed of *Centaures* a neglected and unlov'd Race, the fruits of a deluſive Marriage, and *laſtly* giving him her with a Damnation to that wheel in Hell, from a Life thrown into the midſt of Temptations and Diſorders. But God is no deceitful Giver, to beſtow that on us for a Remedy of Lonelineſs, which if it bring not a ſociable Mind as well as a conjunctive Body, leaves us no leſs alone then before; and if it bring a Mind perpetually averſe and diſagreeable, betrays us to a worſe Condition then the moſt deſerted Lonelineſs. God cannot in the Juſtice of his own Promiſe and Inſtitution ſo unexpectedly mock us by forcing that upon us, as the Remedy of Solitude, which wraps us in a Miſery worſe then any Wilderneſs, as the Spirit of God himſelf judges, *Prov.* 19. eſpecially knowing, that the beſt and wiſeſt Men amidſt the ſincere and moſt cordial Deſigns of their Heart do daily err in choo-

ſing. We may conclude therefore ſeeing orthodoxal Expoſitors confeſs to our hands that by Lonelineſs is not only meant the want of Copulation, and that Man is not leſs alone by turning in a Body to him, unleſs there be within it a Mind anſwerable, that it is a Work more worthy the Care and Conſultation of God to provide for the worthieſt part of Man which is his Mind, and not unnaturally to ſet it beneath the Formalities and Reſpects of the Body, to make it a Servant of its own Vaſſal, I ſay, we may conclude that ſuch a Marriage, wherein the Mind is ſo diſgrac'd and vilify'd below the Bodies Intereſt, and can have no juſt or tolerable Contentment, is not of Gods Inſtitution, and therefore no Marriage. Nay in concluding this, I ſay we conclude no more then what the common Expoſitors themſelves give us, both in that which I have recited and much more hereafter. But the Truth is, they give us in ſuch a manner, as they who leave their own mature Poſitions like the Eggs of an Oſtrich in the Duſt; I do but lay them in the Sun; their own Pregnancies hatch the Truth; and I am taxt of Novelties and ſtrange Producements, while they, like that inconſiderate Bird, know not that theſe are their own natural breed.

[*I will make him a help meet for him.*] Here the heavenly Inſtitutor, as if he labour'd, not to be miſtak'n by the ſupercilious Hypocriſy of thoſe that love to maſter their Brethren, and to make us ſure that he gave us not now a ſervile Yoke, but an amiable Knot; contents not himſelf to ſay, I will make him a Wife, but reſolving to give us firſt the meaning before the Name of a Wife, ſaith graciouſly, *I will make him a help meet for him.* And here again, as before, I do not require more full and fair Deductions then the whole Conſent of our Divines uſually raiſe from this Text, that in Matrimony there muſt be firſt a mutual help to Piety, next to civil Fellowſhip of Love and Amity, then to Generation, ſo to Houſhold Affairs, *Laſtly* the Remedy of Incontinence. And commonly they reckon them in ſuch Order, as leaves Generation and Incontinence to be laſt conſider'd. This I amaze me at, that though all the ſuperior and nobler Ends both of Marriage and of the married Perſons be abſolutely fruſtrate, the Matrimony ſtirs not, looſes no hold, remains as rooted as the Center: But if the Body bring but in a complaint of frigidity, by that cold application only, this adamantine *Alpe* of Wedlock has leave to diſſolve; which elſe all the Machinations of religious or civil Reaſon at the ſuit of a diſtreſſed Mind, either for divine Worſhip or human Converſation violated, cannot unfaſten. What Courts of Concupiſcence are theſe, wherein fleſhly Appetite is heard before right Reaſon, Luſt before Love or Devotion? They may be pious Chriſtians together, they may be loving and friendly, they may be helpful to each other in the Family, but they cannot couple; that ſhall Divorce them though either Party would not. They can neither ſerve God together, nor one be at Peace with the other, nor be good in the Family one to another, but live as they were dead, or live as they were deadly Enemies in a Cage together; 'tis all one, they can couple, they ſhall not divorce till Death, no though this Sentence be their Death. What is this, beſides Tyranny, but to turn Nature upſide down, to make both Religion, and the Mind of Man wait upon the ſlaviſh Errands of the Body, and not the Body to follow either the Sanctity or the Sovereignty of the Mind unſpeakably wrong'd, and with all Equity complaining? What is this but to abuſe the ſacred and myſterious Bed of Marriage to be the compulſive ſtie of an ingrateful and malignant Luſt, ſtirr'd up only from a carnal Acrimony, without either Love or Peace, or regard to any other thing holy or human. This I admire how poſſibly it ſhould inhabit thus long in the Senſe of ſo many diſputing *Theologians*, unleſs it be the loweſt Lees of a Canonical Infection liver-grown to their ſides; which perhaps will never uncling, without the ſtrong Abſterſive of ſome heroick Magiſtrate, whoſe Mind equal to his high Office dares lead him both to know and to do without their frivolous caſe-putting. For certain he ſhall have God and this Inſtitution plainly

plainly on his ſide. And if it be true both in Divinity and Law, that Conſent alone, though Copulation never follow, makes a Marriage, how can they diſſolve it for the want of that which made it not, and not diſſolve it for that not continuing which made it, and ſhould preſerve it in Love and Reaſon, and difference it from a brute Conjugality.

[*Man for him.*] The Original here is more expreſſive then other Languages word for word can render it; but all agree effectual Conformity of Diſpoſition and Affection to be hereby ſignify'd; which, God as it were not ſatisfy'd with the naming of a help, goes on deſcribing *another Self, a ſecond Self, a very Self it Self.* Yet now there is nothing in the Life of Man through our Misconſtruction, made more uncertain, more hazardous and full of chance then this divine Bleſſing with ſuch favourable ſignificance here conferr'd upon us, which if we do but err in our Choice the moſt unblamable Error that can be, err but one minute, one moment after thoſe mighty Syllables pronounc'd which take upon them to joyn Heaven and Hell together unpardonably till death pardon, this divine Bleſſing that look'd but now with ſuch a human ſmile upon us, and ſpoke ſuch gentle Reaſon, ſtrait vaniſhes like a fair Sky and brings on ſuch a Scene of Cloud and Tempeſt, as turns all to Shipwrack without Haven or Shoar, but to a ranſomeleſs Captivity. And then they tell us it is our ſin; but let them be told again, that ſin through the Mercy of God hath not made ſuch waſte upon us, as to make utterly void to our uſe any temporal Benefit, much leſs any ſo much availing to a peaceful and ſanctify'd Life, meerly for a moſt incident Error which no warineſs can certainly ſhun. And wherefore ſerves our happy Redemption, and the Liberty we have in Chriſt, but to deliver us from calamitous yokes not to be liv'd under without the Endangerment of our Souls, and to reſtore us in ſome competent meaſure to a Right in every good thing both of this Life, and the other. Thus we ſee how treatably and diſtinctly God hath here taught us what the prime Ends of Marriage are, mutual Solace and Help. That we are now, upon the moſt irreprehenſible Miſtake in chooſing, defeated and defrauded of all this original Benignity, was begun firſt through the Snare of Antichriſtian Canons long ſince obtruded upon the Church of *Rome*, and not yet ſcour'd off by Reformation, out of a lingring vain-glory that abides among us to make fair ſhews in formal Ordinances, and to enjoyn Continence and bearing of Croſſes in ſuch a Garb as no Scripture binds us, under the thickeſt Arrows of Temptation, where we need not ſtand. Now we ſhall ſee with what Acknowledgment and Aſſent *Adam* receiv'd this new Aſſociate, which God brought him.

V. 23. *And Adam ſaid, this is now Bone of my Bones, and Fleſh of my Fleſh, ſhe ſhall be called Woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man.*

That there was a nearer Alliance between *Adam* and *Eve*, than could be ever after between Man and Wife, is viſible to any. For no other Woman was ever moulded out of her Husbands Rib, but of meer Strangers for the moſt part they come to have that Conſanguinity which they have by Wedlock. And if we look nearly upon the Matter, though Marriage be moſt agreable to Holineſs, to Purity and Juſtice, yet it is not a natural, but a civil and ordain'd Relation. For if it were in nature, no Law or Crime could diſanul it, to make a Wife, or Husband, otherwiſe than ſtill a Wife or Husband, but only Death; as nothing but that can make a Father no Father, or a Son no Son. But Divorce for Adultery or Deſertion, as all our Churches agree but *England*, not only ſeparates, but nullifies, and extinguiſhes the relation it ſelf of Matrimony, ſo that they are no more Man and Wife, otherwiſe the Innocent Party could not marry elſe-where, without the guilt of Adultery: next, were it merely natural, why was it here ordain'd more than the reſt of moral Law to Man in his Original Rectitude, in whoſe Breaſt all that was Natural or Moral was engraven without external Conſtitutions and Edicts. *Adam* therefore in theſe

Words does not eſtabliſh an indiſſoluble Bond of Marriage in the carnal ligaments of Fleſh and Bones; for if he did, it would belong only to himſelf in the Literal Senſe; every one of us being nearer in fleſh of fleſh and bone of bones to our Parents than to a Wife; they therefore were not to be left for her in that reſpect. But *Adam*, who had the Wiſdom given him to know all Creatures, and to name them according to their Properties, no doubt but had the Gift to diſcern perfectly, that which concern'd him much more; and to apprehend at firſt ſight the true Fitneſs of that Conſort which God provided him. And therefore ſpake in reference to thoſe Words which God pronounc'd before; as if he had ſaid, this is ſhe by whoſe meet Help and Society I ſhall no more be alone; this is ſhe who was made my Image, ev'n as I the Image of God; not ſo much in Body, as in Unity of Mind and Heart. And he might as eaſily know what were the Words of God, as he knew ſo readily what had been done with his Rib, while he ſlept ſo ſoundly. He might well know, if God took a Rib out of his Inſide, to form of it a double Good to him, he would far ſooner diſ-joyn it from his Out-ſide, to prevent a treble Miſchief to him; and far ſooner cut it quite off from all Relation for his undoubted Eaſe, then nail it into his Body again, to ſtick for ever there a Thorn in his Heart. When as Nature teaches us to divide any Limb from the Body to the ſaving of his Fellows, though it be the maiming and deformity of the whole; how much more is it her Doctrine to ſever by Inciſion, not a true Limb ſo much, though that be lawful, but an adherent, a Sore, the Gangrene of a Limb, to the Recovery of a whole Man. But if in theſe Words we ſhall make *Adam* to erect a new Eſtabliſhment of Marriage in the meer Fleſh, which God ſo lately had inſtituted, and founded in the ſweet and mild Familiarity of Love and Solace and mutual Fitneſs, what do we but uſe the mouth of our general Parent, the firſt time it opens, to an arrogant oppoſition, and correcting of Gods wiſer Ordinance. Theſe words therefore cannot import any thing new in Marriage, but either that which belongs to *Adam* only, or to us in reference only to the inſtituting Words of God, which made a meet help againſt Lonelineſs. *Adam* ſpake like *Adam* the words of Fleſh and Bones, the Shell and Rind of Matrimony; but God ſpake like God, of Love and Solace and meet Help, the Soul both of *Adam*'s Words and of Matrimony.

V. 24. *Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and ſhall cleave unto his Wife; and they ſhall be one Fleſh.*

This Verſe, as our common Head expounds it, is the great Knot-tier, which hath undone by tying, and by tangling, millions of guiltleſs Conſciences: This is that grieſly Porter, who having drawn Men and wiſeſt Men by ſubtle Allurement within the train of an unhappy Matrimony, claps the Dungeon gate upon them, as irrecoverable as the Grave. But if we view him well, and hear him with not too haſty and prejudicant ears, we ſhall find no ſuch Terror in him. For firſt, it is not here ſaid abſolutely without all reaſon he ſhall cleave to his Wife, be it to his Weal or to his Deſtruction as it happens, but he ſhall do this upon the Premiſes and Conſiderations of that meet Help and Society before mention'd, *Therefore he ſhall cleave to his Wife*, no otherwiſe a Wife, then a fit Help. He is not bid to leave the dear Cohabitation of his Father, Mother, Brothers and Siſters, to link himſelf inſeparably with the meer Carcaſe of a Marriage, perhaps an Enemy. This joyning particle *Therefore* is in all Equity, nay in all Neceſſity of Conſtruction to comprehend firſt and moſt principally what God ſpake concerning the inward Eſſence of Marriage in his Inſtitution; that we may learn how far to attend what *Adam* ſpake of the outward materials thereof in his Approbation. For if we ſhall bind theſe words of *Adam* only to a corporal Meaning, and that the force of this Injunction upon all us his Sons to live individually with any Woman, which hath befaln us in the moſt miſtak'n Wedlock, ſhall conſiſt

not

not in thoſe moral and relative Cauſes of *Eve*'s Creation, but in the meer Anatomy of a Rib, and that *Adam*'s inſight concerning Wedlock, reacht no further, we ſhall make him as very an Idiot as the Socinians make him; which would not be reverently done of us. Let us be content to allow our great Foreſather ſo much Wiſdom, as to take the inſtituting words of God along with him into this Sentence, which if they be well minded, will aſſure us, that Fleſh and Ribs are but of a weak and dead Efficacy to keep Marriage united where there is no other fitneſs. The Rib of Marriage, to all ſince *Adam*, is a relation much rather then a bone; the Nerves and Sinews thereof are Love and Meet Help, they knit not every couple that Marries, and where they knit they ſeldom break, but where they break, which for the moſt part is where they never truly joyn'd, to ſuch at the ſame inſtant both Fleſh and Rib ceaſe to be in common; ſo that here they argue nothing to the continuance of a falſe or violated Marriage, but muſt be led back to receive their meaning from thoſe inſtitutive Words of God which give them all the life, and vigor they have.

[*Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father*, &c.] What to a Mans thinking more plain by this appointment, that the Fatherly Power ſhould give place to conjugal Prerogative? Yet it is generally held by reformed Writers againſt the Papiſt, that though in Perſons at Diſcretion the Marriage in it ſelf be never ſo fit, though it be fully accompliſht with Benediction, Board and Bed, yet the Father not conſenting, his main Will without diſpute ſhall diſſolve all. And this they affirm only from collective Reaſon, not any direct Law: For that in *Exod.* 22.17. which is moſt particular, ſpeaks that a Father may refuſe to marry his Daughter to one who hath deflour'd her, not that he may take her away from one who hath ſoberly married her. Yet becauſe the general Honour due to Parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiſs. But again, when the queſtion is of harſh and rugged Parents who deferr to beſtow their Children ſeaſonably, they agree joyntly that the Church or Magiſtrate may beſtow them, though without the Fathers conſent: And for this they have no expreſs Authority in Scripture. So that they may ſee by their own handling of this very place, that it is not the ſtubborn Letter muſt govern us, but the divine and ſoftning breath of Charity which turns and winds the Dictate of every poſitive Command, and ſhapes it to the Good of Mankind. Shall the outward acceſſory of a Fathers Will wanting, rend the fitteſt and moſt affectionate Marriage in twain, after all Nuptial Conſummations, and ſhall not the want of Love and the Privation of all Civil and Religious Concord, which is the inward Eſſence of Wedlock, do as much to part thoſe who were never truly Wedded? Shall a Father have this Power to vindicate his own willful Honour and Authority to the utter Breach of a moſt dearly united Marriage, and ſhall not a Man in his own Power have the permiſſion to free his Soul, his Life, and all his comfort of Life from the diſaſter of a no-marriage. Shall Fatherhood, which is but Man, for his own pleaſure diſſolve Matrimony, and ſhall not Matrimony, which is Gods Ordinance, for its own Honour and better Conſervation, diſſolve it ſelf, when it is wrong, and not fitted to any of the chief ends which it owes us?

[*And they ſhall be one fleſh.*] Theſe words alſo infer, that there ought to be an Individualty in Marriage; but without all queſtion preſuppoſe the Joyning Cauſes. Not a Rule yet that we have met with, ſo univerſal in this whole Inſtitution, but hath admitted Limitations and Conditions according to human Neceſſity. The very foundation of Matrimony, though God laid it ſo deliberately, *that it is not Good for Man to be alone* holds not always, if the Apoſtle can ſecure us. Soon after we are bid leave Father and Mother and cleave to a Wife, but muſt underſtand the Fathers conſent withal, elſe not. *Cleave to a Wife*, but let her be a Wife, let her be a Meet Help, a Solace,

lace, not a Nothing, not an Adverſary, not a Deſertrice; can any Law or Command be ſo unreaſonable as to make Men cleave to Calamity, to Ruin, to Perdition? In like manner here, *They ſhall be one fleſh*; but let the Cauſes hold, and be made really good, which only have the Poſſibility to make them one Fleſh. We know that Fleſh can neither joyn, nor keep together two Bodies of it ſelf; what is it then muſt make them one Fleſh, but Likeneſs, but Fitneſs of Mind and Diſpoſition, which may breed the Spirit of Concord and Union between them? If that be not in the nature of either, and that there has been a remedileſs Miſtake, as vain we go about to compel them into one Fleſh, as if we undertook to weave a Garment of dry Sand. It were more eaſie to compel the vegetable and nutritive Power of Nature to Aſſimilations and Mixtures which are not alterable each by other; or force the concoctive Stomach to turn that into Fleſh which is ſo totally unlike that Subſtance, as not to be wrought on. For as the Unity of Mind is nearer and greater than the Union of Bodies, ſo doubtleſs, is the Diſſimilitude greater and more dividual, as that which makes between Bodies all difference and diſtinction. Eſpecially when as beſides the ſingular and ſubſtantial differences of every Soul, there is an intimate quality of Good or Evil, through the whole Progeny of *Adam*, which like a radical Heat, or mortal Chilneſs joyns them, or disjoyns them Irreſiſtibly. In whom therefore either the Will, or the Faculty is found to have never joyn'd, or now not to continue ſo, 'tis not to ſay, they ſhall be one fleſh, for they cannot be one fleſh. God commands not Impoſſibilities; and all the Eccleſiaſtical Glue, that Liturgy, or Laymen can compound, is not able to ſoder up two ſuch incongruous Natures into the one fleſh of a true beſeeming Marriage. Why did *Moſes* then ſet down their uniting into one fleſh? And I again ask, why the Goſpel ſo oft repeats the eating of our Saviours fleſh, the drinking of his Blood? *That we are one Body with him, the Members of his Body, Fleſh of his Fleſh and Bone of his Bone, Epheſ.* 5. Yet leſt we ſhould be *Capernaitans*, as we are told there, that the Fleſh profiteth nothing, ſo we are told here, if we be not as deaf as Adders, that this Union of the fleſh proceeds from the Union of a fit Help and Solace. We know, that there was never a more ſpiritual Myſtery then this Goſpel taught us under the terms of Body and Fleſh; yet nothing leſs intended then that we ſhould ſtick there. What a ſtupidneſs then is it, that in Marriage, which is the neareſt reſemblance of our Union with Chriſt, we ſhould deject our ſelves to ſuch a ſluggiſh and underfoot Philoſophy, as to eſteem the validity of Marriage meerly by the fleſh; though never ſo broken and disjoynted from Love and Peace, which only can give a Human Qualification to that Act of the Fleſh, and diſtinguiſh it from beſtial. The Text therefore uſes this Phraſe, that *they ſhall be one Fleſh*, to juſtify and make Legitimate the Rites of Marriage Bed; which was not unneedful, if for all this Warrant, they were ſuſpected of Pollution by ſome Sects of Philoſophy, and Religions of old, and latelier among the Papiſts, and other Heretics elder then they. Some think there is a high Myſtery in thoſe Words, from that which *Paul* ſaith of them, *Epheſ.* 5. *This is a great Myſtery, but I ſpeak of Chriſt and the Church*; and thence they would conclude Marriage to be inſeparable. For me I diſpute not now, whether Matrimony be a Myſtery or no; if it be of Chriſt and his Church, certainly it is not meant of every ungodly and miſwedded Marriage, but then only myſterious, when it is a holy, happy and peaceful Match. But when a Saint is joyn'd with a Reprobate, or both alike, wicked with wicked, fool with fool, a He-Drunkard with a She, when the Bed hath been nothing elſe for twenty years or more, but an old haunt of Luſt and Malice mixt together, no Love, no Goodneſs, no Loyalty, but Counterplotting, and ſecret wiſhing one anothers Diſſolution, this is to me the greateſt Myſtery in the World, if ſuch a Marriage as this, can be the Myſtery of ought, unleſs it be the Myſtery of Iniquity:

According

According to that which *Paræus* cites out of *Chryſoſtom*, that a bad Wife is a Help for the Devil, and the like may be ſaid of a bad Husband. Since therefore none but a fit and pious Matrimony can ſignify the Union of Chriſt and his Church, there cannot hence be any hindrance of Divorce to that Wedlock wherein there can be no good Myſtery. Rather it might to a Chriſtian Conſcience be matter of finding it ſelf ſo much leſs ſatisfy'd then before in the continuance of an unhappy Yoke, wherein there can be no Repreſentation either of Chriſt, or of his Church.

Thus having enquir'd the Inſtitution, how it was in the Beginning, both from the 1 *Chap.* of *Gen.* where it was only mention'd in part, and from the ſecond, where it was plainly and evidently inſtituted, and having attended each clauſe and word neceſſary, with a diligence not drouſy, we ſhall now fix with ſome advantage; and by a ſhort View backward gather up the ground we have gone; and ſum up the ſtrength we have, into one argumentative Head, with that *organic* force that *Logic* proffers us. All Arts acknowledg, that then only we know certainly, when we can define; for Definition is that which refines the pure Eſſence of things from the Circumſtance. If therefore we can attain in this our Controverſy to define exactly what Marriage is, we ſhall ſoon learn, when there is a Nullity thereof, and when a Divorce.

The Part therefore of this Chapter which hath been here treated, doth orderly and readily reſolve it ſelf into a Definition of Marriage, and a Conſectary from thence. To the Definition theſe Words chiefly contribute. *It is not good*, &c. *I will make*, &c. Where the Conſectary begins this Connection *Therefore* informs us, *Therefore ſhall a Man*, &c. Definition is decreed by Logicians to conſiſt only of Cauſes conſtituting the Eſſence of a thing, What is not therefore among the Cauſes conſtituting Marriage, muſt not ſtay in the Definition. Thoſe Cauſes are concluded to be *Matter*, and, as the Artiſt calls it, *Form*. But inaſmuch as the ſame thing may be a Cauſe more ways then one, and that in Relations and Inſtitutions which have no corporal Subſiſtence, but only a reſpective Being, the *Form* by which the thing is what it is, is oft ſo ſlender and undiſtinguiſhable, that it would ſoon confuſe, were it not ſuſtain'd by the efficient and final Cauſes, which concur to make up the *Form* invalid otherwiſe of it ſelf, it will be needful to take in all the fowre Cauſes into the Definition. Firſt therefore, the material Cauſe of Matrimony is Man and Woman; the Author and Efficient, God and their Conſent, the internal *Form* and Soul of this Relation, is conjugal Love ariſing from a mutual Fitneſs to the final Cauſes of Wedlock, Help and Society in religious, civil and domeſtick Converſation, which includes as an inferiour end, the fulfilling of natural Deſire, and ſpecifical Increaſe; theſe are the final Cauſes both moving the *Efficient*, and perfecting the *Form*. And although Copulation be conſider'd among the Ends of Marriage, yet the Act thereof in a right eſteem can no longer be matrimonial, then it is an effect of conjugal Love. When Love finds it ſelf utterly unmatch'd, and juſtly vaniſhes, nay rather cannot but vaniſh, the fleſhly Act indeed may continue, but not holy, not pure, not beſeeming the Sacred Bond of Marriage; being at beſt but an Animal Excretion, but more truly worſe and more ignoble than that mute Kindlineſs among the herds and flocks: In that proceeding, as it ought, from intellective Principles, it participates of nothing rational, but that which the Field and the Fold equals. For in human Actions, the Soul is the Agent, the Body in a manner Paſſive. If then the Body do out of ſenſitive Force, what the Soul complies not with, how can Man, and not rather ſomething beneath Man, be thought the Doer.

But to proceed in the purſuit of an accurate Definition, it will avail us ſomething, and whet our thoughts, to examin what Fabric hereof others have already rear'd. *Paræus* on *Gen.* defines Marriage to be *an indiſſoluble Conjunction*

ction of one Man and one Woman to an individual and intimate Converſation, and mutual Benevolence, &c. Wherein is to be markt his placing of intimate Converſation before bodily Benevolence; for bodily is meant, though indeed *Benevolence* rather ſounds *Will* than *Body*. Why then ſhall Divorce be granted for want of bodily Performance, and not for want of Fitneſs to intimate Converſation, whenas corporal Benevolence cannot in any human Faſhion be without this? Thus his Definition places the Ends of Marriage in one Order, and eſteems them in another. His *Tautology* alſo of indiſſoluble and individual is not to be imitated; eſpecially ſince neither indiſſoluble, nor individual hath ought to do in the exact Definition, being but a Conſectary flowing from thence, as appears by plain Scripture, *Therefore ſhall a Man leave*, &c. For Marriage is not true Marriage by being individual, but therefore individual; if it be true Marriage. No Argument but Cauſes enter the Definition; a Conſectary is but the Effect of thoſe Cauſes. Beſides, that Marriage is indiſſoluble, is not *Catholickly* true; we know it diſſoluble for Adultery, and for Deſertion by the Verdict of all Reformed Churches. Dr. *Ames* defines it *an individual Conjunction of one Man and one Woman, to Communion of Body and mutual Society of Life*; but this perverts the Order of God, who in the Inſtitution places Meet Help and Society of Life before Communion of Body. And vulgar Eſtimation undervalues beyond compariſon all Society of Life, and Communion of Mind beneath the Communion of Body; granting no Divorce, but to the want, or miſcommunicating of that *Hemingius*, an approved Author, *Melanchton*'s Scholar, and who, next to *Bucer* and *Eraſmus*, writes of Divorce moſt like a Divine, thus compriſes, *Marriage is a Conjunction of one Man and one Woman lawfully conſenting, into one fleſh, for mutual helps ſake, ordain'd of God.* And in his Explanation ſtands punctually upon the Conditions of Conſent, that it be not in any main Matter deluded, as being the Life of Wedlock, and no true Marriage without a true Conſent. *Into one fleſh* he expounds into one Mind, as well as one Body, and makes it the formal Cauſe: Herein only miſſing, while he puts the Effect into his Definition inſtead of the Cauſe, which the Text affords him. For *one fleſh* is not the formal Eſſence of Wedlock, but one End, or one Effect of *a meet help*; The end oft-times being the effect and fruit of the Form, as Logic teaches: Elſe many aged and holy Matrimonies, and more eminently that of *Joſeph* and *Mary*, would be no true Marriage. And that *Maxim* generally receiv'd, would be falſe, that *Conſent alone, though Copulation never follow, makes the Marriage.* Therefore to conſent lawfully into one fleſh, is not the formal Cauſe of Matrimony, but only one of the Effects. The Civil Lawyers and firſt *Juſtinian* or *Tribonian* defines Matrimony, a *Conjunction of Man and Woman containing individual Accuſtom of Life.* Wherein firſt, individual is not ſo bad as indiſſoluble put in by others: And although much Cavil might be made in the diſtinguiſhing between Indiviſible and Individual, yet the one taken for poſſible, the other for actual, neither the one nor the other can belong to the Eſſence of Marriage; eſpecially when a *Civilian* defines, by which Law Marriage is actually divorc'd for many Cauſes, and with good leave, by mutual Conſent. Therefore where *Conjunction* is ſaid, they who comment the *Inſtitutes*, agree that Conjunction of Mind is by the Law meant, not neceſſarily Conjunction of Body. That Law then had good Reaſon attending to its own Definition, that Divorce ſhould be granted for the breaking off that Conjunction which it holds neceſſary, ſooner then for the want of that Conjunction which it holds not neceſſary. And whereas *Tuningus* a famous Lawyer excuſes individual as the purpoſe of Marriage, not always the ſucceſs, it ſuffices not. Purpoſe is not able to conſtitute the Eſſence of a thing. Nature her ſelf the univerſal Mother intends nothing but her own Perfection and Preſervation; yet is not the more indiſſoluble for that. The *Pandects* out of *Modeſtinus*, though not define, yet well deſcribe Marriage, *the Conjunction of*

Male

Male and Female, the Society of all Life, the Communion of Divine and Human Right: Which *Bucer* alſo imitates on the fifth to the *Epheſians*. But it ſeems rather to comprehend the ſeveral ends of Marriage, then to contain the more conſtituting cauſe that makes it what it is.

That I therefore among others (for who ſings not *Hylas*) may give as well as take matter to be judg'd on, it will be look'd I ſhould produce another Definition than theſe which have not ſtood the Tryal. Thus then I ſuppoſe, that Marriage by the natural and plain Order of Gods Inſtitution in the Text may be more demonſtratively and eſſentially defin'd. *Marriage is a Divine Inſtitution joyning Man and Woman in a Love fitly diſpos'd to the helps and comforts of domeſtic Life. A divine Inſtitution.* This contains the prime efficient Cauſe of Marriage; as for Conſent of Parents and Guardians, it ſeems rather a Concurrence than a Cauſe; for as many that marry are in their own Power as not; and where they are not their own, yet they are not ſubjected beyond Reaſon. Now though efficient Cauſes are not requiſite in a Definition, yet Divine Inſtitution hath ſuch Influence upon the *Form*, and is ſo a conſerving Cauſe of it, that without it the *Form* is not ſufficient to diſtinguiſh Matrimony from other Conjunctions of Male and Female, which are not to be counted Marriage. *Joyning Man and Woman in a Love, &c.* This brings in the Parties Conſent; until which be, the Marriage hath no true being. When I ſay *Conſent*, I mean not Error, for Error is not properly Conſent: And why ſhould not Conſent be here underſtood with Equity and Good to either Part, as in all other Friendly Covenants, and not be ſtrain'd and cruelly urg'd to the Miſchief and Deſtruction of both? Neither do I mean that ſingular Act of Conſent which made the Contract, for that may remain, and yet the Marriage not true nor lawful; and that may ceaſe, and yet the Marriage both true and lawful, to their ſin that break it. So that either as no efficient at all, or but a tranſitory, it comes not into the Definition. That Conſent I mean which is a Love fitly diſpos'd to mutual Help and Comfort of Life; this is that happy *Form* of Marriage naturally ariſing from the very heart of Divine Inſtitution in the Text, in all the former Definitions either obſcurely, and under miſtaken Terms expreſt, or not at all. This gives Marriage all her due, all her benefits, all her being, all her diſtinct and proper being. This makes a Marriage not a Bondage, a Bleſſing not a Curſe, a Gift of God not a Snare. Unleſs there be a Love, and that Love born of Fitneſs, how can it laſt? Unleſs it laſt how can the beſt and ſweeteſt Purpoſes of Marriage be attain'd, and they not attain'd, which are the chief ends, and with a lawful Love conſtitute the formal Cauſe it ſelf of Marriage, how can the Eſſence thereof ſubſiſt, how can it be indeed what it goes for? Conclude therefore by all the Power of Reaſon, that where this Eſſence of Marriage is not, there can be no true Marriage; and the Parties either one of them, or both, are free, and without Fault rather by a Nullity, than by a Divorce may betake them to a ſecond Choice, if their preſent Condition be not tolerable to them. If any ſhall ask, why *domeſtic* in the Definition? I anſwer, that becauſe both in the Scriptures, and in the graveſt Poets and Philoſophers I find the Properties and Excellences of a Wife ſet out only from domeſtic Vertues; if they extend further, it diffuſes them into the Notion of ſome more common Duty than Matrimonial.

Thus far of the Definition; the *Conſectary* which flows from thence, and altogether depends thereon, is manifeſtly brought in by this Connexive Particle *Therefore*; and branches it ſelf into a double Conſequence; *Firſt*, Individual Society, *Therefore ſhall a Man leave Father and Mother*: *Secondly*, Conjugal Benevolence, *And they ſhall be one Fleſh*. Which as was ſhewn, is not without cauſe here mention'd, to prevent and to aboliſh the ſuſpect of Pollution in that natural and undefiled Act. Theſe Conſequences therefore cannot either in Religion, Law, or Reaſon be bound, and poſted upon Mankind to

his Sorrow and Miſery, but receive what force they have from the meetneſs of Help and Solace, which is the *formal* Cauſe and End of that Definition that ſuſtains them. And although it be not for the Majeſty of Scripture to Humble her ſelf in Artificial *Theorems*, and Definitions, and *Corollaries*, like a Profeſſor in the Schools, but looks to be *Analys'd*, and Interpreted by the Logical Induſtry of her Diſciples and Followers, and to be reduc'd by them, as oft as need is, into thoſe *Sciential* Rules, which are the Implements of Inſtruction, yet *Moſes*, as if foreſeeing the miſerable Work that Mans Ignorance and Puſilanimity would make in this Matrimonious buſineſs, and endeavouring his utmoſt to prevent it, condeſcends in this Place to ſuch a Methodical and School-like way of defining, and conſequencing, as in no Place of the whole Law more.

Thus, we have ſeen, and if we be not contentious, may know, what was Marriage in the beginning, to which in the Goſpel, we are referr'd; and what from hence to judge of Nullity, or Divorce, here I eſteem the work done; in this Field the Controverſie decided; but becauſe other Places of Scripture ſeem to look averſly upon this our Deciſion, although indeed they keep all Harmony with it, and becauſe it is a better work to reconcile the ſeeming diverſities of Scripture, then the real diſſentions of neareſt Friends, I ſhall aſſay in three following Diſcourſes to perform that Office.

Deut. 24. 1, 2.

1. *When a Man hath taken a Wife, and Married her, and it come to paſs that ſhe find no favour in his eyes, becauſe he hath found ſome uncleaneſs in her, then let him write her a Bill of Divorcement, and give it in her hand, and ſend her out of his Houſe.*
2. *And when ſhe is departed out of his Houſe, ſhe may go and be another Mans Wife.*

THat which is the only diſcommodity of ſpeaking in a clear matter, the abundance of Argument that preſſes to be utter'd, and the ſuſpence of Judgment what to chooſe, and how in the Multitude of Reaſon, to be not tedious, is the greateſt difficulty which I expect here to meet with. Yet much hath been ſaid formerly concerning this Law *in the Doctrine of Divorce*: Whereof I ſhall repeat no more then what is neceſſary. Two things are here doubted: *Firſt*, and that but of Late, whether this be a Law or no, *next*, what this Reaſon of *Uncleanneſs* might mean for which the Law is granted; That it is a plain Law no Man ever queſtion'd, till *Vatablus* within theſe Hundred years profeſs'd *Hebrew* at *Paris*, a Man of no Religion, as *Beza* deciphers him. Yet ſome there be who follow him, not only againſt the Current of all antiquity, both *Jewiſh*, and Chriſtian, but the evidence of Scripture alſo, *Malach.* 2. 16. *Let him who hateth put away ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael.* Although this Place alſo hath bin tamper'd with as if it were to be thus render'd, *The Lord God ſaith, that he hateth putting away.* But this new Interpretation reſts only in the Authority of *Junius*: For neither *Calvin*, nor *Vatablus* himſelf, nor any other known Divine ſo Interpreted before. And they, of beſt note who have tranſlated the Scripture ſince, and *Diodati* for one, follow not his Reading. And perhaps they might reject it, if for nothing elſe, for theſe two Reaſons: *Firſt*, it introduces in a new manner the Perſon of God ſpeaking leſs Majeſtic then he is ever wont; when God ſpeaks by his Prophet, he ever ſpeaks in the firſt Perſon; thereby ſignifying his Majeſty and Omni-preſence. He would have ſaid, I hate putting away, ſaith the Lord; and not ſent word by *Malachi* in a ſudden faln Stile, The *Lord God ſaith that he hateth putting away*; that were a Phraſe to ſhrink the Glorious Omnipreſence of God ſpeaking, into a kind of circumſcriptive Abſence. And were as if a Herald in the *Atcheivment* of a King, ſhould commit the *indecorum*

corum to ſet his Helmet ſideways and cloſe, not full fac'd and open in the poſture of Direction and Command. We cannot think therefore that this laſt Prophet would thus in a new faſhion abſent the Perſon of God from his own words as if he came not along with them. For it would alſo be wide from the proper ſcope of this place: He that reads attentively will ſoon perceive, that God blames not here the *Jews* for putting away their Wives, but for keeping ſtrange Concubines, to the *profaning of Juda's Holineſs*, and the vexation of their *Hebrew* Wives, *v.* 11. and 14. *Judah hath Married the Daughter of a ſtrange God*: And exhorts them rather to put their Wives away whom they hate, as the Law permitted, then to keep them under ſuch affronts. And it is receiv'd that this Prophet liv'd in thoſe times of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (nay by ſome is thought to be *Ezra* himſelf) when the People were forc't by theſe two Worthies to put their ſtrange Wives away. So that what the ſtory of thoſe times, and the plain Context of the 11 *verſe*, from whence this rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obſcure and curt *Ebraiſms* that follow, this Prophet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to Gods Law, which is the plaineſt Interpreter both of what God will, and what he can beſt ſuffer. Thus much evinces that God there commanded Divorce by *Malachi*, and this confirms that he commands it alſo here by *Moſes*.

I may the leſs doubt to mention by the way an Author, though counted Apocryphal, yet of no ſmall account for Piety and Wiſdom, the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*. Which Book begun by the Grand-father of that *Jeſus* who is call'd the Son of *Sirach*, might have been writt'n in part, not much after the time when *Malachi* liv'd; if we compute by the Reign of *Ptolemæus Euergetes*. It profeſſes to explain the Law and the Prophets, and yet exhorts us to Divorce for incurable Cauſes, and to cut off from the Fleſh thoſe whom it there deſcribes, *Eccleſiaſtic.* 25. 26. Which doubtleſs that wiſe and ancient Writer would never have adviſ'd, had either *Malachi* ſo lately forbidd'n it, or the Law by a full Precept not left it Lawful; but I urge not this for want of better Proof; our Saviour himſelf allows Divorce to be a Command, *Mark.* 10. 3, 5. Neither do they weak'n this Aſſertion, who ſay it was only a Sufferance, as ſhall be prov'd at large in that place of *Matthew*. But ſuppoſe it were not a Writt'n Law, they never can deny it was a Cuſtom, and ſo effect nothing. For the ſame reaſons that induce them why it ſhould not be a Law, will ſtrait'n them as hard why it ſhould be allow'd a Cuſtom. All Cuſtom is either Evil or not Evil: if it be Evil, this is the very end of Lawgiving, to aboliſh Evil Cuſtoms by wholſome Laws; unleſs we imagin *Moſes* weaker then every Negligent and Startling Politician. If it be, as they make this of Divorce to be, a Cuſtom againſt Nature, againſt Juſtice, againſt Charity, how, upon this moſt impure Cuſtom tolerated, could the God of Pureneſs erect a nice and preciſe Law, that the Wife Married after Divorce could not return to her former Husband, as being defil'd? What was all this following Niceneſs worth, built upon the lewd Foundation of a wicked thing allow'd? In few words then, this Cuſtom of Divorce either was allowable, or not allowable; if not allowable, how could it be allow'd? if it were allowable, all who underſtand Law will conſent, that a tolerated Cuſtom hath the Force of a Law, and is indeed no other but an unwritten Law, as *Juſtinian* calls it, and is as prevalent as any written Statute. So that their ſhift of turning this Law into a Cuſtom wheels about, and gives the On-ſet upon their own flanks; not diſproving, but concluding it to be the more firm Law, becauſe it was without Controverſy a granted Cuſtom; as clear in the reaſon of common Life, as thoſe giv'n Rules whereon *Euclides* builds his Propoſitions.

Thus being every way a Law of God, who can without Blaſphemy doubt it to be a juſt and pure Law. *Moſes* continually diſavows the giving them

any Statute, or Judgment, but what he learnt of God; of whom alſo in his Song he ſaith, *Deut.*32. *He is the rock, his work is perfect, all his ways are Judgment, a God of Truth and without Iniquity, juſt and right is he.* And *David* teſtifies, the Judgments of the Lord *are true and righteous altogether.* Not partly right and partly wrong, much leſs wrong altogether, as Divines of now adays dare cenſure them. *Moſes* again of that People to whom he gave this Law ſaith, *Deut.*14. *Ye are the Children of the Lord your God, the Lord hath choſen thee to be a peculiar People to himſelf above all the Nations upon the earth, that thou ſhouldſt keep all his Commandments; and be high in praiſe, in name, and in honour, holy to the Lord,* chap.26. And in the fourth, *Behold I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, keep therefore and do them. For this is your wiſdom and your underſtanding in the ſight of Nations that ſhall hear all theſe Statutes and ſay, ſurely this great Nation is a wiſe and underſtanding People. For what Nation is there ſo great, who hath God ſo nigh to them? And what Nation that hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous as all this Law which I ſet before you this day?* Thus whether we look at the Purity and Juſtice of God himſelf, the Jealouſy of his Honour among other Nations, the Holineſs and moral Perfection which he intended by his Law to teach this People, we cannot poſſibly think how he could indure to let them ſlugg and grow inveterately wicked, under baſe Allowances, and whole Adulterous Lives by diſpenſation. They might not eat, they might not touch an unclean thing; to what Hypocriſy then were they train'd up, if by Preſcription of the ſame Law, they might be unjuſt, they might be Adulterous for Term of Life? Forbid to Soyl their Garments with a coy imaginary Pollution, but not forbid, but countananc'd and animated by Law, to Soyl their Souls with deepeſt Defielments. What more unlike to God, what more like that God ſhould hate, then that his Law ſhould be ſo curious to waſh Veſſels, and Veſtures, and ſo careleſs to leave unwaſht, unregarded, ſo foul a ſcab of *Egypt* in their Souls? What would we more? The Statutes of the Lord are all pure and juſt: And if all then this of Divorce.

Becauſe he hath found ſome Uncleanneſs in her. That we may not Eſteem this Law to be a meer authorizing of Licence, as the Phariſees took it, *Moſes* adds the reaſon, for *ſome Uncleanneſs found.* Some heretofore have bin ſo Ignorant, as to have thought, that this *Uncleanneſs* means Adultery. But *Eraſmus*, who for having writ an excellent Treatiſe of Divorce, was wrote againſt by ſome burly ſtandard Divine, perhaps of *Cullen*, or of *Lovain*, who calls himſelf *Phimoſtomus*, ſhews learnedly out of the Fathers with other Teſtimonies and Reaſons, that *Uncleanneſs* is not here ſo underſtood; defends his former Work, though new to that Age, and perhaps counted Licentious, and fears not to ingage all his Fame on the Argument. Afterward, when Expoſitors began to underſtand the *Hebrew* Text, which they had not done of many Ages before, they Tranſlated Word for Word not *Uncleanneſs*, but *the Nakedneſs of any thing*; and conſidering that Nakedneſs is uſually referr'd in Scripture to the Mind as well as to the Body, they conſtantly expound it any Defect, Annoyance, or ill Quality in Nature, which to be joyn'd with, makes Life tedious, and ſuch Company worſe then Solitude. So that here will be no Cauſe to vary from the general Conſent of Expoſition, which gives us freely that God permitted Divorce, for whatever was unalterably diſtaſtful, whether in Body or Mind. But with this Admoniſhment, that if the *Roman* Law eſpecially in Contracts and Dowries left many things to Equity wit hthese cautions, *ex fide bonâ, quod æquius melius erit, ut inter bonos bene agere*, we will not gurdge to think that God intended not Licence here to every Humour, but to ſuch remedileſs Grievances as might move a Good, and Honeſt, and Faithful Man then to Divorce, when it can no more be peace or comfort to either of them continuing thus joyn'd. And although it could

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not be avoided, but that Men of hard Hearts would abuſe this Liberty, yet doubtleſs it was intended as all other Priviledges in Law are, to good Men principally, to bad only by accident. So that the ſin was not in the Permiſſion, nor ſimply in the Action of Divorce (for then the permitting alſo had been ſin) but only in the Abuſe. But that this Law ſhould, as it were, be wrung from God and *Moſes*, only to ſerve the Hard-heartedneſs, and the Luſt of injurious Men, how remote it is from all Senſe, and Law, and Honeſty, and therefore ſurely from the Meaning of Chriſt, ſhall abundantly be manifeſt in due Order.

Now although *Moſes* needed not to add other Reaſons of this Law then that one there expreſt, yet to theſe Ages wherein Canons, and *Scotiſms*, and *Lumbard* Laws, have dull'd, and almoſt obliterated the lively Sculpture of ancient Reaſon and Humanity, it will be requiſite to heap Reaſon upon Reaſon, and all little enough to vindicate the Whiteneſs and the Innocence of this divine Law, from the Calumny it finds at this day, of being a Door to Licence and Confuſion. When as indeed there is not a judicial Point in all *Moſes*, conſiſting of more true Equity, high Wiſdom, and God-like Pitty then this Law; not derogating, but preſerving the Honour and Peace of Marriage, and exactly agreeing with the Senſe and Mind of that Inſtitution in *Geneſis*.

For *firſt*, If Marriage be but an ordain'd Relation, as it ſeems not more, it cannot take place above the prime Dictates of Nature; and if it be of natural Right, yet it muſt yield to that which is more natural, and before it by Elderſhip and Precedence in Nature. Now it is not natural that *Hugh* marries *Beatrice*, or *Thomas Rebecca*, being only a civil Contract, and full of many Chances, but that theſe Men ſeek them meet Helps, that only is natural; and that they eſpouſe them ſuch, that only is Marriage. But if they find them neither fit Helps, nor tolerable Society, what thing more natural, more original and firſt in Nature than to depart from that which is irkſome, grievous, actively hateful, and injurious even to Hoſtility, eſpecially in a conjugal Reſpect, wherein Antipathies are invincible, and where the forc'd Abiding of the one, can be no true Good, no real Comfort to the other. For if he find no Contentment from the other, how can he return it from himſelf, or no Acceptance, how can he mutually accept? What more equal, more pious then to untie a civil Knot for a natural Enmity held by Violence from parting, to diſſolve an accidental Conjunction of this or that Man and Woman, for the moſt natural and moſt neceſſary Diſagreement of meet from unmeet, guilty from guiltleſs, contrary from contrary? It being certain that the myſtical and bleſſed Unity of Marriage can be no way more unhallow'd and profan'd, then by the forcible Uniting of ſuch Diſunions and Separations. Which if we ſee oft times they cannot joyn or peece up to a common Friendſhip, or to a willing Converſation in the ſame houſe, how ſhould they poſſibly agree to the moſt familiar and united Amity of Wedlock? *Abraham* and *Lot*, though dear Friends and Brethren in a ſtrange Country, choſe rather to part aſunder, then to infect their Friendſhip with the Strife of their Servants: *Paul* and *Barnabas* joyn'd together by the Holy Ghoſt to a ſpiritual Work, thought it better to ſeparate when once they grew at Variance. If theſe great Saints joyn'd by Nature, Friendſhip, Religion, high Providence, and Revelation, could not ſo govern a caſual Difference, a ſudden Paſſion, but muſt in Wiſdom divide from the outward Duties of a Friendſhip, or a Colleagueſhip in the ſame Family, or in the ſame Journey, leaſt it ſhould grow to a worſe Diviſion, can any thing be more abſurd and barbarous then that they whom only Error, Caſualty, Art or Plot hath joyn'd, ſhould be compell'd, not againſt a ſudden Paſſion but againſt the permanent and radical Diſcords of Nature, to the moſt intimate and incorporating Duties of Love and Embracement, therein only rational and human, as they are free and voluntary; being elſe an abject and

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ſervile Yoke, ſcarce not brutiſh. And that there is in Man ſuch a peculiar Sway of Liking or Diſliking in the Affairs of Matrimony is evidently ſeen before Marriage among thoſe who can be friendly, can reſpect each other, yet to marry each other would not for any perſuaſion. If then this Unfitneſs and Diſparity be not till after Marriage diſcover'd, through many Cauſes, and Colours, and Concealments, that may overſhadow; undoubtedly it will produce the ſame Effects and perhaps with more Vehemence, than ſuch a miſtaken Pair, would give the World to be unmarried again. And their Condition *Solomon* to the plain Juſtification of Divorce expreſſes, *Prov.* 30. 21, 23. Where he tells us of his own Accord, that a *hated*, or a *hateful* Woman, *when ſhe is marryed, is a thing for which the Earth is diſquieted, and cannot bear it*; thus giving divine Teſtimony to this divine Law, which bids us nothing more then is the firſt and moſt innocent Leſſon of Nature, to turn away peaceably from what afflicts and hazards our Deſtruction; eſpecially when our ſtaying can do no good, and is expos'd to all evil.

Secondly, It is unjuſt, that any Ordinance ordain'd to the good and comfort of Man, where that end is miſſing, without his fault, ſhould be forc'd upon him to an unſufferable Miſery and Diſcomfort, if not commonly Ruin. All Ordinances are eſtabliſht in their end; the end of Law is the Vertue, is the Righteouſneſs of Law. And therefore him we count an ill Expounder, who urges Law againſt the Intention thereof. The general end of every Ordinance, of every ſevereſt, every divineſt, even of Sabbath is the good of Man, yea his temporal Good not excluded. But Marriage is one of the benigneſt Ordinances of God to Man, whereof both the general and particular end is the Peace and Contentment of Mans Mind, as the Inſtitution declares. Contentment of Body they grant, which if it be defrauded, the Plea of Frigidity ſhall divorce: But here lies the fathomleſs Abſurdity, that granting this for bodily Defect, they will not grant it for any Defect of the Mind, any Violation of religious or civil Society. Whenas, if the Argument of Chriſt be firm againſt the Ruler of the Synagogue, *Luk.* 13. *Thou Hypocrite, doth not each of you on the Sabbath day loos'n his Oxe or his Aſs from the Stall, and lead him to watering, and ſhould not I unbind a Daughter of Abraham from this Bond of Satan?* It ſtands as good here, ye have regard in Marriage to the Grievance of Body, ſhould you not regard more the Grievances of the Mind, ſeeing the Soul as much excels the Body, as the outward Man excels the Aſs and more; for that *Animal* is yet a living Creature, perfect in it ſelf; but the Body without the Soul is a meer ſenceleſs Trunk. No Ordinance therefore giv'n particularly to the good both ſpiritual and temporal of Man, can be urg'd upon him to his Miſchief, and if they yield this to the unworthier part, the Body, whereabout are they in their Principles, that they yield it not to the more worthy, the Mind of a good Man?

Thirdly, As no Ordinance, ſo no Covenant, no not between God and Man, much leſs between Man and Man, being as all are, intended to the Good of both Parties, can hold to the deluding or making miſerable of them both. For Equity is underſtood in every Covenant, even between Enemies, though the Terms be not expreſt. If Equity therefore made it, Extremity may diſſolve it. But Marriage, they uſe to ſay, is the Covenant of God. Undoubted: And ſo is any Covenant frequently call'd in Scripture, wherein God is call'd to witneſs: the Covenant of Friendſhip between *David* and *Jonathan*, is call'd *the Covenant of the Lord*, 1 *Sam.*20. The Covenant of *Zedechiah* with the King of *Babel*, a Covenant to be doubted whether lawful or no, yet in reſpect of God invok'd thereto, is call'd *the Oath, and the Covenant of God*, *Ezeck.*17. Marriage alſo is call'd the *Covenant of God*, *Prov.* 2 17. Why, but as before, becauſe God is the witneſs thereof, *Malach.*2.14. So that this Denomination adds nothing to the Covenant of Marriage, above any other civil

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and ſolemn Contract; nor is it more indiſſoluble for this reaſon than any other againſt the end of it's own Ordination, nor is any Vow or Oath to God exacted with ſuch a Rigour, where Superſtition reigns not. For look how much Divine the Covenant is, ſo much the more equal; So much the more to be expected, that every Article thereof ſhould be fairly made good, no falſe Dealing, or unperforming ſhould be thruſt upon Men without Redreſs, if the Covenant be ſo Divine. But Faith they ſay muſt be kept in Covenant, though to our damage. I anſwer, that only holds true, where the other ſide performs, which failing, he is no longer bound. Again, this is true, when the keeping of Faith can be of any uſe or benefit to the other. But in Marriage a League of Love and Willingneſs, if Faith be not willingly kept, it ſcarce is worth the keeping; nor can be any delight to a generous Mind, with whom it is forcibly kept; and the queſtion ſtill ſuppoſes the one brought to an Impoſſibility of keeping it as he ought, by the others default, and to keep it formally, not only with a thouſand ſhifts and diſſimulations, but with open anguiſh, perpetual Sadneſs and Diſturbance, no Willingneſs, no Chearfulneſs, no Contentment, cannot be any good to a Mind not baſely poor and ſhallow, with whom the Contract of Love is ſo kept. A Covenant therefore brought to that paſs, is on the unfaulty ſide without Injury diſſolv'd.

Fourthly, The Law is not to neglect Men under greateſt Sufferances, but to ſee Covenants of greateſt Moment faithfulleſt perform'd. And what Injury comparable to that ſuſtain'd in a fruſtrate and falſe dealing Marriage, to looſe, for anothers Fault againſt him, the beſt Portion of his temporal comforts, and of his ſpiritual too, as it may fall out. It was the Law, that for Mans good and quiet, reduc'd things to Propriety, which were at firſt in common; how much more Law like were it to aſſiſt Nature in diſappropriating that Evil which by continuing proper becomes deſtructive. But he might have bewar'd. So he might in any other Cov'nant, wherein the Law does not conſtrain Error to ſo dear a Forfeit. And yet in theſe matters wherein the wiſeſt are apt to err, all the warineſs that can be, oft times nothing avails. But the Law can compel the offending Party to be more duteous. Yes, if all theſe kind of Offences were fit in publick to be complain'd on, or being compell'd were any Satisfaction to a Mate not Sottiſh, or Malicious. And theſe Injuries work ſo vehemently, that if the Law remedy them not, by ſeparating the cauſe when no way elſe will pacify, the Perſon not reliev'd betakes him either to ſuch diſorderly courſes, or to ſuch a dull Dejection, as renders him either infamous, or uſeleſs to the Service of God and his Country. Which the Law ought to prevent as a thing pernicious to the Commonwealth; and what better Prevention then this which *Moſes* us'd.

Fifthly, The Law is to tender the Liberty and the human Dignity of them that live under the Law, whether it be the Mans Right above the Woman, or the Womans juſt Appeal againſt Wrong, and Servitude. But the duties of Marriage contain in them a Duty of Benevolence, which to do by Compulſion againſt the Soul, where there can be neither Peace, nor Joy, nor Love, but an Enthralment to one who either cannot, or will not, be mutual in the Godlieſt and the Civileſt ends of that Society, is the ignobleſt, and the loweſt Slavery that a human ſhape can be put to. This Law therefore juſtly and piouſly provides againſt ſuch an unmanly Task of Bondage as this. The Civil Law, though it favour'd the ſetting free of a Slave, yet if he prov'd ungrateful to his Patron, reduc'd him to a ſervile Condition. If that Law did well to reduce from Liberty to Bondage for an Ingratitude not the greateſt, much more became it the Law of God to enact the Reſtorement of a free born Man from an unpurpos'd, and unworthy Bondage to a Rightful Liberty for the moſt unnatural Fraud and Ingratitude that can be committed againſt him. And if that Civilian Emperour in his Title of *Donations*, permit the Giver to recal his Gift from him who proves unthankful towards him, yea, though

though he had ſubſcrib'd and ſign'd in the deed of his Gift, not to recal it though for this very cauſe of Ingratitude, with much more Equity doth *Moſes* permit here the giver to recal no petty gift, but the gift of himſelf from one who moſt injuriouſly and deceitfully uſes him againſt the main ends and conditions of his giving himſelf, expreſt in Gods Inſtitution.

Sixthly, Although there be nothing in the plain words of this Law, that ſeems to regard the afflictions of a Wife, how great ſo ever, yet Expoſitors determin, and doubtleſs determin rightly, that God was not uncompaſſioned of them alſo in the framing of this Law. For ſhould the Reſcript of *Antoninus* in the Civil Law give releaſe to Servants flying for refuge to the Emperours Statue, by giving leave to change their cruel Maſters, and ſhould God who in his Law alſo is Good to injur'd Servants, by granting them their Freedom in divers caſes, not conſider the wrongs and miſeries of a Wife which is no Servant. Though herein the counter Senſe of our Divines, to me, I muſt confeſs, ſeems admirable; who teach, that God gave this as a merciful Law, not for Man whom he here names, and to whom by name he gives this Power, but for the Wife whom he names not, and to whom by name he gives no Power at all. For certainly, if Man be liable to injuries in Marriage, as well as Women, and Man be the worthier Perſon, it were a prepoſterous Law to reſpect only the leſs worthy; her whom God made for Marriage, and not him at all for whom Marriage was made.

Seventhly, The Law of Marriage gives place to the Power of Parents: For we hold, that conſent of Parents not had may break the Wedlock, though elſe accompliſht. It gives place to Maſterly Power, for the Maſter might take away from an *Hebrew* Servant the Wife which he gave him, *Exod.* 21: If it be anſwer'd, that the Marriage of Servants is no Matrimony: 'Tis replyed, that this in the Ancient *Roman* Law is true, not in the *Moſaick*. If it be added, ſhe was a ſtranger not an *Hebrew*, therefore eaſily Divorc'd, it will be anſwer'd that ſtrangers not being *Canaanites*, and they alſo being Converts might be Lawfully Married, as *Rahab* was. And her Converſion is here ſuppos'd; for an *Hebrew* Maſter could not Lawfully give a *Heathen* Wife to an *Hebrew* Servant. However, the Divorcing of an *Iſraelitiſh* Woman was as eaſy by the Law, as the Divorcing of a ſtranger, and almoſt in the ſame words permitted, *Deut.* 24. and *Deut.* 21. *Laſtly*, it gives place to the Right of War, for a Captive Woman Lawfully Married, and afterward not belov'd, might be diſmiſt, only without Ranſom. *Deut.* 21. If Marriage may be diſſolv'd by ſo many exterior Powers, not ſuperior, as we think, why may not the Power of Marriage it ſelf for its own Peace and Honour diſſolve it ſelf, where the Perſons Wedded be free Perſons, why may not a greater and more Natural Power complaining diſſolve Marriage? For the ends why Matrimony was ordain'd, are certainly, and by all Logick above the Ordinance it ſelf, why may not that diſſolve Marriage without which that Inſtitution hath no force at all? For the prime ends of Marriage, are the whole ſtrength and validity thereof, without which Matrimony is like an Idol, nothing in the World. But thoſe former Allowances were all for hardneſs of heart. Be that granted, until we come where to underſtand it better: If the Law ſuffer thus far the obſtinacy of a Bad Man, is it not more Righteous here, to do willingly what is but equal, to remove in ſeaſon the Extremities of a good Man?

Eigthly, If a Man had deflowr'd a Virgin, or brought an ill Name on his Wife that ſhe came not a Virgin to him, he was amerc'd in certain ſhekles of Silver, and bound never to Divorce her all his days, *Deut.* 22. which ſhews, that the Law gave no Liberty to Divorce, where the Injury was palpable; and that the abſolute forbidding to Divorce, was in part the Puniſhment of a Deflowrer, and a Defamer. Yet not ſo but that the Wife queſtionleſs might depart when ſhe pleas'd. Otherwiſe this courſe had not ſo much

righted her, as delivered her up to more ſpight and cruel uſage. This Law therefore doth juſtly diſtinguiſh the Priviledge of an honeſt and blameleſs Man in the Matter of Divorce from the Puniſhment of a notorious Offender.

Ninthly, Suppoſe it might be imputed to a Man, that he was too raſh in his choice, and why took he not better heed, let him now ſmart, and bear his Folly as he may; although the Law of God, that terrible Law do not thus upbraid the Infirmities and unwilling Miſtakes of Man in his Integrity: But ſuppoſe theſe and the like proud Aggravations of ſome ſtern Hypocrite, more mercileſs in his Mercies, then any literal Law in the vigor of Severity, muſt be patiently heard; yet all Law, and Gods Law eſpecially grants every where to Error eaſy Remitments, even where the utmoſt Penalty exacted were no Undoing. With great Reaſon therefore and Mercy doth it here not torment an Error, if it be ſo, with the endurance of a whole Life loſt to all houſhold Comfort and Society, a Puniſhment of too vaſt and huge Dimenſion for an Error, and the more unreaſonable for that the like Objection may be oppos'd againſt the Plea of divorcing for Adultery; He might have look'd better before to her Breeding under religious Parents: Why did he not then more diligently inquire into her Manners, into what Company ſhe kept? Every glance of her Eye, every ſtep of her Gate would have propheſy'd Adultery, if the quick Scent of theſe Diſcerners had been took along; they had the Divination to have foretold you all this; as they have now the Divinity to puniſh an Error inhumanly. As good Reaſon to be content, and forc'd to be content with your Adultreſs, if theſe Objecters might be the Judges of human Frailty. But God more mild and good to Man, then Man to his Brother, in all this Liberty given to Divorcement, mentions not a word of our paſt Errors and Miſtakes, if any were, which theſe Men objecting from their own Inventions proſecute with all Violence and Iniquity. For if the one be to look ſo narrowly what he takes, at the Peril of ever keeping, why ſhould not the other be made as wary what is promis'd, by the Peril of looſing? for without thoſe Promiſes the Treaty of Marriage had not proceeded. Why ſhould his own Error bind him, rather then the others Fraud acquit him? Let the Buyer beware, ſaith the Law-beaten Termer. Belike then there is no more Honeſty, nor Ingenuity in the Bargain of Wedlock, then in the buying of a Colt: We muſt it ſeems drive it on as craftily with thoſe whoſe Affinity we ſeek, as if they were a Pack of Sale-men and Complotters. But the Deceiver deceives himſelf in the unproſperous Marriage, and therein is ſufficiently puniſh'd. I anſwer, that the moſt of thoſe who deceive, are ſuch as either underſtand not, or value not the true Purpoſes of Marriage; they have the Prey they ſeek, not the Puniſhment: Yet ſay it prove to them ſome Croſs, it is not equal that Error and Fraud ſhould be linkt in the ſame degree of Forfeiture, but rather that Error ſhould be acquitted, and Fraud bereav'd his Morſel: If the Miſtake were not on both ſides, for then on both ſides the Acquitment would be reaſonable, if the Bondage be intolerable; which this Law graciouſly determines, not unmindful of the Wife, as was granted willingly to the common Expoſitors, though beyond the Letter of this Law, yet not beyond the Spirit of Charity.

Tenthly, Marriage is a ſolemn thing, ſome ſay a holy, the Reſemblance of Chriſt and his Church; and ſo indeed it is where the Perſons are truly religious; and we know all ſacred things not perform'd ſincerely as they ought, are no way acceptable to God in their outward Formality. And that wherein it differs from perſonal Duties, if they be not truly done, the fault is in our ſelves; but Marriage to be a true and pious Marriage is not in the ſingle power of any Perſon; the Eſſence whereof, as of all other Covenants in relation to another, the making and maintaining Cauſes thereof are all mutual, and muſt be a Communion of ſpiritual and temporal Comforts. If then either of them cannot, or obſtinately will not be anſwerable in theſe Duties, ſo as that the other can have no peaceful living, or enduring the want of what

he juſtly ſeeks, and ſees no Hope, then ſtrait from that dwelling Love, which is the Soul of Wedlock, takes his flight, leaving only ſome cold Performances of civil and common Reſpects, but the true Bond of Marriage, if there were ever any there, is already burſt like a rotten Thread. Then follows Diſſimulation, Suſpicion, falſe Colours, falſe Prerences, and worſe then theſe, Diſturbance, Annoyance, Vexation, Sorrow, Temptation even in the faultleſs Perſon, weary of himſelf, and of all Action publick or domeſtick; then comes Diſorder, Neglect, Hatred, and perpetual Striſe, all theſe the Enemies of Holineſs and Chriſtianity, and every one of theſe perſiſted in, a remedileſs Violation to Matrimony. Therefore God who hates all Feigning and Formality, where there ſhould be all Faith and Sincereneſs, and abhors to ſee inevitable Diſcord, where there ſhould be greateſt Concord, when through anothers default, Faith and Concord cannot be, counts it neither juſt to puniſh the Innocent with the Tranſgreſſour, nor holy, nor honourable for the Sanctity of Marriage, that ſhould be the union of Peace and Love, to be made the commitment and cloſe fight of Enmity and Hate. And therefore doth in this Law, what beſt agrees with his Goodneſs, loos'ning a ſacred thing to Peace and Charity, rather then binding it to Hatred and Contention: loos'ning only the outward and formal Tie of that which is already inwardly, and really broken, or elſe was really never joyn'd.

Eleventhly, One of the chief matrimonial ends is ſaid to ſeeka holy Seed; but where an unfit Marriage adminiſters continual Cauſe of Hatred and Diſtemper, there, as was heard before, cannot chooſe but much Unholineſs abide. Nothing more unhallows a Man, more unprepares him to the Service of God in any Duty, then a habit of Wrath and Perturbation, ariſing from the Importunity of troublous Cauſes never abſent. And where the Houſhold ſtands in this Plight, what Love can there be to the unfortunate Iſſue, what Care of their Breeding, which is of main Conducement to their being holy. God therefore knowing how unhappy it would be for Children to be born in ſuch a Family, gives this Law either as a Prevention, that being an unhappy Pair, they ſhould not add to be unhappy Parents, or elſe as a Remedy that if there be Children, while they are feweſt, they may follow either Parent, as ſhall be agreed, or judg'd, from the Houſe of Hatred and Diſcord, to a Place of more holy and peaceable Education.

Twelfthly, All Law is available to ſome good End, but the final Prohibition of Divorce avails to no good End, cauſing only the endleſs Aggravation of Evil, and therefore this Permiſſion of Divorce was given to the *Jews* by the Wiſdom and fatherly Providence of God; who knew that Law cannot command Love, without which, Matrimony hath no true Being, no Good, no Solace, nothing of Gods inſtituting, nothing but ſo ſordid and ſo low, as to be diſdain'd of any generous Perſon. Law cannot enable natural Inability either of Body or Mind, which gives the Grievance; it cannot make equal thoſe Inequalities, it cannot make fit thoſe Unfitneſſes; and where there is Malice more then Defect of Nature, it cannot hinder ten thouſand Injuries, and bitter Actions of Deſpight too ſubtle and too unapparent for Law to deal with. And while it ſeeks to remedy more outward Wrongs, it expoſes the injur'd Perſon to other more inward and more cutting. All theſe Evils unavoidably will redound upon the Children, if any be, and the whole Family. It degenerates and diſorders the beſt Spirits, leaves them to unſettl'd Imaginations, and degraded Hopes, careleſs of Themſelves, their Houſhold and their Friends, unactive to all publick Service, dead to the Common-wealth; wherein they are by one Miſhap, and no willing Treſpaſs of theirs, outlaw'd from all the Benefits and Comforts of married Life and Poſterity. It confers as little to the Honour and inviolable Keeping of Matrimony, but ſooner ſtirs up Temptations and Occaſions to ſecret Adulteries, and unchaſt Roaving. But it maintains publick Honeſty. Publick Folly rather, who ſhall

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judge of publick Honesty? The Law of God, and of ancienteſt Chriſtians, and all civil Nations, or the illegitimate Law of Monks and Canoniſts, the moſt malevolent, moſt unexperienc'd, and incompetent Judges of Matrimony?

Theſe Reaſons, and many more that might be alledg'd, afford us plainly to perceive, both what good Cauſe this Law had to do for good Men in Miſchances, and what Neceſſity it had to ſuffer accidentally the hard-heartedneſs of bad Men, which it could not certainly diſcover, or diſcovering could not ſubdue, no nor endeavour to reſtrain without multiplying Sorrow to them, for whom all was endeavour'd. The guiltleſs therefore were not deprived their needful Redreſſes, and the hard Hearts of others unchaſtiſable in thoſe judicial Courts, were ſo remitted there, as bound over to the higher Seſſion of Conſcience.

Notwithſtanding all this, there is a loud Exception againſt this Law of God, nor can the holy Author ſave his Law from this Exception, that it opens a Door to all Licence and Confuſion. But this is the rudeſt, I was almoſt ſaying the moſt graceleſs Objection, and with the leaſt Reverence to God and *Moſes*, that could be deviſ'd: This is to cite God before Man's Tribunal, to arrogate a Wiſdom and Holineſs above him. Did not God then foreſee what Event of Licence or Confuſion could follow? Did not he know how to ponder theſe abuſes with more prevailing reſpects, in the moſt even ballance of his Juſtice and Pureneſs, till theſe Correctors came up to ſhew him better? The Law is, if it ſtir up Sin any way, to ſtir it up by forbidding, as one contrary excites another, *Rom.* 7. but if it once come to provoke Sin, by granting Licence to Sin, according to Laws that have no other honeſt end, but only to permit the fulfilling of obſtinate Luſt, how is God not made the Contradicter of himſelf? No Man denies that beſt things may be abus'd: But it is a Rule reſulting from many pregnant Experiences, that what doth moſt harm in the abuſing, us'd Rightly doth moſt Good. And ſuch a Good to take away from Honeſt Men, for being abus'd by ſuch as abuſe all things, is the greateſt abuſe of all. That the whole Law is no further uſeful, then as a Man uſes it Lawfully, St. *Paul* teaches 1 *Tim.* 1. And that Chriſtian Liberty may be us'd for an occaſion to the Fleſh, the ſame Apoſtle confeſſes, *Galat.* 5. Yet thinks not of removing it for that, but bids us rather *Stand faſt in the Liberty wherewith Chriſt hath freed us, and not be held again in the Yoke of Bondage.* The very Permiſſion which Chriſt gave to Divorce for Adultery, may be foully abus'd, by any whoſe hardneſs of heart can either fain Adultery, or dares commit, that he may Divorce. And for this cauſe the *Pope* and hitherto the *Church* of *England*, forbid all Divorce from the Bond of Marriage, though for openeſt Adultery. If then it be righteous to hinder for the fear of abuſe, that which Gods Law notwithſtanding that caution, hath Warranted to be done, doth not our righteouſneſs come ſhort of Antichriſt, or do we not rather herein conform our ſelves to his unrighteouſneſs in this undue and unwiſe fear. For God regards more to relieve by this Law the juſt Complaints of good Men, then to curb the Licence of wicked Men, to the cruſhing withal, and the overwhelming of his afflicted Servants. He loves more that his Law ſhould look with pitty upon the difficulties of his own, then with rigor upon the boundleſs Riots of them who ſerve another Maſter, and hinder'd here by ſtrictneſs, will break another way to worſe Enormities. If this Law therefore have many Good reaſons for which God gave it, and no Intention of giving ſcope to Lewdneſs, but as Abuſe by Accident comes in with every good Law, and every Good thing, it cannot be Wiſdom in us, while we can content us with Gods Wiſdom, nor can be Purity, if his Purity will ſuffice us, to except againſt his Law, as if it foſter'd Licence. But if they affirm this Law had no other end, but to permit obdurat Luſt, becauſe it would be obdurat, making the Law of God intentionally to proclaim and

enact Sin Lawful, as if the Will of God were become Sinful, or Sin ſtronger then his direct and Law-giving Will, the Men would be admoniſht to look well to it, that while they are ſo eager to ſhut the door againſt Licence, they do not open a worſe door to Blaſphemy. And yet they ſhall be here further ſhown their Iniquity; what more foul and common Sin among us then Drunkenneſs, and who can be Ignorant, that if the Importation of Wine, and the uſe of all ſtrong Drink were forbid, it would both clean rid the Poſſibility of committing that odious Vice, and Men might afterwards live happily and healthfully, without the uſe of thoſe intoxicating Liquors. Yet who is there the ſevereſt of them all, that ever propounded to looſe his Sack, his Ale, toward the certain aboliſhing of ſo great a Sin, who is there of them, the holieſt, that leſs loves his rich *Canary* at meals, though it be fetcht from places that hazard the Religion of them who fetch it, and though it make his Neighbour drunk out of the ſame Tun? While they forbid not therefore the uſe of that liquid Merchandiſe, which forbidd'n would utterly remove a moſt loathſom Sin, and not impair either the Health, or the Refreſhment of Mankind, ſupply'd many other ways, why do they forbid a Law of God, the forbidding whereof brings into an exceſſive Bondage, oft-times the beſt of Men, and betters not the worſe? He to remove a National Vice, will not pardon his Cups, nor think it concerns him to forbear the Quaffing of that outlandiſh Grape, in his unneceſſary Fullneſs, though other Men abuſe it never ſo much, nor is he ſo abſtemious as to intercede with the Magiſtrate that all matter of Drunkenneſs be baniſht the Common-wealth, and yet for the fear of a leſs Inconvenience unpardonably requires of his Brethren, in their extream neceſſity to debar themſelves the uſe of Gods permiſſive Law, though it might be there ſaving, and no Mans indangering the more. Thus this peremptory ſtrictneſs we may diſcern of what ſort it is, how unequal, and how unjuſt.

But it will breed Confuſion. What Confuſion it would breed, God himſelf took the care to prevent in the fourth verſe of this Chapter, that the divorc'd being Married to another, might not return to her former Husband. And *Juſtinians* Law counſels the ſame in his Title of *Nuptials*. And what Confuſion elſe can there be in Separation, to ſeparate, upon extream urgency, the Religious from the Irreligious, the fit from the unfit, the willing from the willful, the abus'd from the abuſer, ſuch a ſeparation is quite contrary to confuſion. But to bind and mix together holy with Atheiſt, Heavenly with Helliſh, fitneſs with unfitneſs, Light with Darkneſs, Antipathy with Antipathy, the injur'd with the injurer, and force them into the moſt inward nearneſs of a deteſted Union, this doubtleſs is the moſt horrid, the moſt unnatural mixture, the greateſt confuſion that can be confus'd?

Thus by this Plain and Chriſtian *Talmud* vindicating the Law of God from irreverent and unwary Expoſitions, I truſt, where it ſhall meet with intelligible Peruſers, ſome ſtay at leaſt of Mens thoughts will be obtain'd, to conſider theſe many prudent and righteous ends of this Divorcing Permiſſion. That it may have, for the great Authors ſake, hereafter ſome competent Allowance to be counted a little purer then the Prerogative of a Legal and Publick Ribaldry, granted to that Holy Seed. So that from hence we ſhall hope to find the way ſtill more open to the reconciling of thoſe places which treat of this matter in the Goſpel. And thither now without Interruption the courſe of Method brings us.

TETRACHORDON,

Matt. 5. 31, 32.

31. *It hath been ſaid whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife, let him give her a writing of Divorcement.*

32. *But I ſay unto you that whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife,* &c.

Matt. 19. 3, 4, &c.

3. *And the Phariſees alſo came unto him tempting him,* &c.

IT hath been ſaid.] What hitherto hath been ſpoke upon the Law of God touching Matrimony or Divorce, he who will deny to have been argu'd according to reaſon, and all equity of Scripture, I cannot edifie how, or by what Rule of proportion that Mans vertue calculates, what his *Elements* are, nor what his *Analytics*. Confidently to thoſe who have read Good Books, and to thoſe whoſe reaſon is not an illiterate Book to themſelves I appeal, whether they would not confeſs all this to be the Commentary of Truth and Juſtice, were it not for theſe recited Words of our Saviour. And if they take not back that which they thus grant, nothing ſooner might perſwade them, that Chriſt here teaches no new Precept, and nothing ſooner might direct them, to find his meaning, then to compare and meaſure it by the Rules of Nature and eternal Righteouſneſs, which no written Law extinguiſhes, and the Goſpel leaſt of all. For what can be more oppoſite and diſparaging to the Cov'nant of Love, of Freedom, and of our Manhood in Grace, then to be made the Yoking Pedagogue of new Severities, the Scribe of Syllables and rigid Letters, not only greivous to the beſt of Men, but different and ſtrange from the Light of Reaſon in them, ſave only as they are fain to ſtretch and diſtort their Apprehenſions, for fear of diſpleaſing the verbal ſtraightneſs of a Text, which our own ſervile fear gives us not the leiſure to underſtand aright. If the Law of Chriſt ſhall be writt'n in our hearts, as was promis'd to the Goſpel, *Jer.* 31. how can this in the vulgar and ſuperficial Senſe be a Law of Chriſt, ſo far from being written in our hearts, that it injures and diſallows not only the free Dictates of Nature and Moral Law, but of Charity alſo and Religion in our hearts. Our Saviour's Doctrin is, that the end, and the fulfilling of every Command is Charity; no Faith without it, no Truth without it, no Worſhip, no Works pleaſing to God, but as they partake of Charity. He himſelf ſets us an Example, breaking the ſolemneſt and the ſtricteſt Ordinance of religious Reſt, and juſtifyed the breaking, not to cure a dying Man, but ſuch whoſe cure might without danger have been deferr'd. And wherefore needs muſt the Sick Mans Bed be carryed home on that day by his Appointment, and why were the Diſciples who could not forbear on that Day to pluck the Corn, ſo induſtriouſly defended, but to ſhew us, that if he preferr'd the ſlighteſt occaſions of Mans Good before the obſerving of higheſt and ſevereſt Ordinances, he gave us much more eaſie leave to break the intolerable Yoke of a never well-joyn'd Wedlock for the removing of our heavieſt Afflictions. Therefore it is that the moſt of Evangelick Precepts are given us in proverbial Forms, to drive us from the Letter, though we love ever to be ſticking there. For no other cauſe did Chriſt aſſure us, that whatſoever things we bind, or ſlacken on Earth, are ſo in Heaven, but to ſignifie that the Chriſtian Arbitrement of Charity is Supreme Decider of all Controverſies, and Supream Reſolver of all Scripture; not as the Pope determins for his own Tyrany, but as the Church ought to determine for its own true Liberty. Hence *Euſebius* not far from

beginning

beginning his Hiſtory, compares the State of Chriſtians to that of *Noah* and the Patriarchs before the Law. And this indeed was the reaſon, why *Apoſtolick* Tradition in the Ancient Church was counted nigh equal to the writt'n Word, though it carryed them at length awry, for want of conſidering, that Tradition was not left to be impos'd as Law, but to be a Pattern of that Chriſtian Prudence, and Liberty which Holy Men by Right aſſum'd of old, which Truth was ſo evident, that it found Entrance even into the Counſel of *Trent*, when the Point of Tradition came to be diſcuſt. And *Marinaro* a Learned *Carmilite* for approaching too near the true Cauſe that gave eſteem to Tradition, that is to ſay, the difference between the Old and New Teſtament, the one punctually preſcribing writt'n Law, the other guiding by the inward Spirit, was reprehended by Cardinal *Poole* as one that had ſpoken more worthy a *German Colloquy*, then a *general Council*. I omit many Inſtances, many Proofs and Arguments of this kind, which alone would compile a juſt Volume, and ſhall content me here to have ſhew'n briefly, that the great and almoſt only Commandment of the Goſpel, is to command nothing againſt the Good of Man, and much more no Civil Command againſt his Civil Good. If we underſtand not this, we are but crackt Cimbals, we do but tinckle, we know nothing, we do nothing, all the Sweat of our toilſomeſt Obedience will but mock us. And what we ſuffer ſuperſtitiouſly returns us no thanks. Thus med'cining our eyes we need not doubt to ſee more into the meaning of theſe our Saviours Words, then many who have gone before us.

[*It hath been ſaid, whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife.*] Our Saviour was by the Doctors of his time ſuſpected of intending to diſſolve the Law. In this Chapter he wipes off this aſperſion upon his Accuſers, and ſhews how they were the Law breakers. In every Common-wealth when it decays, corruption makes two main ſteps; firſt when Men ceaſe to do according to the inward and uncompell'd Actions of Vertue, caring only to live by the outward Conſtraint of Law, and turn the Simplicity of real Good, into the craft of ſeeming ſo by Law. To this Hypocritical Honeſty was *Rome* declin'd in that Age, wherein *Horace* lived and diſcover'd it to *Quintus*.

Whom do we count a Good Man, whom but he
Who keeps the Laws and Statutes of the Senate,
Who judges in great Suits and Controverſies,
Whoſe Witneſs and Opinion winns the cauſe;
But his own Houſe, and the whole Neighbourhood
Sees his foul inſide through his Whited Skin.

The next declining is, when Law becomes now too ſtraight for the ſecular Manners, and thoſe too looſe for the Cincture of Law. This brings in falſe and crooked Interpretations to eke out Law, and invents the ſubtle Enchroachment of obſcure Traditions hard to be diſprov'd. To both theſe Deſcents the Phariſees themſelves were fall'n. Our Saviour therefore ſhews them both where they broke the Law in not marking the Divine Intent thereof, but only the Letter, and where they deprav'd the Letter alſo with ſophiſtical Expoſitions. This Law of Divorce they had deprav'd both ways. *Firſt*, by teaching, that to give a Bill of Divorce was all the Duty which that Law requir'd, whatever the Cauſe were. *Next*, by running to Divorce for any trivial, accidental Cauſe; whenas the Law evidently ſtays in the grave Cauſes of natural and immutable Diſlike. [*It hath been ſaid,*] ſaith he, Chriſt doth not put any Contempt or Diſeſteem upon the Law of *Moſes*, by citing it ſo briefly; for in the ſame manner God himſelf cites a Law of greateſt Caution, *Jer.* 3. *They ſay if a Man put away his Wife, ſhall he return to her again*, &c. Nor doth he more aboliſh it then the Law of Swearing, cited next with the ſame Brevity, and more Appearance of contradicting. For Divorce hath an Exception

ception left it, but we are charg'd there, as abſolutely as Words can charge us, *not to ſwear at all:* Yet who denies the Lawfulneſs of an Oath, though here it be in no caſe permitted? And what ſhall become of his ſolemn Proteſtation not to aboliſh one Law, or one Tittle of any Law, eſpecially of thoſe which he mentions in this Chapter. And that he meant more particularly the not aboliſhing of *Moſaic* Divorce, is beyond all Cavil manifeſt in *Lu.* 16. 17, 18. where this Clauſe againſt Abrogating is inſerted immediately before the ſentence againſt Divorce, as if it were call'd thither on purpoſe to defend the equity of this particular Law againſt the foreſeen raſhneſs of common Textuaries, who aboliſh Laws, as the Rable demoliſh Images, in the Zeal of their Hammers oft violating the Sepulchers of Good Men, like *Pentheus* in the Tragedies, they ſee that for *Thebes* which is not, and take that for Superſtition, as theſe Men in the heat for their annulling perceive not how they aboliſh right, and equal, and Juſtice under the appearance of *Judicial.* And yet are confeſſing all the while, that theſe Sayings of Chriſt ſtand not in contradiction to the Law of *Moſes*, but to the falſe Doctrine of the Phariſees rais'd from thence; that the Law of God is perfect, not liable to Additions or Diminutions, and *Paræus* accuſes the Jeſuit *Maldonatus* of greateſt falſity for limiting the perfection of that Law only to the rudeneſs of the *Jews.* He adds, *that the Law promiſeth Life to the Performers thereof; therefore needs not perfecter Precepts, then ſuch as bring to Life*; that *if the Corrections of Chriſt ſtand oppoſite, not to the Corruption of the Phariſees, but to the Law it ſelf of God, the Hereſie of Mans would follow, one God of the Old Teſtament, and another of the New. That Chriſt ſaith not here except your Righteouſneſs exceed the Righteouſneſs of* Moſes's *Law, but of the Scribes and Phariſes.* That all this may be true, whether is common Senſe flown aſquint, if we can maintain that Chriſt forbid the *Moſaic* Divorce utterly, and yet aboliſht not the Law that permits it? For if the Conſcience only were checkt, and the Law not repeal'd, what means that *Fanatic* Boldneſs of this Age that dares tutour Chriſt to be more ſtrict then he thought fit? Ye ſhall have the Evaſion, it was a Judicial Law. What could Infancy and ſlumber have invented more Childiſh? Judicial or not Judicial, it was one of thoſe Laws expreſly, which he forwarned us with proteſtation, that his mind was not to abrogate: And if we mark the ſtearage of his words, what courſe they hold, we may perceive that what he proteſted not to diſſolve (that he might faithfully and not deceitfully remove a ſuſpition from himſelf) was principally concerning the Judicial Law; for of that ſort are all theſe here which he vindicates; except the laſt. Of the Ceremonial Law he told them true, that nothing of it ſhould paſs *until all were fulfilled.* Of the Moral Law he knew the Phariſees did not ſuſpect he meant to nullifie that: For ſo doing would ſoon have undone his Authority, and advanc'd theirs. Of the Judicial Law therefore chiefly this Apology was meant: For how is that fulfilled longer then the common Equity thereof remains in force? And how is this our Saviours defence of himſelf, not made fallacious, if the Phariſees chief fear be leaſt he ſhould aboliſh the Judicial Law, and he to ſatisfy them, proteſts his Good Intention to the Moral Law. It is the general Grant of Divines, that what in the Judicial Law is not meerly *Judaical*, but reaches to human Equity in common, was never in the thought of being abrogated. If our Saviour took away ought of Law, it was the burthenſom of it, not the eaſe of burthen, it was the Bondage, not the Liberty of any Divine Law that he remov'd: This he often profeſt to be the end of his coming. But what if the Law of Divorce be a Moral Law, as moſt certainly it is fundamentally, and hath been ſo prov'd in the reaſons thereof. For though the giving of a Bill may be Judicial, yet the Act of Divorce is altogether converſant in Good or Evil, and ſo abſolutely Moral. So far as it is Good it never can be aboliſht being Moral; ſo far as it is ſimply Evil it never

ver could be judicial, as hath been ſhewn at large *in the Doctrine of Divorce*, and will be reaſſum'd anon. Whence one of theſe two Neceſſities follow, that either it was never eſtabliſh'd, or never aboliſh'd. Thus much may be enough to have ſaid on this Place. The following Verſe will be better unfolded in the 19. Chapter, where it meets us again, after a large Debatement on the Queſtion, between our Saviour and his Adverſaries.

Mat. 19. 3, 4. &c.

V. 3. *And the Phariſees came unto him tempting him and ſaying unto him.*

[*Tempting him.*] The Manner of theſe Men coming to our Saviour, not to learn, but to tempt him, may give us to expect that their Anſwer will be ſuch as is fitteſt for them, not ſo much a Teaching, as an Intangling. No Man though never ſo willing or ſo well enabl'd to inſtruct, but if he diſcern his willingneſs and candor made uſe of to intrap him, will ſuddenly draw in himſelf, and laying aſide the facile vein of Perſpicuity, will know his time to utter Clouds and Riddles: If he be not leſs wiſe then that noted Fiſh, when as he ſhould be not unwiſer then the Serpent. Our Saviour at no time expreſt any great Deſire to teach the obſtinate and unteachable Phariſees; but when they came to tempt him, then leaſt of all. As now about the Liberty of Divorce, ſo another time about the Puniſhment of Adultery they came to ſound him, and what Satisfaction got they from his Anſwer, either to themſelves or to us, that might direct a Law under the Goſpel, new from that of *Moſes*, unleſs we draw his Abſolution of Adultery into an Edict. So about the Tribute, who is there can pick out a full Solution, what and when we muſt give to *Cæſar*, by the Anſwer which he gave to the Phariſees? If we muſt give to *Cæſar* that which is *Cæſar*'s, and all be *Cæſar*'s, which hath his Image, we muſt either new ſtamp our Coin, or we may go new ſtamp our Foreheads with the Superſcription of Slaves inſtead of Freemen. Beſides, it is a general Precept, not only of Chriſt, but of all other Sages, not to inſtruct the unworthy and the conceited who love Tradition more then Truth, but to perplex and ſtumble them purpoſely with contriv'd Obſcurities. No wonder then if they who would determine of Divorce by this Place have ever found it difficult and unſatisfying through all the Ages of the Church, as *Auſtin* himſelf and other great Writers confeſs. *Laſtly*, It is manifeſt to be the principal Scope of our Saviour both here, and in the 5. of *Mat.* to convince the Phariſees of what they being evil did licentiouſly, not to explain what others being good and blameleſs Men might be permitted to do in caſe of Extremity. Neither was it ſeaſonable to talk of honeſt and conſcientious Liberty among them who had abuſed legal and civil Liberty to uncivil Licence. We do not ſay to a Servant, what we ſay to a Son; nor was it expedient to preach Freedom to thoſe who had tranſgreſt in Wantonneſs. When we rebuke a Prodigal, we admoniſh him of Thrift, not of Magnificence or Bounty. And to ſchool a proud Man we labour to make him humble, not magnanimous. So Chriſt to retort theſe arrogant Inquiſitors their own, took the Courſe to lay their Haughtineſs under a Severity which they deſerv'd; not to acquaint them, or to make them Judges either of the juſt Mans Right and Priviledge, or of the afflicted Mans Neceſſity. And if we may have leave to conjecture, there is a likelihood offer'd us by *Tertullian* in his 4 againſt *Marcion*, whereby it may ſeem very probable that the Phariſees had a private drift of Malice againſt our Saviours Life in propoſing this Queſtion; and our Saviour had a peculiar Aim in the Rigour of his Anſwer, both to let them know the freedom of his Spirit, and the ſharpneſs of his Diſcerning. *This I muſt now ſhew*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *Whence our Lord deduc'd this Sentence, and which way he directed it, whereby it will more fully appear that he intended not to diſſolve Moſes.* And thereupon tells us that the Vehemence

Vehemence of this our Saviours Speech was chiefly darted againſt *Herod* and *Herodias*. The Story is out of *Joſephus*: *Herod* had been a long time married to the Daughter of *Aretas* King of *Petra*, till happ'ning on his Journey towards *Rome* to be entertain'd at his Brother *Philip*'s houſe, he caſt his Eye unlawfully and ungueſtlike upon *Herodias* there, the Wife of *Philip*, but Daughter to *Ariſtobolus* their common Brother, and durſt make Words of marrying her his Neece from his Brothers Bed. She aſſented upon Agreement he ſhould expel his former Wife. All was accompliſh'd, and by the *Baptiſt* rebuk'd with the Loſs of his Head. Though doubtleſs that ſtaid not the various Diſcourſes of Men upon the Fact, which while the *Herodian* Flatterers, and not a few perhaps among the Phariſees endeavour'd to defend by wreſting the Law, it might be a means to bring the Queſtion of Divorce into a hot Agitation among the People, how far *Moſes* gave Allowance. The Phariſees therefore knowing our Saviour to be a Friend of *John the Baptiſt*, and no doubt but having heard much of his Sermon in the Mount, wherein he ſpake rigidly againſt the Licence of Divorce, they put him this Queſtion both in hope to find him a Contradicter of *Moſes*, and a Condemner of *Herod*; ſo to inſnare him within compaſs of the ſame Accuſation which had ended his Friend; and our Saviour ſo orders his Anſwer, as that they might perceive *Herod* and his Adultreſs only not nam'd; ſo lively it concern'd them both what he ſpake. No wonder then if the Sentence of our Saviour founded ſtricter then his Cuſtom was, which his conſcious Attempters doubtleſs apprehended ſooner then his other Auditors. Thus much we gain from hence to inform us, that what Chriſt intends to ſpeak here of Divorce, will be rather the forbidding of what we may not do herein paſſionately and abuſively, as *Herod* and *Herodias* did, then the diſcuſſing of what herein we may do reaſonably and neceſſarily.

[*Is it lawful for a Man to put away his Wife.*] It might be rendred more exactly from the *Greek*, *to looſen or to ſet free*; which though it ſeem to have a milder Signification then the two *Hebrew* Words commonly us'd for Divorce, yet Interpreters have noted, that the *Greek* alſo is read in the *Septuagint*, for an Act which is not without Conſtraint. As when *Achiſh* drove from his Preſence *David* counterfeiting Madneſs. *Pſa.* 34. the *Greek* Word is the ſame with this here, to put away. And *Eraſmus* quotes *Hillary* rendring it by an Expreſſion, not ſo ſoft. Whence may be doubted, whether the Phariſees did not ſtate this Queſtion in the ſtrict Right of the Man, not tarrying for the Wives Conſent. And if our Saviour anſwer directly according to what was ask'd in the Term of putting away, it may be queſtionable, whether the Rigour of his Sentence did not forbid only ſuch putting away as is without mutual Conſent, in a violent and harſh Manner, or without any Reaſon, but Will, as the *Tetrarch* did. Which might be the Cauſe, that thoſe Chriſtian Emperours fear'd not in their Conſtitutions to diſſolve Marriage by mutual Conſent; In that our Saviour ſeems here, as the Caſe is moſt likely, not to condemn all Divorce but all Injury and Violence in Divorce. But no Injury can be done to them who ſeek it, as the *Ethicks* of *Ariſtotle* ſufficiently prove. True it is, that an unjuſt thing may be done to one though willing, and ſo may juſtly be forbidd'n: But Divorce being in it ſelf no unjuſt or evil thing, but only as it is joyn'd with Injury, or Luſt, Injury it cannot be at Law, if Conſent be, and *Ariſtotle* err not. And Luſt it may as frequently not be, while Charity hath the judging of ſo many private Grievances in a misfortun'd Wedlock, which may pard'nably ſeek a Redemption. But whether it be or not, the Law cannot diſcern, or examin Luſt, ſo long as it walks from one lawful Term to another, from Divorce to Marriage, both in themſelves indifferent. For if the Law cannot take hold to puniſh many Actions apparently covetuous, ambitious, ingrateful, proud, how can it forbid and puniſh that for Luſt, which is but only ſurmis'd ſo, and can no more

be certainly prov'd in the divorcing now, then before in the marrying. Whence if Divorce be no unjuſt thing, but through Luſt, a Cauſe not diſcernible by Law, as Law is wont to diſcern in other Caſes, and can be no Injury where Conſent is, there can be nothing in the Equity of Law, why Divorce by Conſent may not be lawful: Leaving Secrecies to Conſcience, the thing which our Saviour here aims to rectify, not to revoke the Statutes of *Moſes*. In the mean while the word *To put away*, being in the *Greek*, to looſen or diſſolve, utterly takes away that vain Papiſtical Diſtinction of Divorce from Bed, and Divorce from Bond, evincing plainly, that both Chriſt and the Phariſees mean here that Divorce which finally diſſolves the Bond, and frees both Parties to a ſecond Marriage.

[*For every Cauſe.*] This the Phariſees held, that for every Cauſe they might divorce, for every accidental Cauſe, any Quarrel or Difference that might happ'n. So both *Joſephus* and *Philo*, Men who liv'd in the ſame Age, explain; and the *Syriac* Tranſlator, whoſe Antiquity is thought parallel to the *Evangeliſts* themſelves, reads it conformably *upon any Occaſion or Pretence*. Divines alſo generally agree that thus the Phariſees meant. *Cameron* a late Writer much applauded, commenting this Place not undiligently, affirms, that the Greek Preposition κατὰ tranſlated unuſually (For) hath a force in it implying the Suddenneſs of thoſe Phariſaic Divorces; and that their Queſtion was to this effect, *Whether for any Cauſe, whatever it chanc'd to be, ſtrait as it roſe, the Divorce might be lawful.* This he freely gives whatever mov'd him, and I as freely take, nor can deny his Obſervation to be acute and learned. If therefore we inſiſt upon the word of *putting away*, that it imports a Conſtraint without Conſent, as might be inſiſted, and may enjoy what *Cameron* beſtows on us, that for every Cauſe is to be underſtood, *according as any Cauſe may happen*, with a relation to the Speedineſs of thoſe Divorces, and that *Herodian* Act eſpecially, as is already brought us, the Sentence of our Saviour will appear nothing ſo ſtrict a Prohibition as hath been long conceiv'd, forbidding only to divorce for caſual and temporary Cauſes, that may be ſoon ended, or ſoon remedied; and likewiſe forbidding to divorce raſhly, and on the ſudden Heat, except it be for Adultery. If theſe Qualifications may be admitted, as partly we offer them, partly are offer'd them by ſome of their own Opinion, and that where nothing is repugnant why they ſhould not be admitted, nothing can wreſt them from us, the ſevere Sentence of our Saviour will ſtrait unbend the ſeeming Frown into that Gentleneſs and Compaſſion which was ſo abundant in all his Actions, his Office, and his Doctrine, from all which otherwiſe it ſtands off at no mean diſtance.

Ver. 4. *And he anſwered and ſaid unto them, have ye not read that he which made them at the Beginning, made them Male and Female?*

Ver. 5. *And ſaid, for this Cauſe ſhall a Man leave Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife, and they twain ſhall be one Fleſh?*

Ver. 6. *Wherefore they are no more twain but one Fleſh, what therefore God hath joyn'd together, let no Man put aſunder.*

[4. and 5. *Made them Male and Female, And ſaid for this Cauſe*, &c.] We ſee it here undeniably, that the Law which our Saviour cites to prove that Divorce was forbidd'n, is not an abſolute and tyrannical Command without Reaſon, as now adays we make it little better, but is grounded upon ſome rational Cauſe not difficult to be apprehended, being in a Matter which equally concerns the meaneſt and the plaineſt Sort of Perſons in a houſhold Life. Our next Way then will be to inquire if there be not more Reaſons then one, and if there be, whether this be the beſt and chiefeſt. That we ſhall find by turning to the firſt Inſtitution, to which Chriſt refers our own Reading; He himſelf having to deal with treacherous Aſſailants, uſeth Brevity, and lighting on the firſt Place in *Geneſis* that mentions any thing tending

to

to Marriage in the first Chapter, joyns it immediately to the 24. verse of the 2 Chapter, omitting all the prime Words between, which create the Institution, and contain the noblest and purest ends of Matrimony, without which attain'd, that Conjunction hath nothing in it above what is common to us with Beasts. So likewise beneath in this very Chapter, to the young Man who came not tempting him, but to learn of him, asking him which Commandments he should keep, he neither repeats the first Table, nor all the second, nor that in order which he repeats. If here then being Tempted, he desire to be the shorter, and the darker in his Conference, and omit to cite that from the second of *Genesis*, which all Divines confess is a Commentary to what he cites out of the first, the *making them Male and Female*, what are we to do, but to search the Institution our selves; and we shall find there his own Authority giving other manner of Reasons why such firm Union is to be in Matrimony, without which Reasons their being Male and Female can be no Cause of joyning them unseparably: For if it be, then no Adultery can sever. Therefore the Prohibition of Divorce depends not upon this Reason here expresst to the Pharisees, but upon the plainer and more eminent Causes omitted here and referr'd to the Institution; which Causes not being found in a particular and casual Matrimony, this sensitive and materious Cause alone can no more hinder a Divorce against those higher and more human Reasons urging it, then it can alone without them to Warrant a Copulation, but leaves it arbitrary to those who in their chance of Marriage find not why Divorce is forbid them, but why it is permitted them; and find both here and in *Genesis*, that the forbidding is not absolute, but according to the Reasons there taught us, not here. And that our Saviour taught them no better, but uses the most vulgar, most animal and corporal Argument to convince them, is first to shew us, that as through their Licentious Divorces they made no more of Marriage then as if to Marry, were no more then to be Male and Female, so he goes no higher in his Confutation; deeming them unworthy to be talkt with in a higher strain, but to be ty'd in Marriage by the meer material Cause thereof, since their own Licence testify'd, that nothing Matrimonial was in their Thought but to be Male and Female. Next it might be done to discover the brute Ignorance of these carnal Doctors, who taking on them to dispute of Marriage and Divorce, were put to silence with such a slender Opposition as this, and outed from their hold with scarce one quarter of an Argument. That we may believe this, his Entertainment of the young Man soon after may perswade us. Whom, though he came to preach eternal Life by Faith only, he dismisses with a Salvation taught him by Works only. On which Place *Paræus* notes. *That this Man was to be convinc'd by a false perswasion; and that Christ is wont otherwise to answer Hypocrites, otherwise those that are docible.* Much rather then may we think that in handling these Tempters, he forgot not so to frame his prudent Ambiguities and Concealments, as was to the troubling of those peremptory Disputants most wholsome. When therefore we would know what Right there may be, in ill Accidents, to divorce, we must repair thither where God professes to teach his Servants by the prime Institution. and not where we see him intending to to dazle Sophisters: We must not read *he made them Male and Female*, and not understand he made them more intendedly *a Meet Help* to remove the Evil of being *alone*. We must take both these together, and then we may inferr compleatly as from the whole Cause why a Man shall cleave to his Wife, and they twain shall be one Flesh: But if the full and chief Cause why we may not divorce, be wanting here, this Place may skirmish with the Rabbies while it will, but to the true Christian it prohibites nothing beyond the full Reason of it's own Prohibiting, which is best known by the Institution.

Verse 6. [*Wherefore they are no more Twain, but one Flesh.*] This is true in the general Right of Marriage but not in the Chance medley of every par-

ticular match. For if they who were once undoubtedly one Fleſh, yet become twain by Adultery, then ſure they who were never one Fleſh rightly, never Helps meet for each other according to the plain Preſcript of God, may with leſs ado then a Volume be concluded ſtill twain. And ſo long as we account a Magiſtrate no Magiſtrate, if there be but a flaw in his Election, why ſhould we not much rather count a Matrimony no Matrimony, if it cannot be in any reaſonable manner according to the Words of Gods Inſtitution.

[*What therefore God hath joyned, let no Man put aſunder.*] But here the Chriſtian Prudence lies to conſider what God hath joyn'd; ſhall we ſay that God hath joyn'd Error, Fraud, Unfitneſs, Wrath, Contention, perpetual Lonelineſs, perpetual Diſcord; what ever Luſt, or Wine, or Witchery, Threat, or Inticement, Avarice or Ambition hath joyn'd together, Faithful with Unfaithful, Chriſtian with Antichriſtian, Hate with Hate, or Hate with Love, ſhall we ſay this is Gods joyning?

[*Let not Man put aſunder.*] That is to ſay, what God hath joyn'd; for if it be, as how oft we ſee it may be, not of Gods joyning, and his Law tells us he joyns not unmatchable things but hates to joyn them, as an abominable Confuſion, then the Divine Law of *Moſes* puts them aſunder, his own Divine Will in the Inſtitution puts them aſunder, as oft as the reaſons be not extant, for which only God ordain'd their joyning. Man only puts aſunder when his inordinate Deſires, his Paſſion, his Violence, his Injury makes the Breach: Not when the utter want of that which Lawfully was the end of his joyning, when wrongs and extremities, and unſupportable grievances compel him to disjoyn: When ſuch as *Herod* and the Phariſees Divorce beſide Law, or againſt Law, then only Man ſeparates, and to ſuch only this Prohibition belongs. In a Word, if it be Unlawful for Man to put aſunder that which God hath joyn'd, let Man take heed it be not deteſtable to joyn that by Compulſion which God hath put aſunder.

Verſ. 7. *They ſay unto him, why did* Moſes *then command to give a Writing of Divorcement, and to put her away?*

Verſ. 8. *He ſaith unto them,* Moſes, *becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts ſuffered you to put away your Wives, but from the beginning it was not ſo.*

[Moſes *becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts ſuffered you.*] Hence the Divinity now current argues, that this Judicial *Moſes* is aboliſht. But ſuppoſe it were ſo, though it hath been prov'd otherwiſe, the firmneſs of ſuch Right to Divorce as here pleads, is fetcht from the prime Inſtitution, does not ſtand or fall with the Judicial *Jew*, but is as Moral as what is Moraleſt. Yet as I have ſhewn poſitively, that this Law cannot be abrogated, both by the Words of our Saviour pronouncing the contrary, and by that unaboliſhable Equity which it conveys to us, ſo I ſhall now bring to view thoſe Appearances of ſtrength which are levied from this Text to maintain the moſt groſs and maſſy Paradox that ever did violence to Reaſon and Religion, bred only under the ſhadow of theſe Words, to all other Piety or Philoſophy ſtrang and inſolent, that God by Act of Law drew out a Line of Adultery almoſt two Thouſand Years long: Although to detect the Prodigy of this Surmiſe the former Book ſet forth on this Argument hath already been copious. I ſhall not repeat much though I might borrow of mine own, but ſhall endeavour to add ſomething either yet untoucht, or not largely enough explain'd. *Firſt*, it ſhall be manifeſt, that the common Expoſition cannot poſſibly conſiſt with Chriſtian Doctrine: next, a truer Meaning of this our Saviours reply ſhall be left in the Room. The receiv'd Expoſition is, that God though not approving did enact a Law to permit Adultery by Divorcement ſimply unlawful. And this Conceit they feed with fond Suppoſals, that have not the leaſt Footing in Scripture. As that the Jews learnt this Cuſtom of Divorce in *Egypt*,

Egypt, and therefore God would not unteach it them till Chriſt came, but let it ſtick as a notorious botch of Deformity, in the midſt of his moſt perfect and ſevere Law. And yet he ſaith, *Levit.* 18th. *After the doings of* Egypt *ye ſhall not do.* Another while they invent a Slander (as what thing more bold then teaching Ignorance, when he ſhifts to hide his Nakedneſs) that the *Jews* were naturally to their Wives, the cruelleſt Men in the World; would Poyſon, Brain, and do I know not what, if they might not Divorce. Certain, if it were a Fault heavily puniſht, to bring an Evil Report upon the Land which God gave, what is it to raiſe a groundleſs Calumny againſt the People which God made choice of? But that this bold Interpretament, how commonly ſoever ſided with, cannot ſtand a Minute with any competent Reverence to God or his Law, or his People, nor with any other Maxim of Religion, or good Manners, might be prov'd through all the Heads and *Topicks* of Argumentation: But I ſhall willingly be as conciſe as poſſible. Firſt the Law, not only the Moral, but the Judicial given by *Moſes* is juſt and pure; for ſuch is God who gave it. *Hearken O* Iſrael, *ſaith* Moſes, *Deut.* 4. *unto the Statutes and the Judgments which I teach you, to do them, that ye may Live,* &c. *ye ſhall not add unto the Word which I command you, neither ſhall ye diminiſh ought from it, that ye may keep the Commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you.* And onward in the Chapter, *behold I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me. Keep therefore and do them, for this is your Wiſdom and your Underſtanding. For what Nation hath God ſo nigh unto them, and what Nation hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous, as all this Law which I ſet before ye this Day.* Is it imaginable there ſhould be among theſe a Law which God allow'd not, a Law giving Permiſſions Laxative to unmarry a Wife and marry a Luſt, a Law to ſuffer a kind of Tribunal Adultery? Many other Scriptures might be brought to aſſert the Purity of this Judicial Law, and many I have alledg'd before; this Law therefore is pure and juſt. But if it Permit, if it Teach, if it Defend that which is both unjuſt and impure, as by the common Doctrine it doth, what think we? The three general Doctrines of *Juſtinians* Law, are *To live in Honeſty, To hurt no Man, To give every one his due.* Shall the *Roman* Civil Law obſerve theſe three Things, as the only end of Law, and ſhall a Statute be found in the Civil Law of God, enacted ſimply and totally againſt all theſe three Precepts of Nature and Morality?

Secondly, The Gifts of God are all perfect, and certainly the Law is of all his other Gifts, one of the perfecteſt. But if it give that outwardly which it takes away really, and give that ſeemingly, which, if a Man take it, wraps him into Sin and damns him, what Gift of an Enemy can be more dangerous and deſtroying then this.

Thirdly, *Moſes* every where commends his Laws, prefers them before all of other Nations, and warrants them to be the way of Life and Safety to all that walk therein, *Levit.* 18. But if they contain Statutes, which God approves not, and train Men unweeting to commit Injuſtice and Adultery, under the ſhelter of Law, if thoſe things be Sin, and Death Sins Wages, what is this Law but the Snare of Death?

Fourthly, The Statutes and Judgments of the Lord, which without Exception are often told us to be ſuch, as doing we may live by them, are doubtleſs to be counted the Rule of Knowledge and of Conſcience. *For I had not known Luſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *but by the Law.* But if the Law come down from the State of her incorruptible Majeſty to grant Luſt his Boon, palpably it Darkens and Confounds both Knowledge and Conſcience, it goes againſt the common Office of all Goodneſs and Friendlineſs, which is at leaſt to counſel and admoniſh; it ſubverts the Rules of all ſober Education, and is it ſelf a moſt negligent and debauching Tutor.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, if the Law permit a Thing unlawful, it permits that which elſe where it hath forbid, ſo that hereby it contradicts it Self, and tranſgreſſes it Self. But if the Law become a Tranſgreſſor, it ſtands guilty to it Self, and how then ſhall it ſave another; it makes a Confederacy with Sin, how then can it juſtly Condemn a Sinner? and thus reducing its Self to the ſtate of neither Saving nor Condemning, it will not fail to expire ſolemnly Ridiculous.

Sixthly, the Prophets in Scripture declare ſeverely againſt the decreeing of that which is unjuſt, *Pſal.* 94. 20. *Iſaiah* the 10th. But it was done, they ſay, for hardneſs of Heart; to which Objection the Apoſtles Rule, *not to do Evil, that Good may come thereby*, gives an invincible Repulſe; and here eſpecially, where it cannot be ſhewn how any Good came by doing this Evil, how rather more Evil did not hereon abound, for the giving way to hardneſs of Heart, hardens the more, and adds more to the Number. God to an Evil and Adulterous Generation, would not grant a Sign, much leſs would he for their hardneſs of Heart pollute his Law with an Adulterous Permiſſion. Yea, but to permit Evil, is not to do Evil. Yes, it is in a moſt eminent manner to do Evil; where elſe are all our Grave and Faithful Sayings, that he whoſe Office is to forbid, and forbids not, Bids, Exhorts, Encourages. Why hath God denounc'd his Anger againſt Parents, Maſters, Friends, Magiſtrates, neglectful of Forbidding what they ought; if Law, the common Father, Maſter, Friend, and perpetual Magiſtrate, ſhall not only not forbid, but Enact, Exhibit, and Uphold with Countenance and Protection, a Deed every way Diſhoneſt, whatever the Pretence be. If it were of thoſe inward Vices, which the Law cannot by outward Conſtraint remedy, but leaves to Conſcience and Perſwaſion, it had been Guiltleſs in being Silent: but to write a Decree of that which can be no way Lawful, and might with Eaſe be hinder'd, makes Law by the Doom of Law it ſelf, acceſſary in the higheſt Degree.

Seventhly, It makes God the direct Author of Sin: For although he be not made the Author of what he ſilently permits in his Providence, yet in his Law, the Image of his Will, when in plain Expreſſion he conſtitutes and ordains a Fact utterly unlawful, what wants he to authorize it, and what wants that to be the Author?

Eightly, To eſtabliſh by Law a thing wholly unlawful and diſhoneſt, is an Aſſirmation was never heard of before in any Law, Reaſon, Philoſophy or Religion, till it was rais'd by inconſiderate *Gloſſiſts*, from the Miſtake of this Text. And though the Civilians have been contented to chew this Opinion, after the Canon had ſubdu'd them, yet they never could bring Example or Authority either from divine Writ, or human Learning, or human Practice in any Nation, or well-form'd Republick, but only from the cuſtomary Abuſe of this Text. Uſually they alledge the Epiſtle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*; wherein *Cato* is blam'd for giving Sentence to the Scum of *Romulus*, as if they were in *Plato*'s Common-wealth. *Cato* would have call'd ſome great one into Judgment for Bribery, *Cicero* as the time ſtood, advis'd againſt it. *Cato*, not to endammage the publick Treaſury, would not grant to the *Roman* Knights, that the *Aſian* Taxes might be farm'd them at a leſs Rate. *Cicero* wiſh'd it granted. Nothing in all this will be like the eſtabliſhing of a Law to Sin: Here are no Laws made, here only the Execution of Law is crav'd might be ſuſpended; between which and our Queſtion is a broad Difference. And what if human Law-givers have confeſt they could not frame their Laws to that Perfection which they deſir'd, we hear of no ſuch Confeſſion from *Moſes* concerning the Laws of God, but rather all Praiſe and high Teſtimony of Perfection given them. And although Mans Nature cannot bear exacteſt Laws, yet ſtill within the Confines of Good it may and muſt; ſo long as leſs Good is far enough from altogether Evil. As for what they inſtance of Uſury, let them firſt prove Uſury

ſury to be wholly unlawful, as the Law allows it; which learned Men as numerous on the other ſide will deny them. Or if it be altogether unlawful, why is it tolerated more then Divorce? He who ſaid divorce not, ſaid alſo, *Lend hoping for Nothing again, Lu.* 6. 35. But then they put in, that Trade could not ſtand. And ſo to ſerve the Commodity of inſatiable Trading, Uſury ſhall be permitted, but Divorce, the only Means oft times to right the innocent, and outragiouſly wrong'd, ſhall be utterly forbid. This is egregious Doctrine, and for which one day Charity will much thank them. *Beza* not finding how to ſalve this Perplexity, and *Cameron* ſince him would ſecure us; although the latter confeſſes that to *permit a wicked thing by Law, is a Wickedneſs from which God abhors; yet to limit ſin, and preſcribe it a certain meaſure, is good.* Firſt, this Evaſion will not help here; for this Law bounded no Man; he might put away whatever found not Favour in his Eyes. And how could it forbid to divorce, whom it could not forbid to diſlike, or command to love. If theſe be the Limits of Law to reſtrain ſin, who ſo lame a ſinner but may hop over them more eaſily then over thoſe *Romulean* Circumſcriptions, not as *Remus* did with hard Succeſs, but with all Indemnity. Such a Limiting as this were not worth the Miſchief that accompanies it. This Law therefore not bounding the ſuppoſed Sin, by permitting enlarges it, gives it Enfranchiſement. And never greater Confuſion, then when Law and Sin move their Land-marks, mix their Territories, and correſpond, have Intercourſe and Traffick together. When Law contracts a Kindred and Hoſpitality with Tranſgreſſion, becomes the Godfather of Sin, and names it Lawful; When Sin revels and goſſips within the Arcenal of Law, plays and dandles the Artillery of Juſtice that ſhould be bent againſt her, this is a fair Limitation indeed. Beſides it is an Abſurdity to ſay, that Law can meaſure Sin, or moderate Sin; Sin is not in a Predicament to be meaſur'd and modify'd, but is always an Exceſs. The leaſt Sin that is, exceeds the Meaſure of the of the largeſt Law that can be good; and is as boundleſs as that Vacuity beyond the World. If once it ſquare to the Meaſure of Law, it ceaſes to be an Exceſs, and conſequently ceaſes to be a Sin; or elſe Law conforming it ſelf to the Obliquity of Sin, betrays it ſelf to be not ſtrait, but crooked, and ſo immediately no Law. And the improper Conceit of moderating Sin by Law will appear, if we can imagine any Law-giver ſo ſenſeleſs as to decree that ſo far a Man may ſteal, and thus far be drunk, that moderately he may cozen, and moderately commit Adultery. To the ſame Extent it would be as pithily abſurd to publiſh that a Man may moderately divorce, if to do that be intirely naught. But to end this Moot, the Law of *Moſes* is manifeſt to fix no Limit therein at all, or ſuch at leaſt as impeaches the fraudulent Abuſer no more then if it were not ſet; only requires the diſmiſſive Writing without other caution, leaves that to the inner Man, and the Bar of Conſcience. But it ſtopt other Sins. This is as vain as the reſt, and dangerouſly uncertain: The contrary to be fear'd rather, that one Sin admitted courteouſly by Law, open'd the gate to another. However Evil muſt not be done for Good. And it were a Fall to be lamented, an Indignity unſpeakable, if Law ſhould become tributary to Sin her Slave, and forc'd to yield up into his hands her awful Miniſter, Puniſhment, ſhould buy out her Peace with Sin for Sin, paying as it were her ſo many *Philiſtian* Foreskins to the proud Demand of Tranſgreſſion. But ſuppoſe it any way poſſible to limit Sin, to put a Girdle about that *Chaos*, ſuppoſe it alſo good; yet if to permit Sin by Law be an Abomination in the Eyes of God, as *Cameron* acknowledges, the Evil of permitting will eat out the Good of limiting. For though Sin be not limited, there can but Evil come out of Evil; but if it be permitted and decreed Lawful by Divine Law, of force then Sin muſt proceed from the infinite Good, which is a dreadful Thought. But if the reſtraining of Sin by this Permiſſion being good, as this Author teſtifies, be more Good then the

Permiſſion

Permiſſion of more Sin by the Reſtraint of Divorce, and that God weighing both theſe like two Ingots in the perfect Scales of his Juſtice and Providence found them ſo, and others coming without Authority from God, ſhall change this Counterpoiſe, and judge it better to let Sin multiply by ſetting a Judicial Reſtraint upon Divorce, which Chriſt never ſet, then to limit Sin by this Permiſſion, as God himſelf thought beſt to permit it, it will behove them to conſult betimes whether theſe their Balances be not falſe and abominable; and this their Limiting that which God looſen'd, and their looſening the Sins that he Limited, which they confeſs was Good to do: And were it poſſible to do by Law, doubtleſs it would be moſt morally Good; and they ſo believing, as we hear they do, and yet aboliſhing a Law ſo Good and Moral, the Limiter of Sin, what are they elſe but contrary to themſelves? For they can never bring us to that time wherein it will not be Good to Limit Sin, and they can never limit it better then ſo as God preſcrib'd in his Law.

Others conceive it a more defenſible Retirement to ſay this Permiſſion to Divorce ſinfully for hardneſs of heart was a Diſpenſation. But ſurely they either know not, or attend not what a Diſpenſation means. A Diſpenſation is for no long time, is particular to ſome Perſons rather then general to a whole People; always hath Charity the end, is granted to Neceſſities and Infirmities, not to obſtinate Luſt. This Permiſſion is another Creature, hath all thoſe Evils and Abſurdities following the Name of a Diſpenſation, as when it was nam'd a Law; and is the very *Antartic Pole* againſt Charity, nothing more adverſe, enſnaring and ruining thoſe that truſt in it, or uſe it; ſo leud and criminous as never durſt enter into the head of any Politician, *Jew*, or Proſelyte, till they became the apt Scholars of this Canoniſtic Expoſition. Ought in it, that can allude in the leſt Manner to Charity, or Goodneſs, belongs, with more full Right to the Chriſtian under Grace and Liberty, then to the *Jew* under Law and Bondage. To *Jewiſh* Ignorance it could not be diſpens'd, without a horrid Imputation laid upon the Law, to diſpenſe fouly, inſtead of teaching fairly; like that Diſpenſation that firſt polluted Chriſtendom with Idolatry, permitting to lay Men Images inſtead of Books and Preaching. Sloth or Malice in the Law would they have this call'd? But what Ignorance can be pretended for the *Jews*, who had all the ſame Precepts about Marriage, that we now: For Chriſt refers all to the Inſtitution. It was as reaſonable for them to know then as for us now, and concern'd them alike: For wherein hath the Goſpel alter'd the Nature of Matrimony? All theſe Conſiderations, or many of them have been further amplify'd in *the Doctrine of Divorce*. And what *Rivetus* and *Paræus* hath objected, or giv'n over as paſt cure hath been there diſcuſt. Whereby it may be plain enough to Men of Eyes, that the vulgar Expoſition of a Permittance by Law to an intire Sin, what ever the Colour may be, is an Opinion both Ungodly, Unpolitic, Unvertuous, and void of all Honeſty and Civil Senſe. It appertains therefore to every zealous Chriſtian both for the Honour of Gods Law, and the Vindication of our Saviours Words, that ſuch an irreligious Depravement no longer may be ſooth'd and flatter'd through Cuſtom, but with all diligence and ſpeed ſolidly refuted, and in the room, a better Explanation giv'n; which is now our next Endeavour.

[*Moſes ſuffer'd you to put away*, &c.] Not commanded you, ſays the common Obſerver, and therefore car'd not how ſoon it were aboliſht, being but ſuffer'd; herein declaring his Annotation to be ſlight and nothing Law prudent. For in this Place *commanded and ſuffer'd* are interchangeably us'd in in the ſame Senſe both by our Saviour and the Phariſees. Our Saviour who here ſaith, *Moſes ſuffer'd you*, in the 10th of *Mark* ſaith, *Moſes wrote you this Command*. And the Phariſees who here ſay, *Moſes commanded*, and would mainly have it a Command, in that place of *Mark* ſay, *Moſes ſuffer'd*, which had made againſt them in their own Mouths, if the Word of *ſuffering* had weakn'd

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theCommand.So that *ſuffer'd* and *commanded* is here taken for the ſame thing on both ſides of the Controverſy : As *Cameron* alſo and others on this Place acknowledge. And Lawyers know that all the Precepts of Law are divided into Obligatory and Permiſſive, containing either what we muſt do, or what we may do; and of this latter Sort are as many Precepts, as of the former, and all as Lawful. Tutelage, an Ordainment then which nothing more juſt, being for the defence of *Orphans*, the *Inſtitutes* of *Juſtinian*, ſay, *is given and permitted by the Civil Law :* And *to Parents it is permitted to chooſe and appoint by Will the Guardians of their Children.* What more equal, and yet the Civil Law calls this *Permiſſion.* So likewiſe to *Manumiſe*, to Adopt, to make a Will, and to be made an Heir is call'd *Permiſſion* by Law. Marriage it ſelf, and this which is already granted to Divorce for Adultery, obliges no Man, is but a *Permiſſion* by Law, is but ſuffer'd. By this we may ſee how weakly it hath been thought, that all Divorce is utterly Unlawful, becauſe the Law is ſaid to ſuffer it : When as to ſuffer is but the legal Phraſe denoting what by Law a Man may do or not do.

[*Becauſe of the hardneſs of your hearts.*] Hence they argue, that therefore he allowed it not; and therefore it muſt be aboliſht. But the contrary to this will ſooner follow. That becauſe he ſuffer'd it for a Cauſe,therefore in relation to thatCauſe he allow'd it. *Next*, if he in his Wiſdom, and in the midſt of his Severity allow'd it for hardneſs of heart, it can be nothing better then Arrogance and Preſumption to take ſtricter Courſes againſt hardneſs of heart then God ever ſet an Example, and that under the Goſpel which warrants them to noJudicialAct ofCompulſion in thisMatter,much leſs to be more ſevere againſt hardneſs of Extremity, then God thought good to beagainſt hardneſs of heart. He ſuffer'd it, rather then worſe Inconveniences ; theſe Men wiſer as they make themſelves, will ſuffer the worſt and hainouſeſt Inconveniences to follow, rather then they will ſuffer what God ſuffer'd. Although they can know when they pleaſe, that Chriſt ſpake only to the Conſcience, did not judge on the Civil Bench, but always diſavow'd it. What can be more contrary to the ways of God then theſe their Doings. If they be ſuch Enemies to hardneſs of heart, although this groundleſs Rigor proclaims it to be in themſelves, they may yet learn, or conſider that hardneſs of heart hath at wofould Acception in the Goſpel. One, when it is in a good Man taken for Infirmity, and Imperfection, which was in all the Apoſtles whoſe Weakneſs only, not utter Want of Belief is call'd hardneſs of heart, *Mark* 16. partly for this hardneſs of heart, the Imperfection and Decay of Man from original Righteouſneſs, it was that God ſufferd not Divorce only, but all that which by *Civilians* is term'd the *Secondary Law of Nature and of Nations.* He ſuffer'd his own People to waſte and ſpoyl and ſlay by War, to lead Captives, to be ſome Maſters, ſome Servants, ſome to be Princes, others to be Subjects, he ſuffer'd Propriety to divide all things by ſeveral Poſſeſſion, Trade and Commerce, not without Uſury ; in his Common-Wealth ſome to be undeſervedly Rich, others to be undeſervingly Poor. All which till hardneſs of heart came in, was moſt unjuſt; when as prime Nature made us all equal, made us equal Co-heirs by common Right and Dominion over all Creatures. In the ſame Manner, and for the ſame Cauſe, he ſuffer'd Divorce as well as Marriage, our imperfect and degenerate Condition of Neceſſity requiring this Law among the reſt, as a Remedy againſt intolerable wrong andServitude above the Patience of Man to bear. Nor was it given only becauſe of our Infirmity, or if it muſt be ſo call'd, hardneſs of heart could not indure all things, but becauſe the hardneſs of anothers heart might not inflict all things upon an innocent Perſon, whom far other ends brought into a League of Love and not of Bondage and Indignity. If therefore we aboliſh Divorce as only ſuffer'd for hardneſs of heart, we may as well aboliſh the whole Law of Nations, as only ſuffer'd

for the ſame cauſe ; it being ſhewn us by Saint *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 6. that the very ſeeking of a Mans Right by Law, and at the hands of a worldly Magiſtrate, is not without the hardneſs of our hearts. *For why do ye not rather take wrong*, ſaith he, *why ſuffer ye not rather your ſelves to be defrauded?* If nothing now muſt be ſuffer'd for hardneſs of heart, I ſay, the very Proſecution of our Right by way of Civil Juſtice can no more be ſuffer'd among Chriſtians, for the hardneſs of heart wherewith moſt Men purſue it. And that would next remove all our judicial Laws, and this Reſtraint of Divorce alſo in the number ; which would more then half end the Controverſie. But if it be plain, that the whole Juridical Law and Civil Power is only ſuffer'd under the Goſpel, for the hardneſs of our hearts, then wherefore ſhould not that which *Moſes* ſuffer'd, be ſuffer'd ſtill by the ſame Reaſon?

In a *Second* Signification hardneſs of heart is tak'n for a ſtubborn Reſolution to do Evil. And that God ever makes any Law purpoſely to ſuch, I deny ; for he vouchſafes not to enter Covenant with them, but as they fortune to be mixt with good Men, and paſs undiſcover'd ; much leſs that he ſhould decree an Unlawful thing only to ſerve their Licentiouſneſs. But that God ſuffers this reprobate hardneſs of heart I affirm, not only in this Law of Divorce, but throughout all his beſt and pureſt Commandments. He commands all to Worſhip in ſingleneſs of heart according to all his Ordinances ; and yet ſuffers the Wicked Man to perform all the Rites of Religion Hypocritically and in the hardneſs of his Heart. He gives us general Statutes and Privileges in all Civil matters, juſt and good of themſelves, yet ſuffers unworthieſt Men, to uſe them and by them to proſecute their own Right, or any colour of Right, though for the moſt part Maliciouſly, Covetouſly, Rigorouſly, Revengefully. He allow'd by Law the diſcreet Father and Husband to forbid, if he thought fit, the Religious Vows of his Wife or Daughter. *Num.* 30. And in the ſame Law ſuffer'd the hard heartedneſs of impious and covetous Fathers or Husbands abuſing this Law to forbid their Wives or Daughters in their Offerings and Devotions of greateſt Zeal. If then God ſuffer hardneſs of heart equally in the beſt Laws as in this of Divorce, there can be no Reaſon that for this Cauſe this Law ſhould be aboliſht. But other Laws, they object, may be well us'd, this never. How often ſhall I anſwer both from the Inſtitution of Marriage, and from other general Rules in Scripture, that this Law of Divorce hath many wiſe and charitable ends beſides the being ſuffer'd for hardneſs of heart ; which is indeed no end, but an Accident happning through the whole Law ; which gives to Good Men Right, and to Bad Men who abuſe Right under falſe Pretences, gives only Sufferance. Now although Chriſt expreſs no other Reaſons here, but only what was ſuffer'd, it nothing follows that this Law had no other Reaſon to be permitted but for hardneſs of heart. The Scripture ſeldom, or never in one place, ſets down all the Reaſons of what it grants or commands, eſpecially when it talks to Enemies and Tempters. St. *Paul* permitting Marriage, 1 *Cor.* 7. ſeems to permit even that alſo for hardneſs of heart only, leſt we ſhould run into Fornication ; yet no intelligent Man thence concludes Marriage allow'd in the Goſpel only to avoid an Evil, becauſe no other end is there expreſt. Thus *Moſes* of neceſſity ſuffer'd many to put away their Wives for hardneſs of heart ; but enacted the Law of Divorce doubtleſs for other Good Cauſes, not for this only Sufferance. He permitted not Divorce by Law as an Evil, for that was impoſſible to Divine Law, but permitted by Accident the Evil of them who Divors'd againſt the Laws Intention undiſcoverably. This alſo may be thought not improbably, that Chriſt ſtirr'd up in his Spirit againſt theſe Tempting Phariſees, anſwer'd them in a certain Form of Indignation, uſual among Good Authors ; whereby the Queſtion, or the Truth is not directly anſwer'd, but ſome thing which is fitter for them, who ask, to hear. So in the *Eccleſiaſtical* Stories, one demanding how God imploy'd himſelf before

fore the World was made, had anſwer ; that he was making Hell for curious Queſtioners. Another (and *Libanius* the *Sophiſt* as I remember) asking in deriſion ſome Chriſtian, what the Carpenter, meaning our Saviour, was doing, now that *Julian* ſo prevail'd, had it return'd him, that the Carpenter was making a Coffin for the *Apoſtate*. So Chriſt being demanded maliciouſly, why *Moſes* made the Law of Divorce, anſwers them in a vehement *Scheme*, not telling them the cauſe why he made it, but what was fitteſt to be told them, that *for the hardneſs of their hearts* he ſuffer'd them to abuſe it. And all be it *Mark* ſay not he ſuffer'd you, but *to you he wrote this Precept* ; *Mark* may be warrantably expounded by *Matthew* the larger. And whether he ſuffer'd, or gave Precept, being all one as was heard, it changes not the *Trope* of Indignation, fitteſt Account for ſuch Askers. Next for the hardneſs of *your hearts to you he wrote this Precept*, infers not therefore for this cauſe only he wrote it, as was Parallel'd by other Scriptures. *Laſtly*, It may be worth the obſerving, that Chriſt ſpeaking to the Phariſees does not ſay in general that for hardneſs of heart he gave this Precept, but *you he ſuffer'd, and to you he gave this Precept for your* hardneſs of heart. It cannot be eaſily thought, that Chriſt here included all the Children of *Iſrael* under the Perſon of theſe tempting Phariſees, but that he conceals, wherefore he gave the better ſort of them this Law, and expreſſes by ſaying emphatically *To you* how he gave it to the worſer, ſuch as the Phariſees beſt repreſented, that is to ſay for the hardneſs of your hearts: As indeed to wicked Men and hardn'd hearts he gives the whole Law and the Goſpel alſo, to hard'n them the more. Thus many ways it may orthodoxally be underſtood, how God or *Moſes* ſuffer'd ſuch as the Demanders were, to divorce for hardneſs of heart. Whereas the vulgar Expoſitor beſet with contradictions and abſurdities round, and reſolving at any peril to make an Expoſition of it, as there is nothing more violent and boiſtrous then a reverend Ignorance in fear to be convicted, ruſhes brutely and impetuouſly againſt all the Principles both of Nature, Piety, and Moral Goodneſs; and in the fury of his literal Expounding overturns them all.

[*But from the Beginning it was not ſo.*] Not how from the Beginning, do they ſuppoſe, that Men might not Divorce at all, not neceſſarily, not deliberately, except for Adultery, but that ſome Law, like Canon Law, preſently attach'd them both before and after the Flood, till ſtricter *Moſes* came, and with Law brought Licence into the World ? That were a Fancy indeed to ſmile at. Undoubtedly, as to point of Judicial Law, Divorce was more Permiſſive from the Beginning before *Moſes*, then under *Moſes*. But from the Beginning, that is to ſay, by the Inſtitution in Paradice, it was not intended, that Matrimony ſhould diſſolve for every trivial Cauſe, as you Phariſes accuſtom. But that it was not thus ſuffer'd from the Beginning, evet ſince the Race of Men corrupted, and Laws were made, he who will affirm, muſt have found out other Antiquities, then are yet known. Beſides we muſt conſider now, what can be ſo as from the Beginning, not only what ſhould be ſo. In the Beginning had Men continu'd perfect, it had been juſt, that all Things ſhould have remain'd, as they began to *Adam* and *Eve*. But after that, the Sons of Men grew Violent and Injurious, it alter'd the Lore of Juſtice, and put the Government of Things into a new Frame. While Man and Woman were both perfect each to other, there needed no Divorce; but when they both degenerated to Imperfection, and oftimes grew to be an intolerable Evil, each to other, then Law more juſtly did permit the alienating of that Evil, which miſtake made proper, then it did the appropriating of that Good, which Nature at firſt made common. For if the Abſence of outward Good, be not ſo bad as the Preſence of a cloſe Evil, and that Propriety, whether by Covenant or Poſſeſſion, be but the Attainment of ſome outward Good; it is more Natural and Righteous,

that the Law ſhould ſever us from an intimate Evil, then appropriate any outward Good to us from the Community of Nature. The Goſpel indeed tending ever to that which is perfecteſt, aim'd at the Reſtorement of all Things, as they were in the Beginning. And therefore all things were in common, to thoſe Primitive Chriſtians in the *Acts*, which *Ananias* and *Sapphira* dearly felt. That Cuſtom alſo continu'd more or leſs, till the time of *Juſtin Martyr*, as may be read in his 2d. *Apology*, which might be writ after that Act of Communion, perhaps ſome Forty Years above a Hundred. But who will be the Man ſhall introduce this kind of Common-Wealth, as Chriſtianity now goes? If then Marriage muſt be as in the Beginning, the Perſons that Marry, muſt be ſuch as then were, the Inſtitution muſt make good, in ſome tolerable ſort, what it promiſes to either Party. If not, it is but madneſs to drag this one Ordinance back to the Beginning, and draw down all other to the preſent Neceſſity, and Condition far from the Beginning, even to the tolerating of Extortions and Oppreſſions. Chriſt only told us, that from the Beginning it was not ſo, that is to ſay, not ſo as the *Phariſees* manur'd the Buſineſs, did not command us that it ſhould be forcibly ſo again in all Points, as at the Beginning; or ſo at leaſt in our Intentions and Deſires, but ſo in Execution, as Reaſon and preſent Nature can bear. Although we are not to ſeek, that the Inſtitution it ſelf from the firſt Beginning, was never but Conditional, as all Covenants are; becauſe thus and thus, therefore ſo and ſo, if not thus, then not ſo. Then moreover was perfecteſt to fulfil each Law in it Self; now is perfecteſt in this Eſtate of Things, to ask of Charity, how much Law may be fulfill'd; elſe the Fulfilling, oft times is the greateſt Breaking. If any therefore demand, which is now moſt Perfection, to eaſe an Extremity by Divorce, or to enrage and feſter it by the grievous Obſervance of a miſerable Wedlock, I am not deſtitute to ſay which is moſt Perfection (although ſome who believe they think favourably of Divorce, eſteem it only venial to Infirmity.) Him I hold more in the way to Perfection who forgoes an unfit ungodly diſcordant Wedlock, to live according to Peace and Love, and God's Inſtitution in a fitter Choice, then he who debarrs himſelf the happy Experience of all Godly, which is peaceful Converſation in his Family, to live a Contentious, and Unchriſtian Life, not to be avoided, in Temptations not to be liv'd in, only for the falſe keeping of a moſt unreal Nullity, a Marriage that hath no Affinity with God's Intention, a daring Phantaſm, a meer Toy of Terror, awing weak Senſes, to the lamentable Superſtition of ruining themſelves, the Remedy whereof God in his Law vouchſafes us. Which not to dare uſe, he warranting, is not our Perfection, is our Infirmity, our little Faith, our timorous and low conceit of Charity, and in them who force us, it is their masking Pride and Vanity, to ſeem Holyer, and more Circumſpect then God. So far is it, that we need impute to him Infirmity, who thus Divorces; ſince the Rule of Perfection is not ſo much that which was done in the Beginning, as that which now is neareſt to the Rule of Charity. This is the greateſt, the perfecteſt, the higheſt Commandment.

V. 9. *And I ſay unto you, who ſo ſhall put away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth Adultery; and who ſo Maryeth her which is put away, doth commit Adultery.*

[*And I ſay unto you.*] That this reſtrictive Denouncement of Chriſt contradicts and refutes that permiſſive Precept of *Moſes*, common Expoſitors themſelves diſclaim; and that it does not traverſe from the Cloſet of Conſcience to the Courts of Civil or Canon Law, with any Chriſtian rightly Commenc'd requires not long evincing. If Chriſt then did not here check permiſſive *Moſes*, nor did reduce Matrimony to the Beginning more then all other things,

things, as the reaſon of Man's Condition could bear, we would know preciſely what it was which he did, and what the end was of his declaring thus auſterely againſt Divorce. For this is a confeſt Oracle in Law, that he who looks not at the Intention of a Precept, the more ſuperſtitious he is of the Letter, the more he miſinterprets. Was it to ſhame *Moſes*? that had been monſtrous, or all thoſe pureſt Ages of *Iſrael*, to whom the Permiſſion was granted? That were as incredible. Or was it that he who came to abrogate the burthen of Law, not the Equity, ſhould put this Yoke upon a blameleſs Perſon, to league himſelf in Chains with a begirting Miſchief, not to ſeparate till Death? He who taught us, that no Man puts a piece of new Cloath upon an old Garment, nor New Wine into old Bottles, that he ſhould ſow this patch of ſtrictneſs upon the old Apparel of our Frailty, to make a Rent more incurable, when as in all other Amendments, his Doctrine ſtill charges, that regard be had to the Garment, and to the Veſſel, what it can endure; this were an irregular and ſingle piece of Rigour, not only ſounding diſproportion to the whole Goſpel, but out-ſtretching the moſt Rigorous Nerves of Law and Rigour it ſelf. No other end therefore can be left imaginable of this exceſſive Reſtraint, but to bridle thoſe Erroneous and Licentious Poſtillars, the Phariſees; not by telling them what may be done in Neceſſity, but what Cenſure they deſerve, who divorce abuſively, which their Tetrarch had done. And as the Offence was in one extream, ſo the Rebuke, to bring more efficaciouſly to a Rectitude and Mediocrity, ſtands not in the middle way of Duty, but in the other extream. Which Art of powerful reclaiming, wiſeſt Men have alſo taught in their Ethical Precepts and *Gnomologies*; reſembling it, as when we bend a crooked Wand the contrary way; not that it ſhould ſtand ſo bent, but that the over-bending might reduce it to a ſtraightneſs by its own reluctance. And as the Phyſician cures him who hath taken down Poyſon, not by the middling Temper of Nouriſhment, but by the other extream of *Antidote*, ſo Chriſt adminiſters here a ſharp and corroſive Sentence againſt a foul and putrid Licence; not to eat into the Fleſh, but into the Sore. And knowing that our Divines through all their Comments, make no ſcruple, where they pleaſe, to ſoften the high and vehement Speeches of our Saviour, which they call *Hyperbolies*, why in this one Text ſhould they be ſuch crabbed *Maſorites* of the Letter, as not to mollifie a Tranſcendence of Literal Rigidity, which they confeſs to find often elſe where in his manner of delivery, but muſt make their Expoſition here ſuch an obdurat *Cyclops*, to have but one eye for this Text, and that only open to Cruelty and Enthralment, ſuch as no divine, or human Law before ever heard of. No, let the foppiſh Canoniſt with his Fardel of Matrimonial Caſes go and be vendible where Men be ſo unhappy as to cheap'n him; the Words of Chriſt ſhall be aſſerted from ſuch Elemental Notaries, and reſolv'd by the now-only Lawgiving Mouth of Charity; which may be done undoubtedly by underſtanding them as follows.

[*Whoſoever ſhall put away his Wife.*] That is to ſay, ſhall ſo put away as the Propounders of this Queſtion, the Phariſees were wont to do, and covertly defended *Herod* for ſo doing; whom to rebuke, our Saviour here mainly intends, and not to determin all the Caſes of Divorce, as appears by St *Paul*. Whoſoever ſhall put away, either violently without mutual Conſent for urgent Reaſons, or conſpiringly by Plot of Luſt, or cunning Malice, ſhall put away for any ſudden Mood, or contingency of diſagreement, which is not daily Practice, but may blow ſoon over, and be reconcil'd, except it be Fornication; whoſoever ſhall put away raſhly, as his Choler prompts him without due time of deliberating, and think his Conſcience diſcharg'd only by the Bill of Divorce giv'n, and the outward Law ſatisfy'd; whoſoever, *laſtly*, ſhall put away his Wife, that is a Wife indeed, and not in Name only, ſuch a one who both can and is willing to be a meet Help toward the chief

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Ends of Marriage both civil, and ſanctify'd, except Fornication be the Cauſe, that Man, or that Pair commit Adultery. Not he who puts away by mutual Conſent, with all the Conſiderations and Reſpects of Humanity and Gentleneſs without malicious or luſtful Drift. Not he who after ſober and cool Experience, and long Debate within himſelf, puts away, whom though he cannot love or ſuffer as a Wife, with that ſincere Affection that Marriage requires, yet loves at leaſt with that Civility and Goodneſs, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcome Reſidence, where nothing can be hearty, and not being, it muſt needs be both unjoyous and injurious to any perceiving Perſon ſo detain'd, and more injurious, then to be freely, and upon good Terms diſmiſt. Nor doth he put away adulterouſly who complains of Cauſes rooted in immutable Nature, utter Unfitneſs, utter Diſconformity, not concileable, becauſe not to be amended without a Miracle. Nor he who puts away an unquenchable Vexation from his Boſom, and flies an Evil then which a greater cannot befal human Society. Nor he who puts away with the full Suffrage and Applauſe of his Conſcience, not relying on the writt'n Bill of Law, but claiming by Faith and Fulneſs of Perſwaſion the Rights and Promiſes of Gods Inſtitution, of which he finds himſelf in a miſtak'n Wedlock defrauded. Doubtleſs this Man hath Bail enough to be no Adulterer giving Divorce for theſe Cauſes.

[*His Wife.*] This Word is not to be idle here, a meer Word without a Senſe, much leſs a fallacious Word ſignifying contrary to what it pretends; but faithfully ſignifies a Wife, that is, a comfortable Help and Society, as God inſtituted; does not ſignify deceitfully under this Name, an intolerable Adverſary, not a helpleſs, unaffectionate and ſullen Maſs whoſe very Company repreſents the viſible and exacteſt Figure of Lonelineſs it ſelf. Such an Aſſociate he who puts away, divorces not a Wife, but disjoyns a Nullity which God never joyn'd, if ſhe be neither willing, nor to her proper and requiſite Duties ſufficient, as the Words of God inſtitute her. And this alſo is *Bucer*'s Explication of this Place.

[*Except it be for Fornication, or ſaving for the cauſe of Fornication,* as *Mat.* 5th.] This declares what kind of Cauſes our Saviour meant; Fornication being no natural and perpetual Cauſe, but only accidental and temporary; therefore ſhews that Head of Cauſes from whence it is excepted, to be meant of the ſame ſort. For Exceptions are not logically deduc'd from a diverſe kind, as to ſay whoſo puts away for any natural Cauſe except Fornication, the Exception would want Salt. And if they underſtand it, whoſo for any Cauſe whatever, they caſt themſelves; granting Divorce for Frigidity a natural Cauſe of their own allowing, though not here expreſt, and for Deſertion, without Infidelity when as he who marries, as they allow him for a Deſertion, deſerts as well as is deſerted, and finally puts away, for another Cauſe beſides Adultery. It will with all due Reaſon therefore be thus better underſtood, who ſo puts away for any accidental and temporary Cauſes, except one of them, which is Fornication. Thus this Exception finds out the Cauſes from whence it is excepted, to be of the ſame kind, that is, caſual not continual.

[*Saving for the Cauſe of Fornication.*] The New Teſtament, though it be ſaid orginally writ in Greek, yet hath nothing near ſo many *Atticiſms* as *Hebraiſms*, and *Syriaciſms* which was the Majeſty of God, not filing the Tongue of Scripture to a Gentiliſh *Idiom*, but in a Princely Manner offering to them as to *Gentiles* and Foreigners Grace and Mercy, though not in foreign Words, yet in a foreign Stile that might induce them to the Fountains; and though their Calling were high and happy, yet ſtill to acknowledge Gods ancient People their Betters, and that Language the *Metropolitan* Language. He therefore who thinks to *Scholiaze* upon the Goſpel, though Greek according to his Greek *Analogies*, and hath not been Auditor to the Oriental Dialects, ſhall want in the Heat of his *Analyſis* no Accommodation

dation to ſtumble. In this Place, as the 5th of *Matth.* reads it, *Saving for the Cauſe of Fornication*, the Greek, ſuch as it is, ſounds it, except for the *Word, Report, Speech, or Proportion* of Fornication. In which Regard with other Inducements, many Ancient and Learned Writers have underſtood this Exception as comprehending any Fault equivalent and proportional to Fornication. But Truth is, the Evangeliſt here *Hebraizes*, taking *Word* or *Speech* for *Cauſe* or *Matter* in the common *Eaſtern* Phraſe, meaning perhaps no more then if he had ſaid for Fornication, as in this 19th Chapter. And yet the Word is found in the 5th of *Exodus* alſo ſignifying *Proportion*; where the *Iſraelites* are commanded to do their Tasks, *The Matter of each Day in his Day*. A Task we know is a Proportion of Work not doing the ſame thing abſolutely every day, but ſo much. Whereby it may be doubtful, yet, whether here be not excepted not only Fornication it ſelf, but other Cauſes equipollent, and proportional to Fornication. Which very Word alſo to underſtand rightly, we muſt of neceſſity have Recourſe again to the Hebrew. For in the Greek and Latin Senſe by Fornication is meant the common Proſtitution of Body for Sale. So that they who are ſo exact for the Letter, ſhall be dealt with by the *Lexicon*, and the *Etymologicon* too if they pleaſe, and muſt be bound to forbid Divorce for Adultery alſo, until it come to open Whoredom and Trade, like that for which *Claudius* divors'd *Meſſalina*. Since therefore they take not here the Word Fornication in the common Signification, for an open Exerciſe in the Stews, but grant Divorce for one ſingle Act of privateſt Adultery, notwithſtanding, that the Word ſpeaks a publick and notorious Frequency of Fact, not without Price, we may reaſon with as good Leave, and as little ſtraining to the Text, that our Saviour on ſet Purpoſe choſe this Word *Fornication*, improperly apply'd to the Lapſe of Adultery, that we might not think our ſelves bound from all Divorce, except when that Fault hath been actually committed. For the Language of Scripture ſignifies by Fornication (and others beſide St. *Auſtin* ſo expounded it) not only the Treſpaſs of Body, nor perhaps that between married Perſons, unleſs in a Degree or Quality as ſhameleſs as the *Bordello*, but ſignifies alſo any notable Diſobedience, or intractable Carriage of the Wife to the Husband, as *Judg.* 19. 2. Whereof at large *in the Doctrine of Divorce. L.* 2. *C.* 18. *Secondly*, ſignifies the apparent Alienation of Mind not to Idolatry, (which may ſeem to anſwer the Act of Adultery) but far on this ſide, to any Point of Will-worſhip, though to the true God; ſometimes it notes the Love of earthly things, or worldly Pleaſures though in a right Believer, ſometimes the leaſt Suſpicion of unwitting Idolatry. As *Num.* 15. 39. wilful Diſobedience to any the leaſt of Gods Commandments is call'd Fornication. *Pſa.* 73. 26, 27. A Diſtruſt only in God, and withdrawing from that nearneſs of Zeal and Confidence which ought to be, is call'd Fornication. We may be ſure it could not import thus much leſs then Idolatry in the borrow'd Metaphor between God and Man, unleſs it ſignify'd as much leſs then Adultery in the ordinary Acception between Man and Wife. Add alſo, that there was no need our Saviour ſhould grant Divorce for Adultery, it being Death by Law, and Law then in Force. Which was the Cauſe, why *Joſeph* ſought to put away his betrothed Wife privately, leaſt he ſhould make her an Example of capital Puniſhment, as learneſt Expounders affirm, *Herod* being a great Zelot of the *Moſaick* Law, and the Phariſees great Maſters of the Text, as the Woman tak'n in Adultery doubtleſs had cauſe to fear. Or if they can prove it was neglected, which they cannot do, why did our Saviour ſhape his Anſwer to the Corruption of that Age, and not rather tell them of their Neglect? If they ſay he came not to meddle with their Judicatures, much leſs then was it in his Thought to make them new Ones, or that Divorce ſhould be judicially reſtrain'd in a ſtricter Manner by theſe his Words, more then Adultery judicially acquitted by thoſe his Words to the Adultreſs. His Sentence doth

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no more by Law forbid Divorce here, then by Law it doth abſolve Adultery there. To them therefore, who have drawn this Yoke upon Chriſtians from his Words thus wreſted, nothing remains but the Guilt of a Preſumption and Perverſeneſs which will be hard for them to anſwer. Thus much that the Word Fornication is to be underſtood as the Language of Chriſt underſtands it, for a conſtant Alienation and Diſaffection of Mind, or for the continual Practice of Diſobedience and Croſſneſs from the Duties of Love and Peace, that is in Sum, when to be a tolerable Wife is either naturally not in their Power, or obſtinately not in their Will, and this Opinion alſo is St. *Auſtin*'s, leaſt it ſhould hap to be ſuſpected of Novelty. Yet grant the thing here meant were only Adultery, the Reaſon of Things will afford more to our Aſſertion, then did the Reaſon of Words. For why is Divorce unlawful but only for Adultery? Becauſe, ſay they, that Crime only breaks the Matrimony. But this, I reply, the Inſtitution it ſelf gainſays: For that which is moſt contrary to the Words and Meaning of the Inſtitution, that moſt breaks the Matrimony; but a perpetual Unmeetneſs and Unwillingneſs to all the Duties of Help, of Love and Tranquility is moſt contrary to the Words and Meaning of the Inſtitution; that therefore much more breaks Matrimony then the Act of Adultery though repeated. For this, as it is not felt, nor troubles him who perceives it not, ſo being perceiv'd, may be ſoon repented, ſoon amended, ſoon, if it can be pardon'd, may be redeem'd with the more ardent Love and Duty in her who hath the Pardon. But this natural Unmeetneſs both cannot be unknown long, and ever after cannot be amended, if it be natural, and will not, if it be far gone obſtinate. So that wanting ought in the inſtant to be as great a Breach as Adultery, it gains it in the Perpetuity to be greater. Next Adultery does not exclude her other fitneſs, her other pleaſingneſs; ſhe may be otherwiſe both loving and prevalent, as many Adultereſſes be; but in this general Unfitneſs or Alienation ſhe can be nothing to him that can pleaſe. In Adultery nothing is given from the Husband, which he miſſes, or enjoys the leſs, as it may be ſubtly giv'n: But this Unfitneſs defrauds him of the whole Contentment which is ſought in Wedlock. And what Benefit to him, though nothing be giv'n by the ſtealth of Adultery to another, if that which there is to give, whether it be Solace or Society, be not ſuch as may juſtly content him? and ſo not only deprives him of what it ſhould give him, but gives him Sorrow and Affliction, which it did not owe him. Beſides is Adultery the greateſt Breach of Matrimony in reſpect of the Offence to God, or of the Injury to Man? If in the former, then other Sins may offend God more, and ſooner cauſe him to diſunite his Servant from being one Fleſh with ſuch an Offender. If in reſpect of the latter, other Injuries are demonſtrated therein more heavy to Man's Nature than the iterated Act of Adultery. God therefore in his Wiſdom would not ſo diſpoſe his Remedies, as to provide them for the leſs Injuries, and not allow them for the greater. Thus is won both from the Word Fornication, and the Reaſon of Adultery, that the Exception of Divorce is not limited to that Act, but enlarg'd to the Cauſes above ſpecify'd.

[*And who ſo Marrieth her which is put away doth commit Adultery.*]

By this Clauſe alone, if by nothing elſe, we may aſſure us, that Chriſt intended not to deliver here the whole Doctrine of Divorce, but only to condemn Abuſes. Otherwiſe to Marry after Deſertion, which the Apoſtle, and the Reformed Churches at this day permit, is here forbid, as Adultery. Be ſhe never ſo wrongfully deſerted, or put away, as the Law then ſuffer'd, if thus forſak'n and expulſt, ſhe accepts the Refuge and Protection of any honeſter Man, who would love her better, and give her ſelf in Marriage to him, by what the Letter guides us, it ſhall be preſent Adultery to them both. This is either harſh and cruel, or all the Churches teaching as they do the contrary, are looſe and remiſs; beſides, that the Apoſtle himſelf ſtands deeply fin'd

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in a contradiction againſt our Saviour. What ſhall we make of this? What rather the common Interpreter can make of it, for they be his own Markets, let him now try; let him try which way he can wind in his *Vertumnian* diſtinctions and evaſions, if this Canonical gabardine of Text and Letter do not now ſit too cloſe about him, and pinch his Activity; which if I Err not, hath here hamper'd it ſelf in a Spring, fit for thoſe who put their Confidence in Alphabets. *Spanheim*, a Writer of *Evangelick Doubts* comes now and confeſſes that our Saviours Words *are to be limited beyond the Limitation there expreſt, and excepted beyond their own Exception*, as not ſpeaking of what happn'd rarely, but what moſt commonly. Is it ſo rare *Spanheim*, to be deſerted, or was it then ſo rare to put away injuriouſly, that a Perſon ſo hatefully expell'd, ſhould to the heaping of more injury be turn'd like an infectious thing out of all Married fruition, upon pain of Adultery, as not conſiderable to the brevity of this half Sentence? Of what then ſpeaks our Saviour? Of *that Colluſion*, ſaith he, *which was then moſt frequent among the Jews of changing Wives and Husbands, through inconſtancy and unchaſt Deſires.* Colluders your ſelves, as violent to this Law of God by your unmerciful binding, as the Phariſees by their unbounded looſing! Have Thouſand of Chriſtian Souls periſht as to this Life, and God knows what hath betyed their Conſciences, for want of this healing explanation, and is it now at laſt obſcurely drawn forth, only to cure a Scratch, and leave the main wound ſpouting? *Whoſoever putteth away his Wife, except for Fornication, committeth Adultery*; That ſhall be ſpoke of all Ages, and all Men, though never ſo juſtly, otherwiſe mov'd to Divorce: In the very next breath, *And whoſo Marrieth her which is put away, committeth Adultery*, the Men are new and miraculous, they tell you now, *you are to Limit to that Age, when it was in faſhion to chop Matrimonies; and muſt be meant of him who puts away with his Wives conſent through the Lightneſs, and Leudneſs of them both.* But what Rule of Logic, or indeed of Reaſon is our Commiſſion to underſtand the *Antecedent* one way, and the *Conſequent* another; for in that habitude this whole Verſe may be conſidered: Or at leaſt, to take the parts of a *Copulat Axiom*, both abſolutly Affirmitive, and to ſay the firſt is abſolutly true, the other not, but muſt be Limitate to a certain Time and Cuſtom; which is no leſs then to ſay they are both falſe. For in this *Compound Axiom*, be the parts never ſo many, if one of them do but falter, and be not equally abſolute and general, the reſt are all falſe. If therefore, that *he who Marries her which is put away commits Adultery*, be not generally true, neither is it generally true that *he commits Adultery, who puts away for other cauſe then Fornication.* And if the Marrying her which is put away, muſt be underſtood Limited, which they cannot but yield it muſt, with the ſame Limitation muſt be underſtood the putting away. Thus doth the common Expoſition confound it ſelf, and juſtifie this which is here brought; that our Saviour as well in the firſt part of this Sentence as in the Second, prohibited only ſuch Divorces as the *Jews* then made through Malice or through plotting Licence, not thoſe which are for neceſſary and juſt Cauſes; where Charity and Wiſdom disjoyns, that which not God, but Error and Diſaſter joyn'd.

And there is yet to this our Expoſition, a ſtronger Siding Friend, then any can be an Adverſary, unleſs St. *Paul* be doubted, who repeating a Command concerning Divorce, 1 *Cor.* 7. which is agreed by Writers to be the ſame with this of our Saviour, and appointing that the *Wife remain unmaried, or be reconcil'd to her Husband*, leaves it infallible, that our Saviour ſpeak chiefly againſt putting away for caſual and choleric Diſagreements, or any other cauſe which may with Human Patience and Wiſdom be Reconcil'd, not hereby meaning to hale and dash together the Irreconcilable Averſations of Nature, not to tie up a faultleſs Perſon like a parricide, as it were into one Sack with an Enemy, to be his cauſeleſs Tormenter and Executioner the length of a long Life.

Laſtly, let this Sentence of Chriſt be underſtood how it will, yet that it was never intended for a judicial Law, to be inforc'd by the Magiſtrate, beſides that the Office of our Saviour had no ſuch purpoſe in the Goſpel, this latter part of the Sentence may aſſure us, *And whoſo Marrieth her which is put away commits Adultery.* Shall the exception for Adultery belong to this clauſe or not? If not, it would be ſtrange, that he who Marries a Woman really Divorc'd for Adultery, as Chriſt permitted, ſhould become an Adulterer by Marrying one who is now no other Mans Wife, himſelf, being alſo free, who might by this means reclaim her from common Whoredom. And if the exception muſt belong hither, then it follows that he who Marries an Adultereſs Divorc'd, commits no Adultery; which would ſoon diſcover to us what an abſurd and Senſeleſs peace of injuſtice this would be, to make a Civil Statute of, in penal Courts: Whereby the Adultereſs put away, may Marry another ſafely, and without a Crime to him that Marries her: But the Innocent and wrongfully Divorc'd, ſhall not Marry again without the guilt of Adultery, both to her Self and to her Second Husband. This ſaying of Chriſt therefore cannot be made a Temporal Law, were it but for this Reaſon. Nor is it eaſie to ſay what Coherence there is at all in it from the Letter, to any perfect Senſe not obnoxious to ſome Abſurdity, and ſeems much leſs agreeable to what ever elſe of the Goſpel is left us Written; doubtleſs by our Saviour ſpok'n in that fierceneſs and abſtruſe intricacy, firſt to amuſe his Tempters, and admoniſh in general the abuſers of that Moſaic Law; next to let *Herod* know a Second knower of his unlawful act, though the Baptiſt were Beheaded; laſt, that his Diſciples and all Good Men might learn to expound him in this place, as in all other his Precepts, not by the written Letter, but by that unerring Paraphraſe of Chriſtian Love and Charity, which is the ſum of all Commands, and the perfection.

Verſ. 10. *His Diſciples ſay unto him, if the Caſe of the Man be ſo with his Wife, it is not Good to Marry.*

This Verſe I add, to leave no Objection behind unanſwer'd: For ſome may think, if this our Saviours Sentence be ſo fair, as not commanding ought that Patience or Nature cannot Brook, why then did the Diſciples murmur and ſay, *It is not good to Marry.* I anſwer, that the Diſciples had been longer bred up under the *Phariſæan* Doctrine, then under that of Chriſt, and ſo no Marvel, though they yet retain'd the infection of loving old Licentious Cuſtoms; no Marvel though they thought it hard, they might not for any Offence that throughly anger'd them, Divorce a Wife, as well as put away a Servant; ſince it was but giving her a Bill, as they were taught. *Secondly*, it was no unwonted thing with them not to underſtand our Saviour in matters far eaſier. So that be it granted their conceit of this Text, was the ſame which is now commonly conceiv'd, according to the uſual rate of their capaſity then, it will not hurt a better interpretation. But why did not Chriſt ſeeing their Error inform them? For Good cauſe; it was his profeſt method not to teach them all things at all times, but each thing in due Place and Seaſon. Chriſt ſaid, *Luke* 22. *That he who had no Sword ſhould ſell his Garment to buy one*: The Diſciples took it in a manifeſt wrong Senſe, yet our Saviour did not there informe them better. He told them *it was eaſier for a Camel to go through a Needles Eye*, then a Rich Man in at Heav'n Gate. They were *amazed exceedingly*: He explain'd himſelf too mean of thoſe *who truſt in Riches*, Mark 10. *They were amaz'd then out of Meaſure*, for ſo *Mark* relats it; as if his explaining had increas'd their amazement, in ſuch a plaine caſe, and which concern'd ſo nearly their calling to be inform'd in. Good Reaſon therefore, if Chriſt at that time did not ſtand Amplifying, to the thick Prejudice and Tradition wherein they were, this Queſtion of more Difficulty, and leſs Concernment to any perhaps of them in particular. Yet did he not omit to ſow within them the Seeds of a ſufficient determining,

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again the time that his promis'd Spirit ſhould bring all things to their Memory. He had declar'd in their hearing not long before, how diſtant he was from aboliſhing the Law it ſelf of Divorce; he had referr'd them to the Inſtitution; and after all this, gives them a ſet Anſwer, from which they might collect what was clear enough, that *all Men cannot receive all ſayings*, verſe 11. If ſuch regard be had to each Mans receiving of Marriage or Single Life, what can ariſe, that the ſame Chriſtian regard ſhould not be had in moſt neceſſary Divorce? All which inſtructed both them and us, that it beſeem'd his Diſciples to learn the deciding of this Queſtion, which hath nothing new in it, firſt by the Inſtitution, then by the general grounds of Religion, not by a particular ſaying here or there, temper'd and level'd only to an incident Occaſion, the riddance of a tempting Aſſault. For what can this be but weak and ſhallow Apprehenſion, to forſake the ſtandard Principles of Inſtitution, Faith, and Charity; then to be blank and various at every Occurrence in Scripture, and in a cold *Spaſm* of Scruple, to rear peculiar Doctrines upon the Place; that ſhall bid the gray Authority of moſt unchangeable and ſovereign Rules to ſtand by and be contradicted. Thus to this Evangelic Precept of famous difficulty, which for theſe many Ages weakly underſtood, and violently put in Practice, hath made a Shambles, rather then an Ordinance of Matrimony, I am firm a truer Expoſition cannot be given. If this or that Argument here us'd, pleaſe not every One, there is no ſcarcity of Arguments, any half of them will ſuffice, or ſhould they all fail, as Truth it ſelf can fail as ſoon, I ſhould content me with the Inſtitution alone to wage this Controverſie, and not diſtruſt to evince. If any need it not, the happier; yet Chriſtians ought to ſtudy earneſtly what may be anothers need. But if, as mortal miſchances are, ſome hap to need it, let them be ſure they abuſe not, and give God his Thanks, who hath reviv'd this remedy, not too late for them, and ſcowr'd off an inveterate Miſ-expoſition from the Goſpel: A Work not to periſh by the vain Breath or Doom of this Age. Our next Induſtry ſhall be, under the ſame guidance, to try with what Fidelity that remaining paſſage in the *Epiſtles* touching this matter, hath been commented.

1 Cor. 7. 10, &c.

10. *And unto the Married I Command*, &c.
11. *And let not the Husband put away his Wife.*

THIS intimates but what our Saviour taught before, that Divorce is not raſhly to be made, but Reconcilement to be perſuaded and endeavour'd, as oft as the cauſe can have to do with Reconcilement, and is not under the Dominion of blameleſs Nature; which may have reaſon to depart though ſeldomeſt and laſt from charitable Love, yet ſometimes from Friendly, and Familiar, and ſomething oftner from conjugal Love, which requires not only Moral, but natural Cauſes, to the making and maintaining; and may be warrantably excus'd to retire from the deception of what it juſtly ſeeks, and the ill requitals which unjuſtly it finds. For Nature hath her *Zodiac* alſo, keeps her great annual Circuit over human things as truly as the Sun and Planets in the Firmament; hath her *Anomalies*, hath her Obliquities in Aſcenſions and Declinations, Acceſſes and Receſſes, as blameleſly as they in Heaven. And ſitting in her planetary Orb with two Reins in each Hand, one ſtreight, the other looſe, tempers the courſe of Minds as well as Bodies to ſeveral Conjunctions and Oppoſitions, freindly, or unfreindly Aſpects, conſenting oftenſt with Reaſon, but never contrary. This in the effect no Man of meaneſt reach but daily ſees; and though to every one it appear not in the Cauſe, yet to clear Capacity, well nurtur'd with good Reading and Obſervation, it cannot but be Plain and Viſible. Other Expo-

ſition therefore then hath been given to former Places that give light to theſe two ſummary Verſes, will not be needful: Save only that theſe Precepts are meant to thoſe Married who differ not in Religion.

[*But to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord; if any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away.*

Now follows what is to be done, if the Perſons Wedded be of a different Faith. The common belief is, that a Chriſtian is here commanded not to Divorce, if the Infidel pleaſe to ſtay, though it be but to vex, or to deride, or to ſeduce the Chriſtian. This Doctrin will be the eaſie Work of a Refutation. The other Opinion is, that a Chriſtian is here conditionally permitted to hold Wedloc with a Misbeleiver only upon hopes limited by Chriſtian Prudence, which without much Difficulty ſhall be defended. That this here ſpoken by *Paul*, not by the Lord cannot be a Command, theſe reavouch. Firſt the Law of *Moſes*, *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3, 6. interpreted by *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* two Infallible Authors, commands to Divorce an Infidel not for the fear only of a Ceremonious Defilement, but of an Irreligious Seducement, fear'd both in reſpect of the Beleiver himſelf, and of his Children in danger to be perverted by the misbeleiving Parent. *Nehem.* 13. 24, 26. and *Peter Martyr*, thought this a convincing Reaſon. If therefore the legal Pollution vaniſhing have abrogated the Ceremony of this Law, ſo that a Chriſtian may be permitted to retain an Infidel without uncleanneſs, yet the Moral Reaſon of Divorcing ſtands to Eternity, which neither Apoſtle nor Angel from Heaven can countermand. All that they reply to this, is their human Warrant, that God will preſerve us in our Obedience to this Command againſt the Danger of Seducement. And ſo undoubtedly he will, if we underſtand his Commands aright; if we turn not this Evangelic Permiſſion into a Legal, and yet Illegal Command: If we turn not Hope into Bondage, the charitable and free Hope of gaining another, into the forc't and ſervile Temptation of looſing our ſelves; but more of this beneath. Thus theſe Words of *Paul* by common Doctrin made a Command, are made a Contradiction to the Moral Law.

Secondly, not the Law only, but the Goſpel from the Law, and from it ſelf requires even in the ſame Chapter, where Divorce between them of one Religion is ſo narrowly forbid, rather then our Chriſtian Love ſhould come into danger of backſliding, to forſake all Relations how near ſo ever, and the Wife expreſly, with promiſe of a high Reward, *Mat.* 19. And he who hates not Father or Mother, Wife, or Children hindring his Chriſtian Courſe, much more, if they deſpiſe or aſſault it, cannot be a Diſciple, *Luke* 14. How can the Apoſtle then command us, to love and continue in that Matrimony, which our Saviour bids us hate, and forſake? They can as ſoon teach our Faculty of Reſpiration to contract and to dilate it ſelf at once, to breath and to fetch breath in the the ſame inſtant, as teach our Minds how to do ſuch contrary Acts as theſe, towards the ſame object, and as they muſt be done in the ſame moment. For either the Hatred of her Religion, and her Hatred to our Religion will work powerfully againſt the Love of her Society, or the Love of that will by degrees flatter out all our zealous hatred and forſaking, and ſoon enſnare us to unchriſtianly Compliances.

Thirdly, In Marriage there ought not only to be a civil Love, but ſuch a Love as Chriſt Loves his Church; but where the Religion is contrary without hope of Converſion, there can be no Love, no Faith, no peaceful Society, (they of the other Opinion confeſs it) nay there ought not to be, further then in Expectation of gaining a Soul; when that ceaſes, we know God hath put Enmity between the ſeed of the Woman, and the ſeed of the Serpent. Neither ſhould *we Love them that hate the Lord*, as the Prophet told *Jehoſaphat*. 2 *Chron.* 19. And this Apoſtle himſelf in another Place, warns us, *that we be not unequally yoked with Infidels* 2 *Cor.* 6. for that there

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can be no Fellowſhip, no Communion, no Concord between ſuch. Outward Commerce and civil Intercourſe cannot perhaps be avoided; but true freindſhip and familiarity there can be none. How vainly therefore, not to ſay how impiouſly would the moſt inward and dear Alliance of Marriage or Continuance in Marriage be commanded, where true Freindſhip is confeſt impoſſible. For ſay they, we are forbid here to Marry with an Infidel, not bid to Divorce. But to rob the Words thus of their full Senſe will not be allow'd them: It is not ſaid, enter not into yoke, but *be not unequally yokt*; which plainly forbids the thing in preſent Act, as well as in Purpoſe; and his manifeſt Concluſion is, not only that *we ſhould not touch*, but that having toucht, *we ſhould come out from among them, and be ſeparate*; with the promiſe of a Bleſſing thereupon that *God will receive us, will be our Father, and we his Sons and Daughters.* v. 17, 18. Why we ſhould ſtay with an Infidel after the Expence of all our Hopes, can be but for a civil Relation; but why we ſhould depart from a Seducer, ſetting aſide the Miſconſtruction of this Place, is from a religious neceſſity of departing. The worſe Cauſe therefore of ſtaying (if it be any Cauſe at all, for civil Government forces it not) muſt not overtop the Religious Cauſe of ſeparating, executed with ſuch an urgent Zeal, and ſuch a proſtrate Humiliation by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. What God hates to joyn, certainly he cannot Love ſhould continue joyn'd: It being all one in matter of ill conſequence, to Marry, or to continue Married with an Infidel, ſave only ſo long as we wait willingly, and with a ſafe Hope. St. *Paul* therefore citing here a Command of *the Lord Almighty*, for ſo he terms it, that we ſhould *ſeparate*, cannot have bound us with that which he calls his own whether Command or Counſel that we ſhould not ſeparate.

Which is the *fourth* Reaſon, for he himſelf takes care leaſt we ſhould miſtake him, [*But to the reſt ſpeak If not the Lord.*] If the Lord ſpake not, then Man ſpake it and Man hath no Lordſhip to command the Conſcience: Yet modern Interpreters will have it a Command maugre St. *Paul* himſelf, they will make him a Prophet like *Cajaphas* to ſpeak the Word of the Lord not thinking, nay denying to think; though he diſavow to have receiv'd it from the Lord, his Word ſhall not be tak'n, though an Apoſtle, he ſhall be born down in his own Epiſtle, by a race of Expoſitors who preſume to know from whom he ſpake, better then he himſelf. *Paul* depoſes that the Lord ſpeaks not this, they, that the Lord ſpeaks it: Can this be leſs then to brave him with a full fac't Contradiction? Certainly to ſuch a Violence as this, for I cannot call it an Expounding, what a Man ſhould anſwer I know not, unleſs that if it be their Pleaſure next to put a gag into the Apoſtles Mouth, they are already furniſht with a commodious Audacity toward the Attempt. *Beza* would ſeem to ſhun the Contradictory by telling us that the Lord ſpake it not in Perſon, as he did the former Precept. But how many other Doctrines doth St. *Paul* deliver, which the Lord ſpake not in Perſon, and yet never uſes this Preamble but in things indifferent? So long as we receive him for a Meſſenger of God, for him to ſtand ſorting Sentences, what the Lord ſpake in Perſon, and what he, not the Lord in Perſon, would be but a chill trifling, and his Readers might catch an Ague the while. But if we ſhall ſupply the Grammatical *Ellypſis* regularly, and as we muſt in the ſame *Tenſe*, all will be then clear, for we cannot ſupply it thus, to the reſt I ſpeak, the Lord ſpake not, but I ſpeak, the Lord ſpeaks not. If then the Lord neither ſpake in Perſon, nor ſpeaks it now, the Apoſtle teſtifying both, it follows duly, that this can be no Command. Forſooth the fear is, leaſt this not being a Command, would prove an Evangelic Counſel, and ſo make way for Superarogations. As if the Apoſtle could not ſpeak his Mind, in things indifferent, as he doth in four or five ſeveral Places of this Chapter with the like Preface of not Commanding,

manding, but that the doubted Inconvenience of Superarogating muſt needs ruſh in. And how adds it to the Word of the Lord (for this alſo they object) whenas the Apoſtle, by his Chriſtian Prudence, guides us in the Liberty which God hath left us to, without Command? Could not the Spirit of God inſtruct us by him what was free, as well as what was not? But what need I more, when *Cameron* an ingenious Writer, and in high Eſteem, ſolidly confutes the Surmiſe of a Command here, and among other Words hath theſe. That *when* Paul *ſpeaks as an Apoſtle, he uſes this Form,* The Lord ſaith, not I, v. 10. *But as a private Man he ſaith,* I ſpeak, not the Lord. And thus alſo all the prime Fathers, *Auſtin, Jerom,* and the reſt, underſtood this Place.

Fifthly, The very Stating of the Queſtion declares this to be no Command; *If any Brother hath an unbelieving Wife, and ſhe be pleaſed to dwell with him, let him not put her away.* For the Greek Word συνευδοκεῖ does not imply only her being pleas'd to ſtay, but his being pleas'd to let her ſtay; it muſt be a Conſent of them both. Nor can the Force of this Word be render'd leſs, without either much Negligence or Iniquity of him that otherwiſe tranſlates it. And thus the Greek Church alſo and their Synods underſtood it, who beſt knew what their own Language meant, as appears by *Matthæus Monachus* an Author, ſet forth by *Leunclavius,* and of Antiquity perhaps not inferiour to *Balſamon,* who writes upon the Canons of the Apoſtles; this Author in his Chap. *That Marriage is not to be made with Hereticks,* thus recites the 2d Canon of the 6th Synod, *As to the Corinthians,* Paul *determines, If the believing Wife chooſe to live with the unbelieving Husband, or the believing Husband with the unbelieving Wife: Mark,* ſaith he, *how the Apoſtle here condeſcends, if the Believer pleaſe to dwell with the Unbeliever; ſo that if he pleaſe not, out of doubt the Marriage is diſſolv'd. And I am perſwaded it was ſo in the Beginning, and thus preach'd.* And thereupon gives an Example of one, who though not deſerted, yet by the Decree of *Theodotus* the Patriarch divorc'd an unbeleiving Wife. What therefore depends in the plain State of this Queſtion on the Conſent and Well-liking of them both, muſt not be a Command. Lay next the latter end of the 11th v. to the 12th (for wherefore elſe is Logick taught us) in a *diſcreet Axiom,* as it can be no other by the Phraſe, *The Lord ſaith, Let not the Husband put away his Wife, But I ſay, Let him not put away a misbeleiving Wife;* This ſounds as if by the Judgment of *Paul,* a Man might put away any Wife but the misbelieving; or elſe the Parts are not *diſcreet* or *diſſentany,* for both conclude not putting away, and conſequently in ſuch a Form the Propoſition is ridiculous. Of neceſſity therefore the former part of this Sentence, muſt be conceiv'd, as underſtood, and ſilently granted, that although the Lord command to divorce an Infidel, yet I, not the Lord, command you? No, but give my Judgment, that for ſome Evangelick Reaſons a Chriſtian may be permitted not to divorce her. Thus while we reduce the Brevity of St. *Paul* to a plainer Senſe, by the needful Supply of that which was granted between him and the *Corinthians,* the very Logick of his Speech extracts him confeſſing that the Lords Command lay in a ſeeming Contrariety to this his Counſel: And that he meant not to thruſt out a Command of the Lord by a new one of his own, as one Nail drives another, but to releaſe us from the Rigour of it, by the Right of the Goſpel, ſo far forth as a charitable Cauſe leads us on in the Hope of winning another Soul, without the Peril of looſing our own. For this is the Glory of the Goſpel to teach us *That the End of the Commandment is Charity,* 1. *Tim.* 1. not the drudging out a poor and worthleſs Duty forc'd from us by the Tax and Tale of ſo many Letters. This Doctrine therefore can be no Command, but it muſt contradict the Moral Law, the Goſpel, and the Apoſtle himſelf both elſewhere, and here alſo even in the Act of Speaking.

If then it be no Command, it muſt remain to be a Permiſſion, and that not abſolute, for ſo it will be ſtill contrary to the Law, but with ſuch a Caution

tion as breaks not the Law, but as the Manner of the Goſpel is, fulfils it through Charity. The Law had two Reaſons, the one was Ceremonial, the Pollution that all Gentiles were to the *Jews*; this the Viſion of *Peter* had aboliſht, *Acts* 10. and cleans'd all Creatures to the Uſe of a Chriſtian. The *Corinthians* underſtood not this, but fear'd leaſt dwelling in Matrimony with an Unbeliever, they were defil'd. The Apoſtle diſcuſſes that Scruple with an Evangelick Reaſon, ſhewing them that although God heretofore under the Law, not intending the Converſion of the Gentiles, except ſome ſpecial ones, held them as polluted things to the *Jews*, yet now purpoſing to call them in, he hath purify'd them from that Legal Uncleanneſs wherein they ſtood, to uſe, and to be us'd in a pure Manner.

For, ſaith he, *The unbelieving Husband is ſanctify'd by the Wife, and the unbelieving Wife is ſanctify'd by the Husband, elſe were your Children unclean; but now they are Holy.* That is, they are ſanctify'd to you, from that legal Impurity which you ſo fear; and are brought into a near Capacity to be Holy, if they believe, and to have free Acceſs to holy things. In the mean time, as being Gods Creatures, a Chriſtian hath Power to uſe them according to their proper Uſe; in as much as now, *All things to the Pure are become Pure.* In this Legal Reſpect therefore ye need not doubt to continue in Marriage with an Unbeliever. Thus others alſo expound this Place, and *Cameron* eſpecially. This Reaſon warrants us only what we may do without Fear of Pollution, does not bind us that we muſt. But the other Reaſon of the Law to divorce an Infidel was Moral, the avoiding of Enticement from the true Faith. This cannot ſhrink, but remains in as full Force as ever, to ſave the actual Chriſtian from the Snare of a Misbeliever. Yet if a Chriſtian full of Grace and ſpiritual Gifts, finding the Misbeliever not frowardly affected, fears not a ſeducing, but hopes rather a gaining, who ſees not that this moral Reaſon is not violated by not Divorcing, which the Law commanded to do, but better fulfill'd by the Excellence of the Goſpel working through Charity. For neither the faithful is ſeduc'd, and the unfaithful is either ſav'd, or with all Diſcharge of Love, and Evangelick Duty ſought to be ſav'd. But contrariwiſe, if the infirm Chriſtian ſhall be commanded here againſt his Mind, againſt his Hope, and againſt his Strength, to dwell with all the Scandals, the houſhold Perſecutions, or alluring Temptations of an Infidel, how is not the Goſpel by this made harſher then the Law, and more yoking? Therefore the Apoſtle e're he deliver this other Reaſon, why we need not in all haſte put away an Infidel, his Mind miſgiving him leaſt he ſhould ſeem to be the Impoſer of a new Command, ſtays not for Method, but with an abrupt Speed inſerts the Declaration of their Liberty in this Matter.

But if the Unbelieving depart, let him depart; a Brother or a Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes: But God hath called us to Peace.

[*But if the Unbelieving depart.*] This cannot be reſtrain'd to local Departure only; for who knows not that an offenſive Society is worſe then a Forſaking. If his purpoſe of Cohabitation be to endanger the Life or the Conſcience, *Beza* himſelf is half perſuaded, that this may purchaſe to the faithful Perſon, the ſame Freedom that a Deſertion may, and ſo *Gerard* and others whom he cites. If therefore he depart in Affection, if he depart from giving hope of his Converſion, if he diſturb, or ſcoff at Religion, ſeduce or tempt, if he rage doubtleſs not the weak only, but the ſtrong may leave him, if not for Fear, for the Dignities ſake of Religion, which cannot be liable to all baſe Affronts, meerly for the worſhipping of a civil Marriage. I take therefore *departing* to be as large as the Negative of being well pleas'd: That is, if he be not pleas'd for the preſent, to live Lovingly, Quietly, Inoffenſively, ſo as may give good hope; which appears well by that which follows.

[*A Brother or a Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes.*] If St. *Paul* provide ſeriouſly againſt the Bondage of a Chriſtian, it is not the only Bondage to

live unmarried for a deſerting Infidel, but to endure his Preſence intolerably, to bear Indignities againſt his Religion in Words or Deeds, to be wearied with Seducements, to have Idolatries and Superſtitions ever before his Eyes, to be tormented with impure and prophane Converſation, this muſt needs be Bondage to a Chriſtian; Is this left all unprovided for, without Remedy, or Freedom granted? Undoubtedly no, for, the Apoſtle leaves it further to be conſider'd with Prudence, what Bondage a Brother or Siſter is not under, not only in this Caſe, but as he ſpeaks himſelf plurally, *in ſuch Caſes.*

[*But God hath called us to Peace.*] To Peace, not to Bondage, not to Brabbles and Contentions with him who is not pleas'd to live peaceably, as Marriage and Chriſtianity requires. And where Strife ariſes from a Cauſe hopeleſs to be allay'd, what better way to Peace then by ſeparating that which is ill joyn'd. It is not Divorce, that firſt breaks the Peace of Family, as ſome fondly comment on this Place, but it is Peace already broken, which, when other Cures fail, can only be reſtor'd to the faultleſs Perſon by a neceſſary Divorce. And St. *Paul* here warrants us to ſeek Peace, rather then to remain in Bondage. If God hath call'd us to Peace, why ſhould we not follow him, why ſhould we miſerably ſtay in perpetual Diſcord, under a Servitude not requir'd?

[*For what knoweſt thou O Wife, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Husband,* &c.] St. *Paul* having thus clear'd himſelf, not to go about the mining of our Chriſtian Liberty, not *to caſt a Snare upon us*, which to do, he ſo much hated, returns now to the *ſecond* Reaſon of that Law to put away an Infidel, for fear of Seducement, which he does not here contradict with a Command now to venture that; But if neither the Infirmity of the Chriſtian, nor the Strength of the Unbeliever be fear'd, but Hopes appearing that he may be won, he judges it no Breaking of that Law, though the Believer be permitted to forbear Divorce, and can abide, without the Peril of Seducement, to offer the Charity of a Salvation to Wife or Husband, which is the Fulfilling, not the Tranſgreſſing of that Law; and well worth the Undertaking with much Hazard and Patience. For what knoweſt thou, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy Wife, that is, till all Means convenient and poſſible with Diſcretion and Probability, as human things are, have been us'd. For Chriſt himſelf ſends not our Hope on Pilgrimage to the Worlds End, but ſets its Bounds, beyond which we need not wait on a Brother, much leſs on an Infidel. If after ſuch a time we may count a profeſſing Chriſtian no better then a Heathen, after leſs time perhaps we may ceaſe to hope of a Heathen, that he will turn Chriſtian. Otherwiſe, to bind us harder than the Law, and tell us we are not under Bondage, is meer Mockery. If till the Unbeliever pleaſe to part, we may not ſtir from the Houſe of our Bondage, then certain this our Liberty is not grounded in the Purchaſe of Chriſt, but in the Pleaſure of a Miſcreant. What knows the loyal Husband, whether he may not ſave the Adultereſs, he is not therefore bound to receive her. What knows the Wife, but ſhe may reclaim her Husband, who hath deſerted her? Yet the reformed Churches do not enjoyn her to wait longer then after the Contempt of an Eccleſiaſtical Summons. *Beza* himſelf here befriends us with a remarkable Speech, *What could be firmly conſtituted in human Matters, if under Pretence of expecting Grace from above, it ſhould be never lawful for us to ſeek our Right.* And yet in other Caſes, not leſs reaſonable to obtain a moſt juſt and needful Remedy by Divorce, he turns the innocent Party to a Task of Prayers, beyond the Multitude of *Beads* and *Roſaries*, to beg the Gift of Chaſtity in Recompence of an injurious Marriage. But the Apoſtle is evident enough, *We are not under Bondage*, truſting that he writes to thoſe who are not ignorant what Bondage is, to let ſupercilious Determiners cheat them of their Freedom. God hath call'd us to Peace, and ſo doubtleſs hath left in our Hands how to obtain it ſeaſonably; if it be not our own Choice to ſit ever like Novices wretchedly ſervile.

Thus

Thus much the Apoſtle on this Queſtion between Chriſtian and Pagan, to us now of little uſe; yet ſuppoſing it written for our Inſtruction as it may be rightly apply'd, I doubt not but that the difference between a true Believer and a Heretick, or any one truly religious either deſerted or ſeeking Divorce from any one groſly erroneous or prophane may be referred hither. For St. *Paul* leaves us here the Solution not of this Caſe only, which little concerns us, but of *ſuch like Caſes*, which may occur to us. For where the Reaſons directly ſquare, who can forbid why the Verdict ſhould not be the ſame? But this the Common Writers allow us not. And yet from this Text which in plain words gives Liberty to none unleſs deſerted by an Infidel, they collect the ſame Freedom though the Deſertion be not for Religion, which, as I conceive, they need not do; but may without ſtraining, reduce it to the cauſe of Fornication. For firſt they confeſs, that deſertion is ſeldom without a juſt ſuſpition of Adultery: Next it is a Breach of Marriage in the ſame kind, and in ſome ſort worſe: For Adultery though it give to another, yet it bereaves not all, but the deſerter wholly denies all Right, and makes one fleſh twain, which is counted the abſoluteſt Breach of Matrimony, and cauſes the other, as much as in him lies, to commit Sin, by being ſo left. Nevertheleſs thoſe Reaſons which they bring of eſtabliſhing by this Place the like Liberty from any deſertion, are fair and ſolid: And if the thing be Lawful, and can be prov'd ſo, more ways then one, ſo much the ſafer. Their Arguments I ſhall here recite, and that they may not come idle, ſhall uſe them to make Good the like Freedom to Divorce for other cauſes; and that we are no more under Bondage, to any hainous default againſt the main ends of Matrimony, then to a Deſertion. *Firſt* they alledge, that to *Tim.* 1. 5, 8. *If any provide not for thoſe of his own Houſe, he hath deny'd the Faith, and is worſe then an Infidel.* But a deſerter, ſay they, *can have no care of them who are moſt his own, therefore the deſerted party is not leſs to be righted againſt ſuch a one then againſt an Infidel.* With the ſame Evidence I argue, that Man or Wife who hates in Wedlock, is perpetually Unſociable, Unpeaceful, or Unduteous, either not being able, nor not willing to perform what the main end of Marriage demand in Help and Solace, cannot be ſaid to care for who ſhould be deareſt in the Houſe; therefore is worſe then an Infidel in both regards, either in undertaking a Duty which he cannot perform, to the undeſerved and unſpeakable Injury of the other Party ſo defrauded and betray'd, or not performing what he hath undertaken, whenas he may or might have, to the Perjury of himſelf more Irreligious then Heatheniſm. The blameleſs Perſon therefore hath as Good a Plea to ſue out his Delivery from this Bondage, as from the Deſertion of an Infidel. Since moſt Writers cannot but grant that Deſertion is not only a Local Abſence, but an intolerable Society: or if they grant it not, the Reaſons of St. *Paul* grant it, with all as much leave as they grant to enlarge a particular Freedom from Paganiſm, into a general Freedom from any Deſertion. *Secondly*, they reaſon from the likeneſs of either Fact, *the ſame loſs redounds to the deſerted by a Chriſtian, as by an Infidel, the ſame Peril of Temptation.* And I in like manner affirm, that if Honeſt and Free Perſons may be allow'd to know what is moſt to their own loſs, the ſame loſs and diſcontent, but worſe diſquiet with continual Miſery and Temptation reſides in the Company, or better call'd the Perſecution of an unfit, or an unpeaceable Conſort, then by his Deſertion. For then the deſerted may enjoy himſelf at leaſt. And he who deſerts is more favourable to the Party whom his preſence afflicts, then that importunate thing which is and will be ever converſant before the Eyes a Loyal and Individual Vexation. As for thoſe who ſtill rudely urge it no loſs to Marriage, no Deſertion, ſo long as the Fleſh is preſent and offers a Benevolence that hates, or is juſtly hated, I am not of that vulgar and low Perſwaſion, to think ſuch forc'd Embracements as theſe worth the Honour, or the Humanity of Marri-

age, but far beneath the Soul of a rational and freeborn Man. *Thirdly*, they ſay, *it is not the infidelity of the deſerter, but the deſertion of the infidel from which the Apoſtle gives this Freedom*; and I joyn, that the Apoſtle could as little require our Subjection to an unfit and injurious Bondage preſent, as to an Infidel abſent. To free us from that which is an Evil by being diſtant, and not from that which is an Inmate, and in the Boſom Evil, argues an improvident and careleſs Deliverer. And thus all Occaſions, which way ſoever they turn, are not unofficious to adminiſter ſomething which may conduce to explain or to defend the Aſſertion of this Book touching Divorce. I complain of nothing, but that it is indeed too copious, to be the matter of a diſpute, or a defence, rather to be yielded, as in the beſt Ages, a thing of common Reaſon, not of Controverſie. What have I left to ſay? I fear to be of more elaborat in a ſuch Perſpicuity as this; leaſt I ſhould ſeem not to teach, but to upbraid the dulneſs of an Age; not to commune with Reaſon in Men, but to Deplore the Loſs of Reaſon from among Men: This only, and not the want ofmore to ſay, is the Limit of my Diſcourſe.

Who among the Fathers have interpreted the Words of Chriſt concerning Divorce, as is here Interpreted; and what the Civil Law of Chriſtian Emperors in the primitive Church determin'd.

Although Teſtimony be in Logic an Argument rightly call'd *Inartificial*, and doth not ſolidly fetch the Truth by Multiplicity of Authors, nor argue a thing falſe by the few that hold ſo, yet ſeeing moſt Men from their Youth ſo accuſtom, as not to ſcann Reaſon, nor clearly to apprehend it, but to truſt for that the Names and Numbers of ſuch, as have got, and many times undeſervedly, the Reputation among them to know much, and becauſe there is a vulgar alſo of Teachers, who are as blindly by whom they fancy led, as they lead the People, it will not be amiſs for them who had rather liſt themſelves under this weaker ſort, and follow Authorities, to take notice, that this Opinion which I bring, hath been favour'd, and by ſome of thoſe affirm'd, who in their time were able to carry what they taught, had they urg'd it, through all Chriſtendom; or to have left it ſuch a Credit with all Good Men, as they who could not boldly uſe the Opinion, would have fear'd to cenſure it. But ſince by his Appointment on whom the times and ſeaſons wait, every Point of Doctrine is not fatal to be throughly ſifted out in every Age, it will be enough for me to find, that the thoughts of wiſeſt heads heretofore, and hearts no leſs reverenc'd for Devotion have tended this way, and contributed their Lot in ſome good meaſure towards this which hath been here attain'd. Others of them and Modern eſpecially, have been as full in the Aſſertion, though not ſo full in the Reaſon; ſo that either in this regard, or in the former, I ſhall be manifeſt in a middle Fortune to meet the Praiſe or Diſpraiſe of being ſomething firſt. But I deſer not what I undertook to ſhew, that in the Church both primitive and reformed, the Words of Chriſt have been underſtood to grant Divorce for other Cauſes then Adultery, and that the Word *Fornication* in Marriage hath a larger Senſe then that commonly ſuppos'd.

Juſtin Martyr in his firſt Apology written within 50 Years after St. *John* dy'd, relates a ſtory which *Euſebius* tranſcribes, that a certain Matron of *Rome*, the Wife of a vitious Husband, her Self alſo formerly vitious, but converted to the Faith, and perſwading the ſame to her Husband, at leaſt the Amendment of his Wicked Life, upon his not yielding to her Daily Entreaties and Perſwaſions in this behalf, procur'd by Law to be Divorc'd from him. This was neither for Adultery, nor Deſertion, but as the Relation ſays, *Eſteeming it an ungodly thing to be the conſort of Bed with him, who againſt the Law of Nature and of Right, ſought out Voluptuous Ways.* Suppoſe he endeavour'd ſome Unnatural Abuſe, as the Greek admits that meaning, it cannot

yet

yet be call'd Adultery; it therefore could be thought worthy of Divorce no otherwiſe then as Equivalent, or worſe; and other Vices will appear in other reſpects as much Divorſive. Next 'tis ſaid her Friends adviſed her to ſtay a while; and what Reaſon gave they? not becauſe they held unlawful what ſhe propos'd, but becauſe they thought ſhe might longer yet hope his Repentance. She obey'd, till the Man going to *Alexandria*, and from thence reported to grow ſtill more Impenitent, not for any Adultery or Deſertion, whereof neither can be gather'd, but ſaith the *Martyr*, and ſpeaks it like one approving, *leaſt ſhe ſhould be Partaker of his Unrighteous and Ungodly Deeds, remaining in Wedlock, the Communion of Bed and Board with ſuch a Perſon, ſhe left him by a Lawful Divorce.* This cannot but give us the Judgment of the Church in thoſe pure and next to Apoſtolic times. For how elſe could the Woman have been permitted, or here not reprehended; and if a Wife might then do this without Reproof, a Husband certainly might no leſs, if not more.

Tertullian in the ſame Age writing his 4. Book againſt *Marcion* witneſſes, *that Chriſt by his Anſwer to the Phariſees protected the conſtitution of* Moſes *as his own, and directed the inſtitution of the Creator*, for I alter not his *Carthaginian* Phraſe; *he Excus'd rather then Deſtroy'd the Conſtitution of* Moſes; *I ſay he forbid Conditionally, if any one therefore put away that he may Marry another: So that if he Prohibited Conditionally, then not wholly; and what he forbid not wholly, he permitted otherwiſe, where the Cauſe ceaſes for which he Prohibited*: That is when a Man makes it not the Cauſe of his putting away, meerly that he may Marry again. *Chriſt teaches not contrary to Moſes, the Juſtice of Divorce hath Chriſt the Aſſerter: He would not have Marriage ſeparate, nor kept with Ignominy, permitting then a Divorce*, and gueſſes, that this vehemence of our Saviour's Sentence was chiefly bent againſt *Herod*, as was cited before. Which leaves it evident, how *Tertullian* interpreted this prohibition of our Saviour; for whereas the Text is, *Whoſoever putteth away and Marrieth another*, wherefore ſhould *Tertullian* explain it, *Whoſoever putteth away that he may Marry another*, but to ſignify his Opinion that our Saviour did not forbid Divorce from an unworthy Yoke, but forbid the Malice or the Luſt of a needleſs change and chiefly thoſe Plotted Divorces then in uſe.

Origen in the next Gentury teſtifyes to have known certain, who had the Government of Churches in his time, who permitted ſome to Marry, while yet their former Husbands lived, and excuſes the Deed, as done *not without Cauſe, though without Scripture*, which confirms that Cauſe not to be Adultery; for how then was it againſt Scripture that they Married again. And a little beneath, for I cite his 7. Homily on *Matthew*, ſaid he, *To endure Faults worſe then Adultery and Fornication, ſeems a thing Unreaſonable*, and diſputes therefore that Chriſt did not ſpeak by *way of Precept, but as it were expounding*. By which and the like ſpeeches *Origen* declares his mind far from thinking that our Saviour confin'd all the Cauſes of Divorce to actual Adultery.

Lactantius of the Age that ſucceeded ſpeaking of this Matter in the 6. of his *Inſtitutions*, hath theſe Words. *But leaſt any think he may circumſcribe Divine Precepts, let this be added, that all Miſinterpreting, and Occaſion of Fraud, or Death may be remov'd, he commits Adultery who Marries the Divorc'd Wife, and beſides the Crime of Adultery, Divorces a Wife that he may Marry another.* To Divorce and Marry another, and to Divorce that he may Marry another, are two different things; and imply that *Lactantius* thought not this Place the forbidding of all neceſſary Divorce, but ſuch only as proceeded from the wanton Deſire of a future Choice, not from the burthen of a preſent Affliction.

About this time the Counſel of *Eliberis* in *Spain* decreed the Husband excommunicate, *If he kept his Wife being an Adultreſs; but if he left her, he might after Ten Years be receiv'd into Communion, if he retain'd her any while in his houſe after the Adultery known.* The Counſel of *Neocæſarea* in the Year

314. Decreed, that if the Wife of any *Laic* were convicted of Adultery, that Man could not be admitted into the Miniſtery: If after Ordination it were committed, he was to Divorce her; if not, he could not hold his Miniſtery. The Councel of *Nantes* condemn'd in 7. years Penance the Husband that would reconcile with an Adultreſs. But how proves this, that other Cauſes may Divorce? It proves thus; there can be but two Cauſes why theſe Councels enjoyn'd ſo ſtrictly the Divorſing of an Adultreſs, either as an Offender againſt God, or againſt the Husband; in the latter reſpect, they could not impoſe on him to Divorce; for every Man is the Maſter of his own Forgiveneſs; who ſhall hinder him to pardon the Injuries done againſt himſelf? It follows therefore that the Divorce of an Adultreſs was commanded by theſe three Councels, as it was a Sin againſt God; and by all conſequence they could not but believe that other Sins as hainous might with equal Juſtice be the ground of a Divorce.

Baſil in his 73. Rule, as *Chamier* numbers it, thus determins, that Divorce ought not to be, unleſs for Adultery, *or the hindrance to a godly Life.* What doth this but proclaim aloud more Cauſes of Divorce then Adultery, if by other Sins beſides this, in Wife or Husband, the godlineſs of the better Perſon may be certainly hinder'd, and endanger'd.

Epiphanius no leſs Ancient, writing againſt Hereticks, and therefore ſhould himſelf be Orthodoxal above others, acquaints us in his Second Book, *Tom.* 1. not that his private perſuaſion was, but that the whole Church in his time generally thought other Cauſes of Divorce lawful beſides Adultery, as comprehended under that Name; If, ſaith he, *a Divorce happ'n for any Cauſe either Fornication, or Adultery, or any hainous Fault, the Word of God blames not either the Man or Wife Marrying again, nor cuts them off from the Congregation, or from Life, but bears with the Infirmity; not that he may keep both Wives, but that leaving the former, he may be lawfully joyn'd to the latter, the holy Word, and the holy Church of God commiſerates this Man, eſpecially, if he be otherwiſe of good Converſation, and live according to Gods Law.* This place is clearer then Expoſition, and needs no Comment.

Ambroſe on the 16. of *Luke*, teaches, *that all Wedloc is not Gods joyning* and to the 19. of *Prov.* That a *Wife is prepar'd of the Lord*, as the old Latin tranſlates it, he Anſwers that the ſeptuagint renders it, *a Wife is fitted by the Lord, and temper'd to a kind of Harmony; and where that Harmony is, there God joyns; where it is not, there diſſention reigns, which is not from God, for God is Love.* This he brings to prove the Marrying of Chriſtian with Gentile to be no Marriage, and conſequently Divorc't without Sin. But he who ſees not this Argument how plainly it ſerves to Divorce any untunable, or unattonable Matrimony, ſees little. On the 1 to the *Cor.* 7. he grants a Woman may leave her Husband, not for only Fornication, *but for Apoſtacy, and inverting Nature, though not Marry again; but the Man may:* Here are Cauſes of Divorce aſſign'd other then Adultery. And going on he affirms, *that the Cauſe of God is greater then the Cauſe of Matrimony; that the reverence of Wedloc is not due to him who hates the Author thereof; that no Matrimony is firm without Devotion to God; that diſhonour done to God, acquits the other being deſerted from the Bond of Matrimony; that the Faith of Marriage is not to be kept with ſuch.* If theſe contorted Sentences be ought worth, it is not the deſertion that breaks what is broken, but the Impiety; and who then may not for that Cauſe better Divorce, then tarry to be deſerted? Or theſe grave ſayings of St. *Ambroſe* are but knacks.

Jerom on the 19. of *Matthew*, Explains, that for the cauſe of Fornication, or the *Suſpicion thereof, a Man may freely Divorce.* What can breed that Suſpicion, but ſundry Faults leading that way? By *Jeroms* conſent therefore Divorce is free not only for actual Adultery, but for any Cauſe that may encline a Wiſe Man to the juſt Suſpicion thereof.

Auſtin

Auſtin alſo muſt be remember'd among thoſe who hold that this inſtance of Fornication gives equal Inference to other Faults, equally hateful, for which to divorce; and therefore in his Books to *Pollentius*, he diſputes that *Infidelity, as being a greater Sin then Adultery, ought ſo much the rather cauſe a Divorce.* And on the Sermon in the Mount, under the Name of Fornication, will have *Idolatry, or any hurtful Superſtion* contain'd, which are not thought to diſturb Matrimony ſo directly as ſome other Obſtinacies and Diſaffections, more againſt the daily Duties of that Cov'nant, and in the Eaſtern Tongues, not unfrequently call'd Fornication, as hath been ſhewn. *Hence is underſtood*, ſaith he, *that not only for Bodily Fornication, but for that which draws the Mind from Gods Law, and fouly Corrupts it, a Man may without Fault put away his Wife, and a Wife her Husband, becauſe the Lord excepts the Cauſe of Fornication, which Fornication we are conſtrain'd to interpret in a general Senſe.* And in the Firſt Book of his *Retractaions*, Chap. 16. he Retracts not this his Opinion, but commends it to ſerious Conſideration; and explains that he counted not there all Sin to be Fornication, but the more Deteſtable ſort of Sins. The Cauſe of Fornication, therefore is not in this Diſcourſe newly interpreted to ſignify other Faults infringing the duties of Wedloc, beſides Adultery.

Laſtly, the Council of *Agatha* in the Year 506. Can. 25. decreed, that *if Lay Men who Divorc't without ſome great Fault, or giving no probable Cauſe, therefore Divorc't, that they might Marry ſome unlawful Perſon, or ſome other Mans, if before the Provincial Biſhops were made acquainted, or Judgment paſt, they preſum'd this Excommunication was the Penalty.* Whence it follows, that if the Cauſe of Divorce were ſome great Offence, or that they gave probable Cauſes for what they did, and did not therefore Divorce that they might preſume with ſome unlawful Perſon, or what was another Mans, the Cenſure of Church in thoſe Days did not touch them.

Thus having allegd'd enough to ſhew after what Manner the Primitive Church for above 500 Years underſtood our Saviours Words, touching Divorce, I ſhall now with a labour leſs diſpreſt, and ſooner diſpatcht, bring under view what the Civil Law of thoſe times conſtituted about this matter: I ſay, the Civil Law, which is the Honour of every true Civilian to ſtand for, rather then to count that for Law, which the *Pontificial* Canon hath enthrall'd them to, and in ſtead of interpreting a Generous and Elegant Law, made them the drudges of a blockiſh *Rubric.*

Theodoſius and *Valentinian*, Pious Emperors both, ordain'd that *as by Conſent lawful Marriages were made, ſo by Conſent, but not without the Bill of Divorce, they might be diſſolv'd; and to diſſolve was the more Difficult, only in favour of the Children.* We ſee the Wiſdom and Piety of that Age one of the pureſt and learnedeſt ſince Chriſt, conceiv'd no hindrance in the Words of our Saviour, but that a Divorce mutually conſented, might be ſuffer'd by the Law, eſpecially if there were no Children, or if there were careful Proviſion was made. And further ſaith that Law (ſuppoſing there wanted the Conſent of either) *we deſign the Cauſes of Divorce by this moſt wholſom Law; for as we forbid the diſſolving of Marriage without juſt Cauſe, ſo we deſire that a Husband or a Wife diſtreſt by ſome adverſe neceſſity, ſhould be freed, though by an unhappy, yet a neceſſary Relief.* What dram of Wiſdom, or Religion (for Charity is trueſt Religion) could there be in that knowing Age, which is not virtually ſumm'd up in this moſt juſt Law? As for thoſe other Chriſtian Emperours, from *Conſtantine* the firſt of them, finding the *Roman* Law in this point ſo Anſwerable to the Moſaic, it might be the likelieſt cauſe why they alter'd nothing to reſtraint, but if ought, rather to Liberty, for the help and conſideration of the weaker Sex, according as the Goſpel ſeems to make the Wife more equal to her Husband in theſe conjugal reſpects then the Law of *Moſes* doth. Therefore *if a Man*

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were abſent from his Wife four Years, and in that ſpace not heard of, though gone to War in the Service of the Empire, ſhe might Divorce, and Marry another by the Edict of *Conſtantine to Dalmatius. Co. l.* 5. *Tit.* 17. And this was an Age of the Church both Antient, and cry'd up ſtill for the moſt flouriſhing in Knowledge and Pious Government ſince the Apoſtles. But to return to this Law of *Theodoſius*, with this Obſervation by the way, that ſtill as the Church corrupted, as the Clergy grew more Ignorant, and yet more uſurping on the Magiſtrate, who alſo now declin'd, ſo ſtill Divorce grew more reſtrain'd; though certainly if better Times permitted the thing that worſe Times reſtrain'd, it would not weakly argue that the Permiſſion was better, and the Reſtraint worſe. This Law therefore of *Theodoſius*, Wiſer in this then the moſt of his Succeſſors, though not Wiſer then God and *Moſes*, reduc'd the Cauſes of Divorce to a certain number which by the judicial Law of God, and all recorded humanity were left before to the breaſt of each Husband, provided that the diſmiſs was not without reaſonable Conditions to the Wife. But this was a Reſtraint not yet come to Extreams. For beſides Adultery and that not only actual, but ſuſpected by many ſigns there ſet down, any Fault equally puniſhable with Adultery, or equally infamous might be the Cauſe of a Divorce. Which informs us how the Wiſeſt of thoſe Ages underſtood that Place in the Goſpel, whereby, not the pilfering of a Benevolence was conſider'd as the main and only breach of Wedloc, as is now thought, but the breach of Love and Peace, a more holy Union then that of the fleſh; and the dignity of an honeſt Perſon was regarded, not to be held in Bondage with one whoſe Ignominy was Infectious. To this purpoſe was conſtituted *Col. l.* 5. *Tit.* 17. and *Authent. Collat.* 4. *Tit.* 1. *Novel.* 22. where *Juſtinian* added three Cauſes more. In the 117. *Novell.* moſt of the ſame Cauſes are allow'd, but the Liberty of Divorcing by Conſent is repeal'd. But by whom? By *Juſtinian*, not a Wiſer, not a more Religious Emperor then either of the former, but noted by judicious Writers for his fickle head in making and unmaking Laws; and how *Procopius* a good Hiſtorian, and a Counſellor of State then living deciphers him in his other Actions, I willingly omit. Nor was the Church then in better Caſe, but had the Corruption of a 100. declining years ſwept on it, when the Statute of *Conſent* was call'd in; which, as I ſaid, gives us every way more reaſon to ſuſpect this Reſtraint, more then that Liberty: which therefore in the Reign of *Juſtin* the ſucceeding Emperor was recall'd, *Novel.* 140. and eſtabliſht with a Preface more Wiſe and Chriſtianly then for thoſe Times, declaring, the neceſſity to reſtore that *Theodoſian* Law, if no other means of Reconcilement could be found. And by whom this Law was abrogated, or how long after, I do not find; but that thoſe other Cauſes remain'd in force, as long as the *Greek* Empire ſubſiſted, and were aſſented by that Church, is to be read in the Canons and Edicts compar'd by *Photius* the Patriarch, with the Advertiments of *Balſamon*, and *Matthæus Monachus* thereon.

But long before thoſe days *Leo* the Son of *Baſilius Macedo* reigning about the Year 886. and for his excellent Wiſdom ſurnam'd the *Philoſopher*, conſtituted, *that in caſe of Madneſs the Husband might Divorce after three Years, the Wife after* 5. *Conſtitut. Leon.* 111, 112. this declares, how he expounded our Saviour, and deriv'd his Reaſons from the Inſtitution, which in his Preface with great Eloquence are ſet down; whereof a Paſſage or two may give ſome Proof, though better not divided from the reſt. *There is not,* ſaith he, *a thing more neceſſary to preſerve Mankind, then the help giv'n him from his own rib; both God and Nature ſo teaching us: Which being ſo, it was requiſite that the Providence of Law, or if any other care be to the good of Man, ſhould teach and ordain thoſe things which are to the help and comfort of Married Perſons, and confirm the end of Marriage purpos'd*

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in the beginning, not thoſe things which afflict and bring perpetual miſery to them. Then anſwers the Objection that they are one fleſh; *if Matrimony had held ſo as God ordain'd it, he were wicked that would diſſolve it. But if we reſpect this in Matrimony, that it be contracted to the good of both, how ſhall he, who for ſome great evil fear'd, perſwades not to Marry though contracted, not perſwade to unmarry, if after Marriage a Calamity befal? ſhould we bid beware leaſt any fall into an evil, and leave him helpleſs, who by Humane Error is fall'n therein? This were as if we ſhould uſe remedies to prevent a Diſeaſe, but let the ſick die without remedy.* The reſt will be worth Reading in the Author.

And thus we have the Judgment, *firſt*, of primitive Fathers; *next*, of the imperial Law not diſallow'd by the univerſal Church in Ages of her beſt Authority; and *laſtly*, of the whole *Greek* Church, and civil State, incorporating their Canons and Edicts together, that Divorce was lawful for other Cauſes equivalent to Adultery, contain'd under the word Fornication. So that the Expoſition of our Saviours Sentence here alledg'd hath all theſe Ancient and Great Aſſerters, is therefore neither new nor licentious, as ſome now would perſwade the Commonalty; although it be nearer Truth that nothing is more new then thoſe Teachers themſelves, and nothing more licentious then ſome known to be, whoſe Hypocriſie yet ſhames not to take Offence at this Doctrin for Licence; when as indeed they fear it would remove Licence, and leave them but few Companions.

That the Popes Cannon Law incroaching upon civil Magiſtracy aboliſht all Divorce even for Adultery. What the reformed Divines have recover'd; and that the famouſeſt of them have taught according to the Aſſertion of this Book.

But in theſe *Weſtern* Parts of the Empire it will appear almoſt unqueſtionable, that the cited Law of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* ſtood in force until the blindeſt and corrupteſt Times of Popedom diſplac'd it. For that the Volums of *Juſtinian* never came into *Italy*, or beyond *Illiricum*, is the Opinion of good Antiquaries. And that only Manuſcript thereof found in *Apulia* by *Lotharius* the *Saxon*, and giv'n to the State of *Piſa* for their Aid at Sea againſt the *Normans* of *Sicily*, was receiv'd as a Rarity not to be Match'd. And although the *Gothes*, and after them the *Lombards* and *Franks* who over-run the moſt of *Europe*, except this Iſland (unleſs we make our *Saxons* and *Normans* a limb of them) brought in their own Cuſtoms, yet that they follow'd the *Roman* Laws in their Contracts and Marriages, *Agathias* the Hiſtorian is alleg'd. And other Teſtimonies relate, that *Alaricus* and *Theodoric* their Kings writ their Statutes out of this *Theodoſian Code* which hath the recited Law of Divorce. Nevertheleſs, while the Monarchs of Chriſtendom were yet Barbarous, and but half Chriſtian, the Popes took this advantage of their weak Superſtition, to raiſe a corpulent Law out of the Canons and *Decretals* of audacious Prieſts; and preſum'd alſo to ſet this in the front; *That the Conſtitutions of Princes are not above the Conſtitutions of Clergy, but beneath them.* Uſing this very Inſtance of Divorce as the firſt Prop of their Tyranny; by a falſe conſequence drawn from a paſſage of *Ambroſe* upon *Luke*, where he ſaith, though *Mans Law grant it, yet Gods Law prohibits it.* Whence *Gregory* the Pope writing to *Theoctiſta* infers, that Eccleſiaſtical Courts cannot be diſſolv'd by the Magiſtrate. A fair concluſion from a double error. Firſt, in ſaying, that the divine Law prohibited Divorce, for what will he make of *Moſes*; next ſuppoſing that it did, how will it follow, that what ever Chriſt forbids in his Evangelic Precept, ſhould be hal'd into a judicial Conſtraint againſt the Pattern of a divine Law: Certainly the Goſpel came not to Enact ſuch Compulſions.

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In the mean while we may Note here, that the reſtraint of Divorce was one of the firſt fair ſeeming Pleas which the Pope had, to ſtep into ſecular Authority, and with his Antichriſtian rigor to aboliſh the permiſſive Law of Chriſtian Princes conforming to a ſacred Lawgiver. Which if we conſider, this papal and unjuſt reſtriction of Divorce need not be ſo dear to us ſince the plauſible reſtraining of that, was in a manner the firſt looſning of Antichriſt; and as it were the ſubſtance of his eldeſt born. Nor do we leſs remarkably owe the firſt means of his Fall here in *England* to the contemning of that reſtraint by *Henry* 8. whoſe Divorce he oppos'd. Yet was not that rigour executed antiently in ſpiritual Courts until *Alexander* the third; who trod upon the neck of *Frederic Barbaroſſa* the Emperor, and ſummon'd our *Henry* 2 into *Normandy* about the Death of *Becket*. He it was, that the worthy Author may be known, who firſt actually repeal'd the Imperial Law of Divorce, and decreed this tyrannous Decree, that Matrimony for no Cauſe ſhould be diſſolv'd, though for many Cauſes it might ſeparate; as may be ſeen *Decret. Gregor. l.* 4. *Tit.* 19. and in other Places of the Canonical Tomes. The main Good of which Invention, wherein it conſiſts who can tell? But that it hath one Vertue incomparable to fill all Chriſtendom with Whoredoms, and Adulteries beyond the Art of *Balaams* or of Devils. Yet neither can theſe, though ſo perverſe, but acknowledge that the Words of Chriſt under the Name of Fornication allow putting away for other Cauſes then Adultery both from *bed and board*, but not from the *Bond*; their only Reaſon is, becauſe Marriage they believe to be a Sacrament. But our Divines who would ſeem long ſince to have renounc'd that Reaſon, have ſo forgot themſelves, as yet to hold the abſurdity, which but for that Reaſon, unleſs there be ſome Myſtery of Satan in it, perhaps the Papiſt would not hold. 'Tis true, we grant Divorce for actual and prov'd Adultery, and not for leſs then many tedious and unreparable years of Deſertion, wherein a Man ſhall looſe all his Hope of Poſterity, which Great and Holy Men have bewail'd, e're he can be righted; and then perhaps on the Confines of his old Age, when all is not worth the while. But grant this where ſeaſonably done; what are theſe two Caſes to many other, which afflict the State of Marriage as bad, and yet find no redreſs? What hath the Soul of Man deſerv'd if it be in the way of Salvation, that it ſhould be mortgag'd thus, and may not redeem it ſelf according to Conſcience out of the Hands of ſuch ignorant and ſlothful Teachers as theſe, who are neither able nor mindful to give due tendance to that precious Cure which they raſhly undertake; nor have in them the noble goodneſs to conſider theſe diſtreſſes and accidents of Mans Life; but are bent rather to fill their Mouths with Tithe and Oblation. Yet if they can learn to follow, as well as they can ſeek to be follow'd, I ſhall direct them to a fair number of renowned Men, worthy to be their Leaders, who will command to them a Doctrine in this point Wiſer then their own, and if they be not impatient, it will be the ſame Doctrin which this Treatiſe hath defended.

Wickleſ, that *Engliſh* Man, honour'd of God to be the firſt Preacher of a general Reformation to all *Europe*, was not in this thing better taught of God, then to teach among his chiefeſt Recoveries of Truth, that Divorce is lawful to the Chriſtian for many other Cauſes equal to Adultery. This Book indeed, through the Poverty of our Libraries, I am forc't to cite from *Arniſæus* of *Aalberſtad on the right of Marriage*, who cites it from *Coraſius* of *Tolouſ. c.* 4. *Cent. Sect.* and he from *Wickleſ. l.* 4. *Dial. c.* 21. So much the ſorrier, for that I never lookt into Author cited by his Adverſary upon this Occaſion, but found him more conducible to the Queſtion, then his Quotation render'd him.

Next

Next *Luther*, how great a Servant of God, in his Book of *Conjugal Life* quoted by *Gerard* out of the *Dutch*, allows Divorce for the obſtinate denial of Conjugal Duty; and *that a Man may ſend away a proud Vaſthi, and Marry an Eſther in her ſtead.* It ſeems, if this Example ſhall not be impertinent, that *Luther* meant not only the refuſal of Benevolence, but a ſtubborn Denial of any main Conjugal Duty; or if he did not, it will be evinc'd from what he allows. For out of Queſtion, with Men that are not barbarous, Love and Peace, and Fitneſs will be yielded as eſſential to Marriage, as corporal Benevolence. *Though I give my Body to be burnt*, ſaith St. *Paul, and have not Charity, it profits me nothing.* So though the Body proſtitute it ſelf to whom the Mind affords no other Love or Peace, but conſtant Malice and Vexation, can this Bodily Benevolence deſerve to be call'd a Marriage between Chriſtians and Rational Creatures.

Melanchton, the third great Luminary of Reformation in his Book *concerning Marriage* grants, Divorce for Cruel Uſage, and Danger of Life, urging the Authority of that *Theodoſian* Law, which he eſteems written with the grave Deliberation of Godly Men; *and that they who reject this Law, and think it diſagreeing from the Goſpel, underſtand not the difference of Law and Goſpel; that the Magiſtrate ought not only to defend Life, but to ſuccour the weak Conſcience, leaſt broke with Grief and Indignation it relinquiſh Prayer, and turn to ſome Unlawful thing.* What if this heavy plight of deſpair ariſe from other diſcontents in Wedlock which may go to the Soul of a Good Man more then the Danger of his Life, or Cruel Uſing, which a Man cannot be lyable to, ſuppoſe it be ingrateful Uſage, ſuppoſe it be perpetual Spite and Diſobedience, ſuppoſe a Hatred, ſhall not the Magiſtrate free him from this diſquiet which interrupts his Prayers, and diſturbs the courſe of his Service to God and his Country all as much, and brings him ſuch a miſery, as that he more deſires to leave his Life then fears to looſe it: Shall not this equally concern the Office of Civil Protection, and much more the Charity of a true Church to remedy?

Eraſmus, who for Learning was the wonder of his Age, both in his *Notes* on *Matthew*, and on the firſt to the *Corinthians* in a large and eloquent Diſcourſe, and in his Anſwer to *Phimoſtonus* a Papiſt, maintains (and no Proteſtant then living contradicted him) that the Words of Chriſt comprehend many other Cauſes of Divorce under the Name of Fornication.

Bucer, whom our famous Dr. *Reinolds* was wont to perſer before *Calvin*, in his Comment on *Matthew*, and in his Second Book *of the Kingdom of Chriſt* treats of Divorce at large to the ſame Effect, as is written in the *Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce* lately publiſh'd, and the Tranſlation is extant: Whom leaſt I ſhould be thought to have wreſted to mine own Purpoſe, take ſomething more out of his 49. Chap. which I then for Brevity omitted. *It will be the Duty of pious Princes, and all who govern Church, or Common-wealth, if any, whether Husband or Wife, ſhall affirm their want of ſuch who either will, or can tolerably perform the neceſſary Duties of marryed Life, to grant, that they may ſeek them ſuch, and marry them; if they make it appear that ſuch they have not.* This Book he wrote here in *England*, where he liv'd the greateſt admir'd Man, and this he Dedicated to *Edward* the Sixth.

Fagius rank'd among the famous Divines of *Germany*, whom *Frederic* at that time the *Palatine* ſent for to be the Reformer of his Dominion, and whom afterwards *England* ſought to, and obtain'd of him to come and teach her, differs not in this Opinion from *Bucer*, as his Notes on the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* well teſtify.

The whole Church of *Strasburgh* in her moſt flouriſhing Time, when *Zellius*, *Hedio*, *Capito*, and other great Divines taught there, and thoſe two renowned Magiſtrates *Farrerus* and *Sturmius* govern'd that Common-wealth and Academy to the admiration of all *Germany*, hath thus in the 21. Article.

We teach that if, according to the Word of God, yea or againſt it, Divorces happen, to do according to Gods Word, Deut.24.1. Mat.19. 1 Cor.7. *and the Obſervation of the Primitive Church, and the Chriſtian Conſtitution of Pious Cæſars.*

Peter Martyr ſeems in Word our eaſie Adverſary, but is in Deed for us: toward which though it be ſomething when he ſaith of this opinion, *that it is not wicked, and can hardly be refuted,* this which follows is much more, *I ſpeak not here,* ſaith he, *of Natural Impediments which may ſo happ'n, that the Matrimony can no longer hold:* But adding, *that he often wonder'd, how the Antient and moſt Chriſtian Emperors eſtabliſht thoſe Laws of Divorce, and neither* Ambroſe, *who had ſuch Influence upon the Laws of* Theodoſius, *nor any of thoſe Holy Fathers found fault, nor any of the Churches, why the Magiſtrats of this Day ſhould be ſo loth to conſtitute the ſame. Perhaps they fear an Inundation of Divorces, which is not likely, whenas we read not either among the* Hebrews, Greeks, *or* Romans *that they were much frequent where they were moſt Permitted. If they judge Chriſtian Men worſe then* Jews *or* Pagans, *they both injure that Name, and by this Reaſon will be conſtrain'd to grant Divorces the rather; becauſe it was Permitted as a remedy of Evil, for who would remove the Medicine, while the Diſeaſe is yet ſo rife?* This being read both in his *Common Places,* and on the firſt *to the Corinthians,* with what we ſhall relate more of him yet ere the end, ſets him abſolutely on this ſide. Not to inſiſt that in both theſe, and other Places of his Commentaries he grants Divorce not only for Deſertion, but for the Seducement and ſcandalous Demeanour of a Heretical Conſort.

Muſculus, a Divine of no obſcure Fame, diſtinguiſhes between the Religious and the Civil Determination of Divorce; and leaving the Civil wholly to the Lawyers, pronounces a conſcionable Divorce for Impotence, not only Natural, but Accidental, if it be durable. His Equity it ſeems, can enlarge the Words of Chriſt to one Cauſe more then Adultery; why may not the Reaſon of another Man as Wiſe, enlarge them to another Cauſe.

Gualter of *Zuric,* a well known Judicious Commentator in his *Homilies* on *Matthew,* allows Divorce for *Leproſie, or any other Cauſe which renders unfit for Wedloc,* and calls this rather *a Nullity of Marriage then a Divorce,* and who, that is not himſelf a meer Body, can reſtrain all the unfitneſs of Marriage only to a corporal Defect.

Hemingius, an Author highly eſteem'd, and his Works Printed at *Geneva,* writing of Divorce, confeſſes, that Learned Men *vary in this Queſtion, ſome granting three Cauſes thereof, ſome five, others many more;* he himſelf gives us ſix, *Adultery, Deſertion, Inability, Error, Evil Uſage, and Impiety,* uſing Argument, *that Chriſt under one ſpecial contains the whole kind, and under the Name and Example of Fornication* he includes *other Cauſes equipollent.* This diſcourſe he wrote at the requeſt of many, who had the judging of theſe Cauſes in *Denmark and Norway,* who by all likelyhood follow'd his Advice.

Hunnius, a Doctor of *Wittenberg,* well known both in Divinity and other Arts, on the 19. of *Mat.* affirms, *that the Exception of Fornication expreſt by our Saviour excludes not other Cauſes equalling Adultery, or deſtructive to the ſubſtantials of Matrimony; but was oppos'd to the Cuſtom of the* Jews *who made Divorce for every light Cauſe.*

Felix Bidenbachius, an eminent Divine in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* affirms, *that the Obſtinate refuſal of conjugal due is a Lawful Cauſe of Divorce,* and gives an inſtance *that the Conſiſtory of that ſtate ſo judg'd.*

Gerard cites *Harbardus,* an Author not unknown, and *Arniſæus* cites *Wigandus,* both yielding Divorce *in caſe of Cruel Uſage;* and another Author who teſtifies *to have ſeen in a Dukedom of* Germany *Marriages disjoyn'd for ſome Implacable Enmities ariſing.*

Beza, one of the ſtricteſt againſt Divorce, denys it not *for Danger of Life from a Heretic,* or *Importunate Solicitation to do ought againſt Religion:* And

counts

counts it *all one, whether the Heretick deſert, or would ſtay upon intolerable Conditions.* But this Deciſion well examin'd, will be found of no Solidity. For *Beza* would be ask'd why, if God ſo ſtrictly exact our ſtay in any kind of Wedlock, we had not better ſtay and hazard a murthering for Religion at the hand of a Wife, or Husband, as he and others enjoyn us to ſtay and venture it for all other Cauſes but that? And why a Man's Life is not as well and warrantably ſav'd by divorcing from an Orthodox Murtherer, as a Heretical? Again, if Deſertion be conſeſt by him to conſiſt not only in the forſaking, but in the unſufferable Conditions of ſtaying, a Man may as well deduce the Lawfulneſs of Divorcing from any intolerable Conditions (if his Grant be good, that we may divorce thereupon from a Heretick) as he can deduce it lawful to divorce from any Deſerter, by finding it lawful to divorce from a deſerting Infidel. For this is plain, if St. *Pauls* Permiſſion to divorce an Infidel Deſerter, infer it lawful for any malicious Deſertion, then doth *Beza*'s Definition of a Deſerter, transfer it ſelf with like Facility from the cauſe of Religion, to the cauſe of Malice, and proves it as good to divorce from him who intollerably ſtays, as from him who purpoſely departs; and leaves it as lawful to depart from him who urgently requires a wicked Thing, though profeſſing the ſame Religion, as from him who urges a Heatheniſh or Superſtitious Complyance in a different Faith. For if there be ſuch neceſſity of our abiding, we ought rather to abide the utmoſt for Religion, then for any other Cauſe; ſeeing both the cauſe of our ſtay is pretended our Religion to Marriage, and the cauſe of our Suffering is ſuppos'd our conſtant Marriage to Religion. *Beza* therefore by his own Definition of a Deſerter, juſtifies a Divorce from any wicked or intolerable Conditions, rather in the ſame Religion, then in a different.

Aretius, a famous Divine of *Bern*, approves many cauſes of Divorce in his *Problems*, and adds, *that the Law and Conſiſtories of* Switzerland *approve them alſo.* As firſt, *Adultery, and that not actual only, but intentional*, alledging *Matthew* the Fifth, *whoſoever looketh to Luſt, hath committed Adultery already in his Heart. Whereby* ſaith he, *our Saviour ſhews that the breach of Matrimony may be not only by outward Act, but by the Heart and Deſire; when that hath once poſſeſt, it renders the Converſation intolerable, and commonly the Fact follows.* Other Cauſes to the number of 9 or 10, conſenting in moſt with the imperial Laws, may be read in the Author himſelf, who averrs them *to be Grave and Weighty.* All theſe are Men of Name in Divinity, and to theſe if need were, might be added more. Nor have the Civilians been all ſo Blinded by the Canon, as not to avouch the Juſtice of thoſe old Permiſſions touching Divorce.

Alciat of *Millain*, a Man of extraordinary Wiſdom and Learning, in the ſixth Book of his *Parerga*, defends thoſe imperial Laws, *not repugnant to the Goſpel, as the Church then interpreted.* For ſaith he, *the Antients underſtood him ſeparate by Man, whom Paſſions and corrupt Affections divorc'd not, if the provincial Biſhops firſt heard the matter, and judg'd as the Council of* Agatha *declares*; and on ſome part of the Code, he names *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, the firſt Computer of Canons, *to be in the ſame mind.* And in the former Place gives his Opinion, *that Divorce might be more lawfully permitted then Uſury.*

Coraſius, recorded by *Helvicus*, among the famous Lawyers hath been already cited of the ſame Judgment.

Weſembechius, a much nam'd Civilian, in his Comment on this Law defends it, and affirms, *that our Saviour excluded not other Faults equal to Adultery; and that the word Fornication, ſignifies larger among the Hebrews then with us, comprehending every Fault which alienates from him, to whom Obedience is due, and that the primitive Church interpreted ſo.*

Grotius yet Living, and of prime Note among Learned Men, retires plainly from the Canon to the ancient Civility, yea, to the Moſaic Law, *as being moſt juſt and undeceiveable.* On the fifth of *Matth.* he ſaith, *that Chriſt made no Civil Laws, but taught us how to uſe Law; that the Law ſent not a Husband to the Judge about this matter of Divorce, but left him to his own Conſcience; that Chriſt therefore cannot be thought to ſend him; that Adultery may be judg'd by a vehement Suſpition, that the exception of Adultery ſeems an Example of other like Offences*; proves it *from the manner of Speech, the Maxims of Law, the Reaſon of Charity, and common Equity.*

Theſe Authorities without long ſearch I had to produce, all excellent Men, ſome of them ſuch as many Ages had brought forth none greater: almoſt the meaneſt of them might deſerve to obtain credit in a Singularity; what might not then all of them joyn'd in an Opinion ſo Conſonant to Reaſon? For although ſome ſpeak of this Cauſe, others of that, why Divorce may be, yet all agreeing in the neceſſary enlargement of that textual ſtraitneſs, leave the matter to Equity, not to literal Bondage, and ſo the opinion cloſes. Nor could I have wanted more Teſtimonies, had the cauſe needed a more ſollicitous enquiry. But herein the ſatisfaction of others hath been ſtudied, not the gaining of more Aſſurance to mine own Perſwaſion: Although Authorities contributing Reaſon withal, be a good Confirmation and a Welcome. But God, I ſolemnly atteſt him, with-held from my Knowledge the conſenting Judgment of theſe Men ſo late, until they could not be my Inſtructers, but only my unexpected Witneſſes to partial Men, that in this Work I had not given the worſt Experiment of an Induſtry joyn'd with Integrity, and the free Utterance though of an unpopular Truth. Which yet to the People of *England* may, if God ſo pleaſe, prove a memorable Informing; certainly a benefit which was intended them long ſince by Men of higheſt Repute for Wiſdom and Piety, *Bucer* and *Eraſmus*. Only this one Authority more, whether in Place or out of Place, I am not to omit; which if any can think a ſmall one, I muſt be patient, it is no ſmaller then the whole aſſembl'd Authority of *England* both Church and State; and in thoſe Times, which are on Record for the pureſt and ſincereſt that ever ſhon, yet on the Reformation of this Iſland, the time of *Edward* the VI. That worthy Prince having utterly aboliſht the Cannon Law out of his Dominions, as his Father did before him, appointed by full Vote of Parliament, a Committee of two and thirty choſen Men, Divines and Lawyers, of whom *Cranmer* the Archbiſhop, *Peter Martyr*, and *Walter Haddon*, (not without the Aſſiſtance of Sir *John Cheeke* the Kings Tutor, a Man at that Time counted the learnedeſt of *Engliſhmen*, and for Piety not inferior) were the cheif, to frame anew ſome Eccleſiaſtical Laws, that might be inſtead of what was abrogated. The Work with great Diligence was finiſht, and with as great Approbation of that reforming Age was receiv'd; and had been doubtleſs, as the learned Preface thereof Teſtifies, Eſtabliſht by Act of Parliament, had not the good Kings Death ſo ſoon enſuing, arreſted the further growth of Religion alſo, from that Seaſon to this. Thoſe Laws, thus founded on the memorable Wiſdom and Piety of that Religious Parliament and Synod, allow Divorce and ſecond Marriage, *not only for Adultery or Deſertion, but for any capital Enmity or Plot laid againſt the others Life, and likewiſe for Evil and fierce Uſage*? Nay the 12. Chap. of that Title by plain Conſequence declares, *that leſſer Contentions, if they be Perpetual, may obtain Divorce:* Which is all one really with the Poſition by me held in the former Treatiſe, Publiſht on this Argument, herein only differing that there the Cauſe of perpetual ſtriſe was put for Example in the unchangeable diſcord of ſome Natures; but in theſe Laws intended us by the beſt of our Anceſtors, the effect of continual Striſe is determin'd no unjuſt Plea of Divorce, whether the Cauſe be

Natural

Natural or Wilful. Whereby the wariness and deliberation from which that Discourse proceeded, will appear, and that God hath aided us to make no bad Conclusion of this Point; seeing the Opinion which of late hath undergone ill Censures among the Vulgar, hath now prov'd to have done no Violence to Scripture, unless all these Famous Authors alledg'd, have done the like; nor hath affirm'd ought more then what indeed the most nominated Fathers of the Church both Ancient and Modern, are unexpectedly found Affirming, the Laws of Gods Peculiar People, and of Primitive Christendom found to have Practis'd, reformed Churches and States to have imitated, and especially the most Pious Church-times of this Kingdom to have Fram'd and Publisht, and, but for sad hindrances in the sudden Change of Religion, had enacted by Parliament. Hence forth let them who Condemn the Assertion of this Book for New and Licentious, be sorry; lest, while they think to be of the graver sort, and take on them to be Teachers, they expose themselves rather to be pledg'd up and down by Men who intimately know them, to the discovery and contempt of their Ignorance and Presumption.

The END.

COLASTERION:

A

REPLY

TO A

NAMELES ANSWER

AGAINST

The Doctrine *and* Discipline *of* DIVORCE.

WHEREIN

The Trivial AUTHOR of that ANSWER is Discover'd, the LICENCER Conferr'd with, and the *Opinion* which they Traduce Defended.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Prov. 26. 5.

Answer a Fool according to his Folly, lest he be Wise in his own Conceit.

AFTER many Rumours of Confutations and Convictions forth coming against *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and now and then a By-blow from the Pulpit, feathered with a Censure strict indeed, but how true, more beholding to the Authority of that devout Place, which it borrow'd to be utter'd in, then to any sound Reason which it could Oracle, while I still Hop'd as for a Blessing to see some Peace of Diligence, or learned Discretion come from them,

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it was my hap at length lighting on a certain Parcel of *Quæries*, that ſeek and find not, to find not ſeeking, at the Tail of *Anabaptiſtical*, *Antinomian*, *Heretical*, *Atheiſtical* Epithets, a jolly ſlander, call'd *Divorce at Pleaſure:* I ſtood a while and wonder'd, what we might do to a Mans Heart, or what Anatomy uſe, to find in it ſincerity; for all our wonted marks every day fail us, and where we thought it was, we ſee it is not, for alter and change reſidence it cannot ſure. And yet I ſee no Good of Body or of Mind ſecure to a Man for all his paſt Labours without perpetual Watchfulneſs, and Perſeverance. When as one above others, who hath ſuffer'd much and long in the defence of Truth, ſhall after all this, give her Cauſe to leave him ſo deſtitute and ſo vacant of her defence, as to yield his mouth to be the common road of Truth and Falſhood, and ſuch Falſhood as is joyn'd with the Raſh and Heedleſs Calumny of his Neighbour. For what Book hath he ever met with, as his Complaint is, *Printed in the City*, maintaining either in the Title, or in the whole Perſuance, *Divorce at Pleaſure?* 'Tis true, that to Divorce upon extream neceſſity, when through the Perverſneſs, or the apparent Unfitneſs of either, the continuance can be to both no Good at all, but an intolerable Injury and Temptation to the Wronged and the Defrauded, to Divorce them, there is a Book that Writes it Lawful. And that this Law is a pure and wholſome National Law, not to be with-held from Good Men, becauſe others likely enough may abuſe it to their pleaſure, cannot be charg'd upon that Book, but muſt be entr'd a Bold and Impious Accuſation againſt God himſelf; who did not for this Abuſe withold it from his own People. It will be juſt therefore, and beſt for the Reputation of him who in his *Subitanes* hath thus cenſur'd, to recal his Sentence. And if, out of the Abundance of his Volums, and the Readineſs of his Quill, and the Vaſtneſs of his other Imployments, eſpecially in the great Audit for Accounts, he can ſpare us ought to the better Underſtanding of this Point, he ſhall be thankt in Publick, and what hath offended in the Book, ſhall willingly ſubmit to his Correction. Provided he be ſure not to come with thoſe old and ſtale Suppoſitions, unleſs he can take away clearly what that Diſcourſe hath urg'd againſt them, by one who will expect other Arguments to be perſwaded, the Good health of a ſound Anſwer, then the Gout and Dropſy of a Big Margent, litter'd and overlaid with Crude and Huddl'd Quotations. But as I ſtill was waiting, when theſe light arm'd Refuters would have done Pelting at their three Lines utter'd with a ſage Delivery of no Reaſon, but an impotent and worſe then *Bonner*-like Cenſure to burn that which provokes them to a fair Diſpute, at length a Book was brought to my hands, entitl'd *An Anſwer to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce.* Gladly I receiv'd it, and very attentively compos'd my ſelf to Read; hoping that now ſome Good Man had vouchſaft the pains to inſtruct me better, then I could yet learn out of all the Volumes which for this purpoſe I had viſited. Only this I Marvell'd, and other Men have ſince, when as I, in a Subject ſo new to this Age, and ſo hazardous to pleaſe, conceal'd not my Name, why this Author defending that Part which is ſo creeded by the People, would conceal his? But 'ere I could enter three Leaves into the Pamphlet (for I defer the Peaſantly Rudeneſs, which by the *Licenſers* leave, I met with afterwards) my ſatisfaction came in abundantly, that it could be nothing why he durſt not name himſelf, but the guilt of his own wretchedneſs. For firſt, not to ſpeak of his abrupt and bald beginning, his very firſt Page notoriouſly bewrays him an illiterate and arrogant Preſumer in that which he underſtands not; bearing us in hand, as if he knew both Greek and Hebrew, and is not able to ſpell it; which had he been, it had been either written as it ought, or ſcor'd upon the Printer. If it be excus'd as the Careleſneſs of his Deputy, be it known, the Learned Author himſelf is inventoried, and ſumm'd up, to the utmoſt Value of his Livery Cloak. Who ever he be, though this to ſome may ſeem a ſlight Conteſt, I ſhall yet continue to think that Man full of other

ſecret Injuſtice, and deceitful Pride, who ſhall offer in publick to aſſume the Skill, though it be but of a Tongue which he hath not, and would catch his Readers to believe of his Ability, that which is not in him. The Licencer indeed, as his Authority now ſtands, may Licenſe much; but if theſe Greek *Orthographies* were of his Licenſing, the Boys at School might reckon with him at his Grammar. Nor did I find this his want of the pretended Languages alone, but accompanyed with ſuch a low and homeſpun Expreſſion of his Mother *Engliſh* all along, without Joynt or Frame, as made me, e're I knew further of him, often ſtop, and conclude, that this Author could for certain, be no other then ſome Mechanick. Nor was the Style flat and rude, and the Matter grave and ſolid, for then there had been Pardon, but ſo ſhallow and ſo unwary was that alſo, as gave ſufficiently the Character of a groſs and ſluggiſh, yet a contentious and over-weening Pretender. For firſt, it behoving him to ſhew, as he promiſes, what Divorce is, and what is the true Doctrine and Diſcipline thereof, and this being to do by ſuch Principles and Proofs as are receiv'd on both ſides, he performs neither of theſe; but ſhews it firſt from the *Judaical* Practice, which he himſelf diſallows, and next from the Practice of Canon Law, which the Book he would confute, utterly rejects, and all Laws depending thereon; which this puny Clark calls, *The Laws of England*, and yet pronounces them *by an Eccleſiaſtical Judge*, as if that were to be accounted the Law of *England*, which depended on the Popery of *England*; or if it were, this Parliament he might know hath now damn'd that Judicature. So that whether his meaning were to inform his own Party, or to confute his Adverſary, inſtead of ſhewing us the true Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce, he ſhews us nothing but his own contemptible Ignorance. For what is the *Moſaic Law* to his Opinion, and what is the Canon utterly now antiquated, either to that or to mine? Ye ſee already, what a faithful Definer we have him. From ſuch a wind-edge of Definition as this, they who expect any of his other Arguments to be well hatch't, let them enjoy the vertue of their worthy Champion. But one thing more I obſerve, a ſingular Note of his Stupidity, and that his Trade is not to meddle with Books, much leſs with Confutations. When as the *Doctrine of Divorce* had now a whole Year been publiſht the ſecond Time, with many Arguments added, and the former ones better'd and confirm'd, this idle Pamphlet comes reeling forth againſt the firſt Edition only; as may appear to any by the Pages quoted. Which put me in mind of what by chance I had Notice of to this purpoſe the laſt Summer, as nothing ſo ſerious but happens oft time to be attended with a Ridiculous Accident, it was then told me, that the *Doctrine of Divorce* was anſwer'd, and the Anſwer half printed againſt the firſt Edition; not by one, but by a pack of Heads; of whom the Chief, by Circumſtance, was intimated to me, and ſince ratifi'd to be no other, if any can hold Laughter, and I am ſure none will gueſs him lower, then an actual Serving-Man. This Creature, for the Story muſt on (and what though he be the loweſt Perſon of an Interlude, he may deſerve a Canvaſing) tranſplanted himſelf, and to the Improvement of his Wages, and your better Notice of his Capacity, turn'd Sollicitor. And having convers'd much with a ſtripling Divine or two of thoſe newly fledg'd *Probationers*, that uſually come ſcouting from the Univerſity, and lye here no lame *Legers* to pop into the *Bethesda* of ſome Knights Chaplain ſhip, where they bring Grace to his good Chear, but no Peace or Benediction elſe to his Houſe; theſe made the *Champarty*, he contributed the Law, and both joyn'd in the Divinity. Which made me intend, following the advice alſo of Friends, to lay aſide the Thought of miſ-pending a Reply to the Buzz of ſuch a Drones Neſt. But finding that it lay, whatever was the matter, half a Year after unfiniſh'd in the Preſs, and hearing for certain, that a Divine of Note, out of his good Will to the Opinion, had tak'n it into his Reviſe, and ſomething had put out, ſomething

thing put in,and ſtuck it here and there with a Clove of his own *Calligraphy*, to keep it from tainting,and further when I ſaw the ſtuff, though very courſe and thread bare, garniſht and trimly fac't with the Commendations of a Licencer, I reſolv'd, ſo ſoon, as leiſure granted me the Recreation, that my Man of Law ſhould not altogether looſe his Solliciting. Although I impute a ſhare of the making to him whoſe Name I find in the Approbation, who may take, as his Mind ſerves him, this Reply. In the mean while it ſhall be ſeen, I refuſe no Occaſion and avoid no Adverſary, either to maintain what I have begun, or to give it up for better Reaſon.

To begin then with the Licencer and his Cenſure. For a Licencer is not contented now to give his ſingle *Imprimatur*, but brings his Chair into the Title Leaf: there ſits and Judges up or Judges down what Book he Pleaſes; if this be ſuffer'd, what worthleſs Author, or what cunning Printer will not be Ambitious of ſuch a Stale to put off the heavieſt Gear; which may in time bring in round Fees to the Licencer, and wretched miſ-leading to the People. But to the Matter: He Approves *the Publiſhing of this Book, to preſerve the Strength and Honour of Marriage againſt thoſe ſad Breaches and dangerous Abuſes of it.* Belike then the wrongful ſuffering of all thoſe ſad Breaches and Abuſes in Marriage, to a remedileſs Thraldom, is *the Strength and Honour of Marriage*, a boiſtrous and beſtial Strength, a diſ-honourable Honour, an Infatuated Doctrine. Worſe then the *Salvo Jure* of Tyrannizing, which we all fight againſt. Next he ſaith,that *common Diſcontents make theſe Breaches in unſtaid Minds, and Men giv'n to change.* His Words may be apprehended, as if they diſallow'd only to Divorce for *common Diſcontents in unſtaid Minds*, having no Cauſe, but a *deſire of Change*, and then we agree. But if he take all Diſcontents *on this ſide Adultery*, to be Common, that is to ſay, not difficult to endure, and to affect only *unſtaid Minds*, it might Adminiſter juſt Cauſe to think him the unfitteſt Man that could be, to offer at a Comment upon *Job*; as ſeeming by this to have no more true Senſe of a good Man in his Afflictions,then thoſe *Edomitiſh* Friends had, of whom *Job* complains, and againſt whom God teſtifies his Anger. Shall a Man of your own Coat, who hath eſpous'd his Flock; and repreſents Chriſt more, in being the true Husband of his Congregation, then an ordinary Man doth in being the Husband of his Wife, and yet this Repreſentment is thought a chief Cauſe why Marriage muſt be Inſeparable, ſhall this ſpiritual Man ordinarily for the Increaſe of his Maintenance, or any ſlight Cauſe forſake that Wedded Cure of Souls, that ſhould be deareſt to him, and Marry another, and another, and ſhall not a Perſon wrongfully afflicted, and perſecuted even to extremity, forſake an unfit, injurious, and peſtilent Mate, ty'd only by a civil and fleſhly Covenant? If you be a Man ſo much hating Change, hate that other Change; if your ſelf be not guilty, Counſel your Brethren to hate it; and leave to be the ſupercilious Judge of other Mens Miſeries and Changes,that your own be not judg'd. The Reaſons of your Licens't Pamphlet, you ſay *are Good*; they muſt be better then your own then, I ſhall wonder elſe, how ſuch a trivial Fellow was accepted and commended, to be the Confuter of ſo dangerous an Opinion as ye give out mine.

Now therefore to your *Attorney*, ſince no worthier an Adverſary makes his Appearance, nor this neither his Appearance, but lurking under the Safety of his nameleſs Obſcurity: Such as ye turn him forth at the Poſtern, I muſt accept him; and in a better Temper then *Ajax*, do mean to ſcourge this *Ram* for ye, till I meet with his *Ulyſſes*.

He begins with Law, and we have it of him as good Cheap, as any Huckſter at Law, newly ſet up, can poſſibly afford, and as impertinent; but for that he hath receiv'd his Hanſel. He preſumes alſo to cite the

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Civil Law, which, I perceive by his citing never came within his *Dormitory*, yet what he cites makes but againſt himſelf.

His ſecond thing therefore is to refute the adverſe Poſition, and very Methodically, three Pages before he ſets it down; and ſets his own in the Place, *that Diſagreement of Mind or Diſpoſition, though ſhewing it ſelf in much ſharpneſs is not by the Law of God, or Man, a juſt Cauſe of Divorce.*

To this Poſition I Anſwer, that it lays no Battery againſt mine, no, nor ſo much as faces it, but tacks about, long e're it come near, like a harmleſs and reſpectful Confutement. For I confeſs that diſagreement of Mind or Diſpoſition, though in much ſharpneſs,is not always a juſt Cauſe of Divorce; for much may be endur'd. But what if the ſharpneſs be much more then his much? To that Point it is our miſ-hap we have not here his grave Deciſion. He that will contradict the Poſitive which I alledg'd, muſt hold that no diſagreement of Mind, or Diſpoſition, can Divorce, though ſhewn in moſt ſharpneſs; otherwiſe he leaves a Place for Equity to appoint Limits, and ſo his following Arguments will either not prove his own Poſition, or not diſprove mine.

His firſt Argument, all but what hobbles to no purpoſe is this. *Where the Scripture commands a thing to be done, it Appoints, when, how, and for what, as in the Caſe of Death or Excommunication. But the Scripture directs not what meaſure of Diſagreement or Contrariety may Divorce; therefore, the Scripture allows not any Divorce for Diſagreement.*

Anſwer; Firſt I deny your *Major*, the Scripture appoints many things and yet leaves the Circumſtance to Mans Diſcretion, particularly, in your own Examples; Excommunication is not taught when, and for what to be, but left to the Church. How could the Licencer let paſs this childiſh Ignorance and call it *Good*. Next, in matter of Death, the Laws of *England*, whereof you have intruded to be an Opiniaſtrous *Sub-advocate*, and are bound to defend them, conceive it not enjoyn'd in Scripture, when or for what Cauſe they ſhall put to Death, as in Adultery, Theft, and the like; your *Minor* alſo is falſe, for the Scripture plainly ſets down for what Meaſure of Diſagreement a Man may Divorce, *Deut.* 24. 1. learn better what that Phraſe means, *if ſhe find no Favour in his Eyes.*

Your ſecond Argument, without more tedious fumbling is briefly thus; *If Diverſity in Religion, which breeds a greater diſlike then any Natural Diſagreement may not Cauſe a Divorce, then may not the leſſer Diſagreement: But Diverſity of Religion may not; Ergo,*

Anſwer, Firſt, I deny in the *Major*, That Diverſity of Religion, breeds a greater diſlike to Marriage Duties, then Natural Diſagreement. For between *Iſraelite*, or Chriſtian and Infidel more often hath been ſeen too much Love: But between them who perpetually claſh in Natural Contrarieties, it is repugnant that there ſhould be ever any Married Love or Concord. Next I deny your *Minor*, that it is Commanded not to Divorce in Diverſity of Religion, if the Infidel will ſtay: for that Place in St. *Paul*, commands nothing, as *that Book* at large affirm'd, though you over-skipt it.

Secondly, if it do command, it is but with Condition, that the Infidel be content, and well pleas'd to ſtay, which cuts off the Suppoſal of any great Hatred or Diſquiet between them; ſeeing the Infidel had Liberty to depart at Pleaſure; and ſo this Compariſon avails nothing.

Your third Argument is from Deut. 22. *If a Man hate his Wife, and raiſe an ill Report, that he found her no Virgin*, if this were falſe, *he might not put her away*, though Hated never ſo much.

Anſwer, This was a Malicious Hatred bent againſt her Life, or to ſend her out of Doors without her Portion. Such a Hater looſes by due puniſh-

ment that Priviledge, *Deut.* 24. 1. to Divorce for a Natural Diſlike, which though it could not Love conjugally, yet ſent away civilly, and with juſt Conditions. But doubtleſs the Wife in that former Caſe had Liberty to depart from her falſe Accuſer, leaſt his Hatred ſhould prove Mortal; elſe that Law peculiarly made to right the Woman, had turn'd to her greateſt Miſcheif.

Your fourth Argument, *One Chriſtian ought to bear the Infirmities of another, but cheifly of his Wife.*

Anſwer, I grant, Infirmities, but not Outrages, not perpetual Defraudments of trueſt conjugal Society, not Injuries and Vexations as importunate as Fire. Yet to endure very much, might do well an Exhortation, but not a compulſive Law. For the Spirit of God himſelf by *Solomon* declares that ſuch a Conſort *the Earth cannot bear, and better dwell in a Corner on the Houſe-top, or in the Wilderneſs.* Burdens may be born, but ſtill with Conſideration to the Strength of an honeſt Man complaining. Charity indeed bids us forgive our Enemies, yet doth not force us to continue Freindſhip and Familiarity with thoſe Freinds who have been falſe or unworthy toward us; but is contented in our Peace with them, at a fair diſtance. Charity commands not the Husband to receive again into his boſom the Adulterous Wife, but thinks it enough, if he diſmiſs her with a Beneficent and Peaceful Diſmiſſion. No more doth Charity command, nor can her Rule compel, to retain in neareſt Union of Wedloc, one whoſe other groſſeſt Faults, or Diſabilities to perform what was covenanted, are the juſt Cauſes of as much greivance and diſſention in a Family, as the private Act of Adultery. Let not therefore under the Name of fulfilling Charity, ſuch an unmerciful, and more then legal Yoke, be padlockt upon the Neck of any Chriſtian.

Your fifth Argument, *If the Husband ought to Love his Wife, as Chriſt his Church, then ought ſhe not to be put away for Contrariety of Mind.*

Anſwer, This Similitude turns againſt him. For if the Husband muſt be as Chriſt to the Wife, then muſt the Wife be as the Church to her Husband. If there be a perpetual Contrariety of Mind in the Church toward Chriſt, Chriſt himſelf threat'ns to Divorce ſuch a Spouſe, and hath often done it. If they urge, this was no true Church, I urge again, that was no true Wife.

His ſixth Argument, is from the 5 of *Matthew* 32. which he expounds after the old Faſhion, and never takes notice of what I brought againſt that Expoſition; Let him therefore ſeek his Anſwer there. Yet can he not leave this Argument, but he muſt needs firſt ſhew us a Curvet of his Madneſs, holding out an Objection, and running himſelf upon the Point. *For*, ſaith he, *if Chriſt except no Cauſe but Adultery, then all other Cauſes as Frigidity, inceſtuous Marriage*, &c. *are no Cauſes of Divorce*, and Anſwers, *that the Speech of Chriſt holds univerſally, as he intended it, namely to condemn ſuch Divorce, as was groundleſly practis'd among the* Jews, *for every Cauſe which they thought ſufficient; not checking the Law of Conſanguinities or Affinities, or forbidding other Cauſe which makes Marriage void, Ipſo facto.*

Anſwer, Look to it now you be not found taking Fees on both ſides, for if you once bring Limitations to the univerſal Words of Chriſt, another will do as much with as good Authority, and affirm, that neither did he check the Law *Deut.* 24. 1. nor forbid the Cauſes that make Marriage void actually; which if any thing in the World doth, Unfitneſs doth, and Contrariety of Mind; yea, more then Adultery, for that makes not the Marriage void, nor much more unfit, but for the Time, if the offended Party forgive; but Unfitneſs and Contrariety fruſtrates and nullifies for ever, unleſs it be a rare Chance, all the Good and Peace, of Wedded

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Converſation; and leaves nothing between them enjoyable, but a prone and ſavage Neceſſity, not worth the name of Marriage, unaccompanied with Love. Thus much his own Objection hath done againſt himſelf.

Arg. 7. He inſiſts, *that Man and Wife are one Fleſh, therefore muſt not ſeparate.* But muſt be ſent to look again upon the 35. Page of that Book, where he might have read an Anſwer, which he ſtirs not. Yet can he not abſtain, but he muſt do us another Pleaſure e're he goes; although I call the Common Pleas to Witneſs, I have not hir'd his Tongue, what ever Men may think by his arguing. For beſides Adultery, he excepts *other Cauſes which diſſolves the Union of being one Fleſh, either Directly, or by Conſequence.* If only Adultery be excepted by our Saviour, and he voluntarily can add other Exceptions that diſſolve that Union, *both Directly, and by Conſequence*, theſe Words of Chriſt, the main Obſtacle of Divorce, are open to us by his own Invitation, to include whatever Cauſes diſſolve that Union of Fleſh, *either Directly, or by Conſequence.* Which, till he name other Cauſes more likely, I affirm to be done ſooneſt by unfitneſs and contrariety of Mind. For that induces Hatred, which is the greateſt Diſſolver, both of Spiritual and Corporal Union, turning the Mind, and conſequently the Body to other Objects. Thus our doubty Adverſary, *either Directly, or by Conſequence*, yields us the Queſtion with his own Mouth, and the next thing he does, recants it again.

His Eight Argument ſhivers in the uttering, and he confeſſes *to be not over Confident of it*, but of the reſt it may be Sworn he is. St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. ſaith, that *the Married hath Trouble in the Fleſh*, therefore we muſt bear it, though never ſo intolerable.

I Anſwer, if this be a true Conſequence, why are not all Troubles to be born alike? why are we ſuffer'd to divorce Adulteries, Deſertions or Frigidities? Who knows not that Trouble and Affliction is the Decree of God upon every ſtate of Life? Follows it therefore, that though they grow Exceſſive, and Inſupportable, we muſt not avoid them? If we may in all other Conditions, and not in Marriage, the Doom of our Suffering ties us not by the Trouble, but by the Bond of Marriage; and that muſt be prov'd inſeparable from other Reaſons, not from this Place. And his own Confeſſion declares the Weakneſs of this Argument, yet his ungovern'd Arrogance could not be diſſwaded from venting it.

His Ninth Argument is, *That a Husband muſt love his Wife as himſelf, therefore he may not divorce for any Diſagreement, no more then he may ſeparate his Soul from his Body.*

I Anſwer, If he love his Wife as himſelf, he muſt love her ſo far as he may preſerve himſelf to her in a cheerful and comfortable Manner, and not ſo as to ruin himſelf by Anguiſh and Sorrow, without any Benefit to her. Next, if the Husband muſt love his Wife as himſelf, ſhe muſt be underſtood a Wife in ſome reaſonable Meaſure, willing and ſufficient to perform the cheif Duties of her Covenant, elſe by the Hold of this Argument, it would be his great Sin to divorce, either for Adultery or Deſertion. The reſt of this will run Circuit with the Union of one Fleſh, which was anſwer'd before. And that to divorce a relative and *metaphorical* Union of two Bodies into one Fleſh, cannot be likn'd in all things to the dividing of that natural Union of Soul and Body into one Perſon, is apparent of it ſelf.

His laſt Argument, he fetches *from the Inconveniences that would follow upon this Freedom of Divorce, to the corrupting of Mens Minds, and the overturning of all human Society.*

But for me, let God and *Moſes* anſwer this Blaſphemer, who dares bring in ſuch a foul Indictment againſt the divine Law. Why did God permit to his People the *Jews*, but that the Right and Good which came directly thereby, was more in his Eſteem, then the Wrong and Evil which came by Acci-

dent. And for thoſe weak Suppoſes of Infants that would be left in their Mothers Belly, (which muſt needs be Good news for Chamber-maids, to hear a Serving-man grown ſo provident for great Bellies) and Portions, and Joyntures likely to incur Imbezlement hereby, the Antient Civil Law inſtructs us plentifully how to award, which our profound Oppoſite knew not, for it was not in his Tenures.

His Arguments are ſpun, now follows the Chaplain with his Antiquities, wiſer if he had refrain'd, for his very touching ought that is learned, ſoils it, and lays him ſtill more and more open a conſpicuous gull. There being both Fathers and Councels more Ancient, wherewith to have ſerv'd his purpoſe better then with what he cites, how may we do to know the ſuttle drift that mov'd him to begin firſt with the *twelfth Councel of Toledo*? I would not undervalue the depth of his Notion, but perhaps he had heard that the Man of *Toledo* had ſtore of Good blade-mettle, and were excellent at cutling; who can tell but it might be the reach of his policy, that theſe able Men of Deciſion, would do beſt to have the prime ſtroke among his Teſtimonies in deciding this Cauſe. But all this Craft avails him not; for ſeeing they allow no Cauſe of Divorce but Fornication, what do theſe keen Doctors here but cut him over the Sinews with their Toledos, for holding in the precedent Page other Cauſes of Divorce beſides, *both directly, and by conſequence.* As evil doth that *Saxon* Councel, next quoted, beſtead him. For if it allow Divorce preciſely for no Cauſe but Fornication, it thwarts his own Expoſition: And if it underſtand Fornication largely, it ſides with whom he would confute. However the Authority of that Synod can be but ſmall, being under *Theodorus*, the *Canterbury* Biſhop, a *Grecian Monk* of *Tarſus*, revolted from his own Church to the Pope. What have we next? The Civil Law ſtuft in between two Councels, as if the *Code* had been ſome Synod; for that he underſtood himſelf in this Quotation is incredible; where the Law, *Cod. l.* 3. *Tit.* 38. *Leg.* 11. ſpeaks not of Divorce, but againſt the dividing of poſſeſſions to divers Heirs, whereby the Married Servants of a Great Family were divided perhaps into diſtant Countries, and Colonies, Father from Son, Wife from Husband, ſore againſt their Will. Somewhat lower he confeſſes, *that the Civil Law allows many Reaſons of Divorce, but the Cannon Law Decrees otherwiſe.* A fair Credit to his Cauſe; and I amaze me, though the Fancy of this doubt be as obtuſe and ſad as any Mallet, how the Licencer could Sleep out all this, and ſuffer him to uphold his Opinion, by Canons, and *Gregorian Decretals*, a Law which not only his Adverſary, but the whole Reformation of this Church and State hath branded and rejected. As Ignorantly, and too Ignorantly to deceive any Reader but an unlearned, he talks of *Juſtin Martyrs* Apology, not telling us which of the twain; for that paſſage in the beginning of his firſt, which I have cited elſe where, plainly makes againſt him: So doth *Tertullian*, cited next, and next *Eraſmus*, the one againſt *Marcion*, the other in his Annotations on *Matthew*, and to the *Corinthians*. And thus ye have the Liſt of his choice Antiquities, as pleaſantly choſen as ye would wiſh from a Man of his handy Vocation, puft up with no luck at all, above the ſtint of his Capacity.

Now he comes to the Poſition, which I ſet down whole; and like an able text Man ſlits it into four, that he may the better come at it with his Barber Surgery, and his Sleeves turn'd up. Wherein firſt he denys, *that any diſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind is unchangeable in Nature, but that by the help of Diet and Phyſic it may be alter'd.*

I mean not to diſpute Philoſophy with this Pork, who never read any, But I appeal to all Experience, though there be many Drugs to purge thoſe redundant Humors, and Circulations that commonly impair health, and are not Natural, whether any Man can with the ſafety of his Life bring a healthy Conſtitution into Phyſic with this deſign, to alter his Natural Temperament, and

and Diſpoſition of Mind. How much more Vain, and Ridiculous would it be, by altering and rooting up the Grounds of Nature, which is moſt likely to produce Death or Madneſs, to hope the reducing of a Mind to this or that fitneſs, or two diſagreeing Minds to a mutual Sympathy. Suppoſe they might, and that with great Danger of their Lives and right Senſes, alter one Temperature, how can they know that the ſucceeding Diſpoſition will not be as far from Fitneſs and Agreement? They would perhaps change Melancholy into Sanguin, but what if Fleam, and Choler in as great a Meaſure come inſtead, the Unfitneſs will be ſtill as difficult and troubleſom. But *laſtly*, whether theſe things be changeable or not, Experience teacheth us, and our Poſition ſuppoſes that they ſeldom do change in any time commenſurable to the neceſſities of Man, or convenient to the ends of Marriage. And if the Fault be in the one, ſhall the other live all his days in Bondage and Miſery for anothers Perverſneſs, or immedicable Diſaffection? To my Freinds, of which may feweſt be ſo unhappy, I have a remedy, as they know, more wiſe and manly to preſcribe: But for his Freinds and Followers (of which many may deſerve juſtly to feel themſelves the unhappineſs which they conſider not in others) I ſend them by his Advice to ſit upon the ſtool and ſtrain, till their croſs Diſpoſitions and Contrarieties of Mind ſhall change to a better Correſpondence, and to a quicker Apprehenſion of common Senſe, and their own Good.

His ſecond Reaſon is as heedleſs, *becauſe that Grace may change the Diſpoſition, therefore no Indiſpoſition may cauſe Divorce.*

Anſwer. Firſt, It will not be deniable that many Perſons, gracious both, may yet happ'n to be very unfitly Married, to the great Diſturbance of either. *Secondly*, What if one have Grace, the other not, and will not alter, as the Scripture teſtifies there be of thoſe, in whom we may expect a Change, when *the Blackamore changes his Colour, or the Leopard his Spots, Jer.* 13. 23. ſhall the Gracious therefore dwell in Torment all his Life, for the Ungracious? We ſee that holieſt Precepts, then which there can no better Phyſic be adminiſter'd to the Mind of Man, and ſet on with powerful Preaching, cannot work this Cure, no not in the Family, not in the Wife of him that Preaches day and night to her. What an unreaſonable thing it is, that Men, and Clergy-men eſpecially, ſhould exact ſuch wondrous Changes in another Mans Houſe, and are ſeen to work ſo little in their own?

To the ſecond Point of the Poſition, that this *Unfitneſs* hinders the main Ends, and Benefits of Marriage, he Anſwers, *If I mean the Unfitneſs of Choler, or ſullen Diſpoſition, that ſoft Words according to Solomon, pacifie Wrath.*

But I reply, That the Saying of *Solomon*, is a Proverb frequently True, not univerſally, as both the Event ſhews, and many other Sentences Written by the ſame Author particularly of an Evil Woman, *Prov.* 21. 9, 19. and in other Chapters, that ſhe is better ſhun'd then dwelt with, and a Deſert is preferr'd before her Society. What need the Spirit of God put this Choice into our Heads, if ſoft Words could always take Effect with her? How Frivolous is, not only this Diſputer, but he that taught him thus, and let him come abroad.

To his ſecond Anſwer I return this, that although there be not eaſily found ſuch an *Antipathy, as to Hate one another like a Toad or Poiſon*, yet that there is oft ſuch a diſlike in both, or either, to conjugal Love, as hinders all the Comfort of Matrimony, ſcarce any can be ſo ſimple, as not to apprehend. And what can be *that Favour, found* or not found *in the Eyes of the Husband*, but a natural liking or diſliking, whereof the Law of God, *Deut.* 24. bears Witneſs, as of an ordinary Accident, and determins wiſely, and divinely thereafter. And this Diſaffection happening to be in the

the one, not without the unſpeakable Diſcomfort of the other, muſt he be left like a thing Conſecrated to Calamity, and Deſpair without Redemption?

Againſt the third Branch of the Poſition, he denies, *that Solace, and Peace, which is contrary to Diſcord and Variance, is the main end of Marriage.* What then? He will have it *the Solace of Male, and Female.* Came this Doctrin out of ſome School, or ſome Stie? Who but one forſak'n of all Senſe and civil Nature, and chiefly of Chriſtianity, will deny, that Peace contrary to Diſcord, is the calling and the general end of every Chriſtian, and of all his Actions, and more eſpecially of Marriage, which is the deareſt League of Love, and the deareſt Reſemblance of that Love, which in Chriſt is deareſt to his Church; how then can Peace and Comfort, as it is contrary to Diſcord, which God Hates to dwell with, not be the main end of Marriage? Diſcord then we ought to fly, and to purſue Peace, far above the Obſervance of a civil Covenant, already brok'n, and the breaking daily iterated on the other ſide. And what better Teſtimony then the Words of the Inſtitution it ſelf, to prove, that a converſing Solace, and peaceful Society is the prime end of Marriage, without which no other help, or office can be mutual, beſeeming the dignity of reaſonable Creatures, that ſuch as they ſhould be coupl'd in the rites of Nature, by the meer compulſion of Luſt, without Love, or Peace, worſe then wild Beaſts. Nor was it half ſo wiſely ſpok'n, as ſome deem, though *Auſtin* ſpake it, that if God had intended other then Copulation in Marriage, he would for *Adam* have created a Freind, rather then a Wife, to converſe with; and our own Writers blame him for this Opinion; for which and the like Paſſages, concerning Marriage, he might be juſtly taxt of Ruſticity in theſe Affairs. For this cannot but be with eaſe conceiv'd, that there is one Society of grave Freindſhip, and another amiable and attractive Society of conjugal Love, beſides the deed of Procreation, which of it ſelf ſoon cloys, and is deſpis'd, unleſs it be cheriſht and reincited with a pleaſing Converſation. Which if ignoble and ſwainiſh Minds cannot apprehend, ſhall ſuch Merit therefore to be the Cenſurers of more Generous and Vertuous Spirits?

Againſt the laſt Point of the Poſition, to prove that Contrariety of Mind is not a greater Cauſe of Divorce, then corporal Frigidity, he enters into ſuch a tedious and drawling Tale of *Burning, and Burning, and Luſt and Burning,* that the dull Argument it ſelf Burns to, for want of ſtirring; and yet all this Burning is not able to expel the Frigidity of his Brain. So long therefore, as that Cauſe in the Poſition ſhall be prov'd a ſufficient Cauſe of Divorce, rather then ſpend Words with this fleamy Clod of an *Antagoniſt*, more then of Neceſſity, and a little Merriment, I will not now contend, whether it be a greater Cauſe then Frigidity, or no.

His next Attempt is upon the Arguments which I brought to prove the Poſition. And for the firſt, not finding it of that ſtructure, as to be ſcal'd with his ſhort Ladder, he retreats with a *Bravado*, that it deſerves no Anſwer. And I as much wonder what the whole Book deſerv'd to be thus troubl'd and ſollicited by ſuch a paltry Sollicitor. I would he had not caſt the gracious Eye of his Duncery upon the ſmall Deſerts of a Pamphlet, whoſe every Line meddl'd with, uncaſes him to Scorn and Laughter.

That which he takes for the ſecond Argument, if he look better, is no Argument, but an Induction to thoſe that follow. Then he ſtumbles that I ſhould ſay, the gentleſt ends of Marriage, confeſſing that he underſtands it not. And I believe him heartily: For how ſhould he, a Serving-man both by Nature and by Function, an Idiot by breeding, and a Sollicitor by Preſumption, ever come to know, or feel within himſelf, what

what the meaning is of Gentle? He blames it for *a neat Phraſe*, for nothing Angers him more then his own proper Contrary. Yet altogether without Art ſure he is not; for who could have divis'd to give us more breifly a better Deſcription of his own Servility?

But what will become now of the Buſineſs I know not; for the Man is ſuddenly tak'n with a Lunacy of Law, and ſpeaks Revelations out of the *Attornys Academy*, only from a lying Spirit: For he ſays, that *where a thing is void*, ipſo facto, *there needs no legal Proceeding to make it void.* Which is falſe, for Marriage is void by Adultery, or Frigidity, yet not made void without legal Proceeding. Then asks my Opinion of *John a Nokes, and John a Stiles*; and I Anſwer him, that I for my part think *John Dory*, was a better Man then both of them: For certainly, they were the greateſt Wranglers that ever liv'd, and have fill'd all our Law-books with the obtunding Story of their Suits and Trials.

After this, he tells us a Miraculous Piece of Antiquity, how two *Romans, Titus, and Sempronius made Feoffments*, at *Rome* ſure, and *levied Fines* by the Common Law. But now his fit of Law paſt, yet hardly come to himſelf, he maintains, that if Marriage be void, as being neither of God nor Nature, *there needs no legal Proceeding to part it*, and I tell him, that offends not me; *Then*, quoth he, *this is nothing to your Book, being the Doctrin and Diſcipline of Divorce.* But that I deny him; for all Diſcipline is not Legal, that is to ſay juridical, but ſome is Perſonal, ſome Oeconomical, and ſome Eccleſiaſtical. *Laſtly*, if I prove that contrary Diſpoſitions are joyn'd neither of God nor Nature, and ſo the Marriage void, *he will give me the Controverſy.* I have prov'd it in that Book to any Wiſe Man, and without more a-do the Inſtitution proves it.

Where I Anſwer an Objection uſually made, that the Diſpoſition ought to be known before Marriage, and ſhew how difficult it is to chooſe a fit Conſort, and how eaſie to miſtake, the Servitor would know what I mean by Converſation, declaring his Capacity nothing refin'd ſince his Law-puddering, but ſtill the ſame it was in the Pantry, and at the Dreſſer. Shall I argue of Converſation with this hoyd'n to go and Practice at his Opportunities in the Larder? To Men of Quality I have ſaid enough, and Experience confirms by daily Example, that Wiſeſt, Sobreſt, Juſteſt Men are ſometimes miſerably miſtak'n in their Choice. Whom to leave thus without remedy, toſt and tempeſted in a moſt unquiet Sea of Afflictions and Temptations, I ſay is moſt unchriſtianly.

But he goes on to untruſs my Arguments, imagining them his Maſters Points. Only in the Paſſage following, I cannot but admire the Ripeneſs, and the Pregnance of his native Treachery, endeavouring to be more a Fox then his Wit will ſuffer him. Whereas I breifly mention'd certain Heads of Diſcourſe, which I referr'd to a Place more proper according to my Method, to be treated there at full with all their Reaſons about them, this Brain-worm againſt all the Laws of Diſpute, will needs deal with them here. And as a Country Hind ſometimes ambitious to ſhew his betters, that he is not ſo ſimple as you take him, and that he knows his Advantages, will teach us a new trick to confute by. And would you think to what a Pride he ſwells in the Contemplation of his rare Stratagem, offering to carp at the Language of a Book, which yet he confeſſes to be generally commended; while himſelf will be acknowledg'd by all that read him, the baſeſt and the hungrieſt Enditeter, that could take the Boldneſs to look abroad. Obſerve now the Arrogance of a Groom, how it will mount, I had writt'n, that common Adultery is a thing which the rankeſt Politician would think it ſhame and diſworſhip, that his Law ſhould countenance. *Firſt*, it offends him that rankeſt ſhould ſignify ought, but his own Smell; who, that knows *Engliſh*, would not underſtand me, when

I ſay a rank Serving-man, a rank Petty-fogger, to mean a meer Serving-man, a meer and arrant Petty-fogger, who lately was ſo hardy, as to lay aſide his Buckram-Wallet, and make himſelf a Fool in Print, with confuting Books, which are above him. Next the Word *Politician* is not us'd to his Maw, and thereupon he plays the moſt notorious Hobbihorſe, jeſting and friſking in the Luxury of his Non-ſenſe with ſuch poor Fetches to cog a Laughter from us, that no antick Hobnail at a *Morris*, but is more handſomly facetious.

Concerning that Place *Deut.* 24. 1. which he ſaith to be *The main Pillar of my Opinion*, though I rely more on the Inſtitution then on that. Theſe two Pillars, I do indeed confeſs, are to me as thoſe two in the Porch of the Temple, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, which Names import Eſtabliſhment and Strength: Nor do I fear, who can ſhake them. The Expoſition of *Deut.* which I brought, is the receiv'd Expoſition both ancient and modern, by all Learned Men, unleſs it be a *Monkiſh* Papiſt here and there: And the Gloſs which he and his obſcure Aſſiſtant would perſwade us to, is meerly new and abſurd, preſuming, out of his utter Ignorance in the Hebrew, to interpret thoſe Words of the Text. *Firſt*, in a miſtak'n Senſe of *Uncleanneſs*, againſt all approved Writers. *Secondly*, in a limited Senſe, whenas the Original ſpeaks without Limitation, *ſome Uncleanneſs, or any*; and it had been a wiſe Law indeed to mean it ſelf particular, and not to expreſs the Caſe which this acute *Rabbi* hath all this while been hooking for. Whereby they who are moſt partial to him, may gueſs that ſomething is in this Doctrine which I alledge, that forces the Adverſary to ſuch a new and ſtrain'd Expoſition, wherein he does nothing for above four Pages, but founder himſelf to and fro in his own Objections, one while denying, *That Divorce was permitted*, another while affirming, *That it was permitted for the Wives Sake*, and after all diſtruſts himſelf. And for his ſureſt Retirement, betakes him to thoſe old Suppoſitions, *That Chriſt aboliſht the* Moſaick *Law of Divorce*; *That the* Jews *had not ſufficient Knowledge in this Point, through the Darkneſs of the Diſpenſation of heavenly things*; *That under the plenteous Grace of the Goſpel, we are ty'd by cruelleſt Compulſion, to live in Marriage till Death, with the wickedeſt, the worſt, the moſt perſecuting Mate.* Theſe ignorant and doting Surmiſes, he might have read confuted at large, even in the *firſt* Edition; but found it ſaver to paſs that Part over in Silence. So that they who ſee not the Sottiſhneſs of this his new and tedious Expoſition, are worthy to love it dearly.

His Explanation done, he charges me with *a wicked Gloſs, and almoſt Blaſphemy*, for ſaying that Chriſt in teaching meant not always to be taken Word for Word; but like a wiſe Phyſician adminiſtring one Exceſs againſt another, to reduce us to a perfect Mean. Certainly to teach thus, were no diſhoneſt Method? Chriſt himſelf hath often us'd *Hyperbolies* in his teaching; and graveſt Authors, both *Ariſtotle* in the *ſecond* of his *Ethicks* to *Nichomachus*, and *Seneca* in his *ſeventh De Beneficiis*, adviſe us to ſtretch out the Line of Precept oft times beyond Meaſure, that while we tend further, the Mean might be the eaſier attain'd. And who ever comments that 5th of *Matthew*, when he comes to the *turning of Cheek after Cheek to Blows*, and the *parting both with Cloak and Coat*, if any pleaſe to be the Rifler, will be forc'd to recommend himſelf to the ſame Expoſition, though this catering Law-monger be bold to call it *Wicked*. Now note another precious Piece of him; *Chriſt*, ſaith he, *doth not ſay, that an unchaſt Look is Adultery, but the Luſting after her*: As if the Looking unchaſtly could be without Luſting. This Gear is Licens'd for good Reaſon: *Imprimatur.*

Next, He would prove, that the Speech of Chriſt is not utter'd in Exceſs againſt the Phariſees. *Firſt*, *Becauſe he ſpeaks it to his Diſciples, Matth.* 5. which is falſe, for he ſpake it to the Multitude, as by the *firſt* ver. is evident, among which in all likelihood were many Phariſees, but out of doubt, all

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of them *Phariſæan* Diſciples, and bred up in their Doctrine, from which Extreams of Error and Falſity, Chriſt throughout his whole Sermon labours to reclaim the People. *Secondly*, ſaith he, *Becauſe Chriſt forbids not only Putting away, but Marrying her who is put away.* Acutely, as if the Phariſees might not have offended as much in marrying the divorc'd, as in divorcing the married. The Precept may bind all, rightly underſtood; and yet the vehement Manner of giving it, may be occaſion'd only by the Phariſees.

Finally, He winds up his Text with much Doubt and Trepidation; for it may be his Trenchers were not ſcrap't, and that which never yet afforded Corn of Savour to his Noddle, the Salt-ſeller was not rubb'd: and therefore in this *haſt eaſily granting, that his Anſwers fall foul upon each other*, and Praying, you would not think *he Writes as a Prophet, but as a Man*, he runs to the Black Jack, fills his Flagon, ſpreads the Table, and ſerves up Dinner.

After waiting and voiding, he thinks to void my Second Argument, and the Contradictions that will follow, both in the Law and Goſpel, if the *Moſaic* Law were abrogated by our Saviour, and a compulſive Prohibition fixt inſtead: And ſings his old Song, *that the Goſpel counts unlawful that which the Law allow'd*, inſtancing in *Circumciſion, Sacrifice, Waſhings*. But what are theſe Ceremonial things to the changing of a Moral Point in Houſhold Duty, equally belonging to *Jew* and *Gentile*; Divorce was then right, now wrong, then permitted in the rigorous Time of Law, now forbidd'n by Law even to the moſt extreamly afflicted in the favourable time of Grace and Freedom. But this is not for an unbutton'd Fellow to diſcuſs in the Garret, at his Treſle, and Dimenſion of Candle by the Snuff; which brought forth his Cullionly Paraphraſe on St. *Paul*, whom he brings in, diſcourſing ſuch idle ſtuff to the *Maids, and Widdows*, as his own ſervile Inurbanity forbears not to put into the Apoſtles Mouth, *of the Souls Converſing*: And this he preſumes to do being a Bayard, who never had the Soul to know, what Converſing means, but as his Provender, and the Familiarity of the Kitchin School'd his Conceptions.

He paſſes to the Third Argument, like a Boar in a Vineyard, doing nought, elſe, but ſtill as he goes, champing and chewing over, what I could mean by this *Chimera* of a fit converſing Soul, Notions and Words never made for thoſe Chops; but like a generous Wine, only by overworking the ſettl'd Mud of his Fancy, to make him drunk, and diſgorge his Vileneſs the more openly. All Perſons of Gentile Breeding (I ſay Gentile, though this Barrow grunt at the Word) I know will apprehend and be ſatisfy'd in what I ſpeak, how unpleaſing and diſcontenting the Society of Body muſt needs be between thoſe whoſe Minds cannot be ſociable. But what ſhould a Man ſay more to a Snout in this Pickle, what Language can be low and degenerate enough?

The Fourth Argument which I had, was, that Marriage being a Cov'nant, the very being whereof conſiſts in the Performance of unfeigned Love and Peace, if that were not tolerably perform'd, the Cov'nant became broke and revocable. Which how can any in whoſe Mind the Principles of right Reaſon and Juſtice are not cancell'd, deny; for how can a thing ſubſiſt, when the true Eſſence thereof is diſſolv'd? Yet this he denys, and yet in ſuch a manner as alters my Aſſertion, for he puts in, *though the main end be not attain'd in full meaſure*: But my Poſition is, if it be not tolerably attain'd, as throughout the whole Diſcourſe is apparent.

Now for his Reaſons; *Heman found not that Peace and Solace, which is the main end of Communion with God, ſhould he therefore break off that Communion?*

I anſwer, That if *Heman* found it not, the Fault was certainly his own: But in Marriage it happens far otherwiſe. Sometimes the Fault is plainly not his who ſeeks Divorce: Sometimes it cannot be diſcern'd, whoſe Fault it

is: And therefore cannot in reaſon or equity be the matter of an abſolute Prohibition.

His other Inſtance declares, what a Right Handicrafts Man he is of petty Caſes, and how unfit to be ought elſe at higheſt, but a Hackney of the Law. *I change Houſes with a Man; it is ſuppos'd I do it for mine own ends; I attain them not in this Houſe; I ſhall not therefore go from my Bargain.* How without fear might the young *Charinus* in *Andria* now cry out, *what likneſs can be here to a Marriage?* In this Bargain was no Capitulation, but the yielding of Poſſeſſion to one another, wherein each of them had his ſeveral end apart: In Marriage there is a Solemn Vow of Love and Fidelity each to other: This Bargain is fully accompliſht in the Change; In Marriage the Covenant ſtill is in performing. If one of them perform nothing tolerably, but inſtead of Love, abound in Diſaffection, Diſobedience, Fraud, and Hatred, what thing in the Nature of a Cov'nant ſhall bind the other to ſuch a perdurable Miſchief? Keep to your Problems of Ten Groats, theſe Matters are not for Pragmaticks, and Folkmooters to babble in.

Concerning the Place of *Paul*, that *God hath called us to Peace*, 1 *Cor.* 7. and therefore certainly, if any where in this World, we have a Right to claim it reaſonably in Marriage, 'tis plain enough in the Senſe which I gave, and confeſs'd by *Paræus*, and other Orthodox Divines, to be a Good Senſe, and this Anſwerer, doth not weaken it. The other Place, *that he who hateth, may put away*, which, if I ſhew him, he promiſes to yield the whole Controverſie, is, beſides, *Deut.* 24. 1. *Deut.* 21. 14. and before this, *Exod.* 21. 8. Of *Malachy* I have ſpok'n more in another place; and ſay again that the beſt Interpreters, all the ancient, and moſt of the modern Tranſlate it, as I cited, and very few otherwiſe, whereof perhaps *Junius* is the Chief.

Another thing troubles him, that Marriage is call'd the Myſtery of Joy. Let it ſtill trouble him; for what hath he to do either with Joy, or with Myſtery? He thinks it *frantick Divinity* to ſay, It is not the outward Continuance of Marriage, that keeps the Covenant of Marriage whole, but whoſoever doth moſt according to Peace and Love, whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks Marriage leaſt. If I ſhall ſpell it to him, *He breaks Marriage leaſt*, is to ſay, he diſhonours not Marriage, for leaſt is tak'n in the Bible, and other good other Authors for not at all. And a particular Marriage a Man may break, if for a lawful Cauſe, and yet not break, that is, not violate, or diſhonour the Ordinance of Marriage. Hence thoſe two Queſtions that follow, are left ridiculous; and the *Maids at Aldgate*, whom he flouts, are likely to have more wit then the Servingman at *Addlegate*.

Whereas he taxes me of adding to the Scripture in that I ſaid, Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment, I cited no particular Scripture, but ſpake a general Senſe, which might be collected from many Places. For ſeeing Love includes Faith, what is there that can fulfil every Commandment but only Love? And I meant, as any Intelligent Reader might apprehend, every poſitive, and civil Commandment, whereof Chriſt hath taught us that *Man is the Lord.* It is not the formal Duty of Worſhip, or the ſitting ſtill, that keeps the Holy Reſt of Sabbath; but whoſoever doth moſt according to Charity, whether he work, or work not; he breaks the Holy Reſt of Sabbath leaſt. So Marriage being a Civil Ordinance made for Man, not Man for it; he who doth that which moſt accords with Charity, firſt to himſelf, next to whom he next ows it, whether in Marriage or Divorce, he breaks the Ordinance of Marriage leaſt. And what in Religious Prudence, can be Charity to himſelf, and what to his Wife either in continuing, or in diſſolving the Marriage knot, hath been already oft enough diſcours'd. So that what St. *Paul* ſaith of Circumciſion, the ſame I ſtick not to ſay of a Civil Ordinance, made to the Good, and Comfort of Man, not to his Ruin;

Marriage

Marriage is nothing, and Divorce is nothing, *but Faith which worketh by Love.* And this I truſt none can miſtake.

Againſt the fifth Argument, That a Chriſtian in a higher Order of Prieſthood, then that Levitical, is a Perſon dedicate to Joy and Peace; and therefore needs not in Subjection to a Civil Ordinance, made to no other end but for his Good (when without his Fault he finds it impoſſible to be decently or tolerably obſerv'd) to plunge himſelf into immeaſurable Diſtractions and Temptations, above his ſtrength; againſt this he proves nothing, but gads into ſilly Conjectures of what abuſes would follow, and with as good Reaſon might declaim againſt the beſt things that are.

Againſt the ſixth Argument, that to force the Continuance of Marriage between Minds found utterly unfit, and diſproportional, is againſt Nature, and ſeems forbid under that *Allegorical* Precept of *Moſes, Not to ſow a field with divers Seeds, leaſt both be defil'd, not to Plough with an Oxe and an Aſs together,* which I deduc'd by the Pattern of St. *Pauls* Reaſoning what was meant *by not Muzling the Ox,* he rambles over a long Narration, to tell us that by *the Oxen are meant the Preachers*: Which is not doubted. Then he demands, *if this my reaſoning be like St.* Pauls, and I anſwer him, yes. He replies, that *ſure St.* Paul *would be aſham'd to reaſon thus.* And I tell him, No, He grants that Place which I Alledg'd, 2 *Cor.* 6. of unequal Yoking, *may allude to that of* Moſes, but ſays, *I cannot prove it makes to my purpoſe,* and ſhews not firſt, how he can diſprove it. Weigh, Gentlemen, and conſider, whether my Affirmations, backt with Reaſon, may hold Ballance againſt the bare Denials of this ponderous Confuter, elected by his Ghoſtly Patrons to be my Copes-mate.

Proceeding on to ſpeak of Myſterious things in Nature, I had occaſion to fit the Language thereafter, matters not for the Reading of this odious Fool, who thus ever when he meets with ought above the Cogitation of his Breeding, leaves the Noiſom Stench of his rude Slot behind him, maligning, that any thing ſhould be ſpoke or underſtood, above his own *Genuine* baſeneſs; and gives Sentence that his confuting hath been imploy'd about *a frothy, immeritous and undeſerving Diſcourſe.* Who could have believ'd ſo much Inſolence durſt vent it ſelf from out the hide of a Varlet, as thus to cenſure that which Men of mature Judgment have applauded to be writ with Good Reaſon. But this contents him not, he falls now to rave in his barbarous Abuſiveneſs; and why? A Reaſon beſitting ſuch an Artificer, becauſe he ſaith, *the Book is contrary to all Human Learning*; When as the World knows that all, both Human and Divine Learning, till the Cannon Law, allow'd Divorce by Conſent, and for many Cauſes without Conſent. Next he dooms it, *as contrary to Truth*; when as it hath been diſputable among Learned Men, ever ſince it was prohibited: And is by *Peter Martyr* thought an *Opinion not Impious, but hard to be Refuted,* and by *Eraſmus* deem'd a Doctrin *ſo Charitable and Pious, as, if it cannot be us'd, were to be wiſht it could*; but is by *Martin Bucer,* a Man of deareſt and moſt Religious Memory in the Church, taught and maintain'd to be either moſt Lawfully us'd, or moſt Lawfully permitted. And for this, for I affirm no more then *Bucer,* what Cenſure do you think, Readers, he hath condemn'd the Book to? To a Death no leſs infamous then *to be Burnt by the Hangman.* Mr. *Licencer,* for I deal not now with this Caitiff, never worth my earneſt, and now not ſeaſonable for my Jeſt, you are reputed a Man Diſcreet enough, Religious enough, Honeſt enough, that is to an ordinary Competence in all theſe. But now your Turn is, to hear what your own Hand hath earn'd ye, that when you ſuffer'd this nameleſs Hangman to caſt into publick, ſuch a deſpightful Contumely upon a Name and Perſon, deſerving of the Church and State equally to your ſelf, and one who hath done more to the preſent Advancement of your own Tribe, then you or many of them have done for themſelves,

you forgot to be either honeſt, religious,or diſcreet. What ever the State might do concerning it, ſuppos'd a Matter to expect Evil from, I ſhould not doubt to meet, among them,with wiſe, and honourable, and knowing Men. But as to this brute Libel, ſo much the more impudent and lawleſs for the abus'd Authority which it bears, I ſay again, that I abominate the Cenſure of Raſcals and their Licencers.

With Difficulty I return to what remains of this ignoble Task, for the Diſdain I have to change a Period more with the Filth and Venom of this Gourmand, ſwell'd into a Confuter. Yet for the Satisfaction of others, I endure all this.

Againſt the ſeventh Argument, That if the Canon Law and Divines allow Divorce for Conſpiracy of Death, they may as well allow it to avoid the ſame Conſequence from the Likelihood of natural Cauſes;

Firſt, He denies that the Canon ſo decrees.

I anſwer, That it decrees for Danger of Life, as much as for Adultery. *Decret. Gregor. L.* 4. *Tit.* 19. and in other Places: And the beſt *Civilians* who cite the Canon Law,ſo collect,as *Schneidewin in Inſtitut. Tit.*10. *P.* 4. *de Divor.* and indeed who would have denied it,but one of a reprobate Ignorance in all he meddles with.

Secondly, He ſaith, the Caſe alters, for there the Offender *who ſeeks the Life, doth implicitely at leaſt act a Divorce.*

And I anſwer, That here Nature, though no Offender, doth the ſame. But if an Offender *by acting a Divorce*, ſhall releaſe the offended, this is an ample Grant againſt himſelf. He ſaith, *Nature teacheth to ſave Life from one who ſeeks it.* And I ſay, ſhe teaches no leſs to ſave it from any other Cauſe that endangers it. He ſaith, *That here they are both Actors.* Admit they were, it would not be uncharitable to part them; yet ſometimes they are not both Actors, but the one of them moſt lamentably paſſive. So he concludes, *We muſt not take Advantage of our own Faults and Corruptions to releaſe us from our Duties.* But ſhall we take no Advantage to ſave our ſelves from the Faults of another, who hath annull'd his Right to our Duty? No, ſaith he, *Let them dye of the Sullens, and try who will pity them.* Barbarian, the Shame of all honeſt Attorneys, why do they not hoiſt him over the Bar, and blanket him?

Againſt the eighth Argument, that they who are deſtitute of all Marriageable Gifts, except a Body not plainly unfit, have not the Calling to marry, and conſequently married and ſo found, may be divorc'd, this, he ſaith, *is nothing to the Purpoſe*, and not fit to be anſwer'd. I leave it therefore to the Judgment of his Maſters.

Againſt the ninth Argument, That Marriage is a human Society, and ſo chiefly ſeated in Agreement and Unity of Mind: If therefore the Mind cannot have that due Society by Marriage, that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, it can be no human Society, and ſo not without Reaſon divorſible, here he falſifies, and turns what the Poſition requir'd of a reaſonable Agreement in the main Matters of Society, into *an Agreement in all things*, which makes the Opinion not mine, and ſo he leaves it.

At laſt, and in good Hour we are come to his Farewel, which is to be a concluding Taſte of his Jabberment in Law, the flaſhieſt and the fuſtieſt that ever corrupted in ſuch an unſwill'd Hogſhead.

Againſt my tenth Argument, as he calls it,but as I intended it, my other Poſition, that Divorce is not a thing determinable by a compulſive Law, for that all Law is for ſome Good, that may be frequently attain'd without the Admixture of a worſe Inconvenience; but the Law forbidding Divorce, never attains to any good End of ſuch Prohibition, but rather multiplies Evil; therefore the Prohibition of Divorce is no good Law. Now for his Attorneys Prize; But firſt, like a right cunning and ſturdy Logician, he denies

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my Argument, not mattering whether in the *Major* or *Minor*: And ſaith, *there are many Laws made for Good, and yet that Good is not attain'd, through the defaults of the Party, but a greater Inconvenience follows.*

But I reply, that this Anſwer builds upon a ſhallow Foundation, and moſt unjuſtly ſuppoſes every one in default, who ſeeks Divorce from the moſt injurious Wedloc. The default therefore will be found in the Law it ſelf; which is neither able to puniſh the Offender, but the Innocent muſt withal ſuffer; nor can right the Innocent, in what is chiefly ſought, the obtainment of Love or Quietneſs. His Inſtances out of the Common Law, are all ſo quite beſide the matter which he would prove, as may be a warning to all Clients how they venture their buſineſs, with ſuch a cock-brain'd Sollicitor. for being to ſhew ſome Law of *England*, attaining to no good end, and yet through no default of the Party, who is thereby debarr'd all remedy, he ſhews us only how ſome do loſe the Benefit of Good Laws through their own default. His firſt Example ſaith, *It is a juſt Law that every one ſhall Peaceably enjoy his Eſtate in Lands or otherwiſe.* Does this Law attain to no good end? The Bar will bluſh at this moſt incogitant Woodcock. But ſee if a draft of *Littleton* will recover him to his Senſes. *If this Man having Fee ſimple in his Lands, yet will take a Leaſe of his own Lands, from another, this ſhall be an Eſtoppel to him in an Aſſiſe, from the recovering of his own Land.* Mark now, and regiſter him. How many are there of ten thouſand who have ſuch a Fee ſimple in their Sconſe, as to take a Leaſe of their own Lands from another? So that this Inconvenience lights upon ſcarce one in an Age, and by his own default; and the Law of enjoying each Man his own, is good to all others. But on the contrary, this Prohibition of Divorce is good to none, and brings Inconvenience to numbers, who lie under intolerable Grievances, without their own default, through the wickedneſs or folly of another; and all this Iniquity the Law remedies not, but in a manner maintains? His other caſes are directly to the ſame Purpoſe, and might have been ſpar'd, but that he is a Tradeſman of the Law, and muſt be born with at his firſt ſetting up, to lay forth his beſt Ware, which is only Gibbriſh.

I have now done that which for many Cauſes I might have thought, could not likely have been my Fortune, to be put to this under-work of ſcowring and unrubbiſhing the low and ſordid Ignorance of ſuch a preſumptuous Lozel. Yet *Hercules* had the labour once impos'd upon him to carry dung out of the *Augean* ſtable. At any Hand I would be rid of Him: For I had rather, ſince the Life of Man is likn'd to a Scene, that all my Entrances and *Exits* might mix with ſuch Perſons only, whoſe worth erects them and their actions to a Grave and *Tragic* Deportment, and not to have to do with *Clowns and Vices.* But if a Man cannot peaceably walk into the World, but muſt be infeſted, ſometimes at his Face, with Dorrs and Horſe-flies, ſometimes beneath, with bauling Whippets, and Shin-barkers, and theſe to be ſet on by Plot and Conſultation with a *Junto* of Clergy-men and Licencers, commended alſo and rejoyc'd in by thoſe whoſe partiality cannot yet forego old Papiſtical Principles, have I not Cauſe to be in ſuch a manner Defenſive, as may procure me Freedom to paſs more unmoleſted hereafter by theſe Incumbrances, not ſo much regarded for themſelves, as for thoſe who incite them. And what Defence can properly be us'd in ſuch a deſpicable Encounter as this, but either the Flap or the Spurn? If they can afford me none but a ridiculous Adverſary, the blame belongs not to me, though the whole Diſpute be ſtrew'd and ſcatter'd with Ridiculous. And if he have ſuch an Ambition to know no better who are his Mates, but among thoſe needy thoughts, which though his two Faculties of Servingman and Sollicitor, ſhould compound into one Mongrel, would be but thin and meager, if in this Penury of Soul he

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can be poſſible to have the Luſtineſs to think of Fame, let him but ſend me how he calls himſelf, and I may chance not fail to endorſe him on the backſide of Poſterity, not a *Golden*, but a *Brazen* Aſs. Since my Fate extorts from me a Talent of Sport, which I had thought to hide in a Napkin, he ſhall be my *Batrachomuomachia*, my *Bavius*, my *Calandrino*, the common Adagy of Ignorance and Over-weening. Nay perhaps, as the Provocation may be, I may be driv'n to curle up this gliding Proſe into a rough *Sotadic*, that ſhall rime him into ſuch a Condition, as inſtead of judging Good Books to be burnt by the Executioner, he ſhall be readier to be his own Hangman. Thus much to this *Nuiſance*.

But as for the Subject it ſelf which I have writ, and now defend, according as the Oppoſition bears, if any Man equal to the matter ſhall think it appertains him to take in hand this Controverſy, either excepting againſt ought Writt'n, or perſwaded he can ſhew better how this Queſtion of ſuch Moment to be throughly known, may receive a true Determination, not leaning on the old and rott'n Suggeſtions, whereon it yet leans, if his Intents be ſincere to the Public, and ſhall carry him on without Bitterneſs to the Opinion, or to the Perſon diſſenting, let him not, I entreat him, gueſs by the handling, which meritoriouſly hath been beſtowed on this Object of Contempt and Laughter, that I account it any Diſpleaſure done me to be contradicted in Print: But as it leads to the Attainment of any thing more True, ſhall eſteem it a Benefit; and ſhall know how to return his Civility and fair Argument in ſuch a Sort, as he ſhall confeſs that to do ſo is my Choice, and to have done thus was my Chance.

The END.

THE JUDGMENT OF Martin Bucer, CONCERNING DIVORCE:

Written to

Edward the Sixth,

In his Second BOOK of the KINGDOM OF

CHRIST,

And now Engliſh'd.

Wherein a Late BOOK, reſtoring the

Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce,

Is here Confirm'd and Juſtify'd by the Authority OF

MARTIN BUCER,

To the Parliament of *ENGLAND.*

John 3. 10.

Art thou a Teacher of Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe Things?

Printed in the Year MDCXCVII.

TO THE

PARLIAMENT.

THE Book, which among other great and high Points of Reformation, contains as a principal part thereof, this Treatise here presented, Supreme Court of Parliament, was by the famous Author, Martin Bucer, Dedicated to Edward the Sixth; whose incomparable Youth, doubtless had brought forth to the Church of England such a glorious Manhood, had his Life reacht it, as would have left in the Affairs of Religion, nothing without an excellent Pattern for us now to follow. But since the secret purpose of Divine Appointment, hath reserv'd no less perhaps, then the just half of such a sacred Work to be accomplish'd in this Age, and principally, as we trust by your successful Wisdom and Authority, Religious Lords and Commons, what wonder if I seek no other, to whose exactest Judgment and Review, I may commend these last and worthiest Labours of this renowned Teacher, whom Living, all the pious Nobility of those Reforming times, your truest and best imitated Ancestors, reverenc'd and admir'd. Nor was he wanting to a Recompence as great as was himself; when both at many times before, and especially among his last Sighs and Prayers, testifying his Dear and Fatherly Affection to the Church and Realm of England, he sincerely wisht in the hearing of many devout Men, that what he had in this his last Book, written to King Edward concerning Discipline, might have place in this Kingdom. His Hope was then, that no Calamity, no Confusion, or Deformity would happen to the Common-wealth; but otherwise he fear'd, least in the midst of all this Ardency to know God, yet by the neglect of Discipline, our good endeavours would not succeed. These remarkable Words, of so Godly and so Eminent a Man at his Death, as they are related by a sufficient and well known Witness, who heard them, and inserted by Thuanus, into his Grave and Serious History, so ought they to be chiefly consider'd by that Nation, for whose Sake they were utter'd, and more especially by that general Council which represents the Body of that Nation. If therefore the Book, or this part thereof, for necessary Causes, be now reviv'd and recommended to the use of this undisciplin'd Age, it hence appears, that these Reasons have not err'd in the choice of a fit Patronage, for a Discourse of such Importance. But why, the whole Tractate is not here brought intire, but this matter of Divorcement selected in particular, to prevent the full speed of some mis-interpreter, I hasten to disclose. First, it will be soon manifest to them who know what wise Men should know, that the Constitution and Reformation of a Common-wealth, if Ezra and Nehemiah did not mis-reform, is like a Building, to begin orderly from the Foundation thereof, which is Marriage and the Family, to set right first, what ever is amiss therein. How can there else grow up a race of warrantable Men, while the House and Home that breeds them, is troubled and disquieted under a Bondage, not of God's constraining with a natureless Constraint, (if his most Righteous Judgments may be our Rule) but laid upon us imperiously in the worst and weakest Ages of Knowledge, by a Canonical Tyranny of stupid and malicious Monks; who having rashly vow'd themselves to a single Life, which they could not undergo, invented new Fetters to throw on Matrimony, that the World thereby waxing more dissolute, they also in a general looseness might Sin with more Favour. Next, there being yet among many, such a strange Iniquity and Perverness against all necessary Divorce, while they will needs expound the words of our Saviour, not duly by comparing other Places, as they must do in the resolving of a Hundred other Scriptures, but yet by persisting deafly in the abrupt and Papistical way of a litteral Apprehension against the direct Analogy of Sence, Reason, Law and Gospel, it therefore may well seem more then Time, to apply the Sound and Holy Perswasions of this Apostolic Man, to that part in us, which is not yet fully dispossest of an Error as absurd, as most that we deplore in our Blindest Adversaries, and to let his Authority and unanswerable Reasons be vulgarly known, that either his Name, or the force of his Doctrine, may work a wholsom effect. Lastly, I find it clear to be the Authors Intention, that this point of Divorcement should be held and receiv'd as a most necessary and prime part of Discipline in every Christian Government. And therefore having reduc'd his model of Reformation to Fourteen Heads, he bestows almost as much time about this one point of Divorce, as about all the rest, which also was the Judgment of his Heirs and Learned Friends in Germany, best acquainted with his Meaning; who first publishing this his Book by Oporinus at Basil (a City for Learning and Constancy in the true Faith, honourable among the first) added a special Note in the Title, that there the Reader should find the Doctrine of Divorce handl'd so solidly, and so fully, as scarce the like in any Writer of that Age, and with this particular Commendation, they doubted not to Dedicate the Book, as a most profitable and exquisite Discourse, to Christian the Third, a Worthy and Pious King of Denmark, as the Author himself had done before to our Edward the Sixth. Yet did not Bucer in that Volume only declare what his constant Opinion was here-

in, but also in his Comment upon Matthew, written at Strasburgh divers Years before, he treats distinctly and copiously the same Argument in three several Places; touches it also upon the Seventh to the Romans, and promises the same Solution more largely upon the 1. to the Corinthians, omitting no occasion to weed out this last and deepest Mischief of the Canon Law sown into the Opinions of modern Men against the Laws and Practice both of God's chosen People, and the best primitive times. Wherein his Faithfulness and Powerful Evidence prevail'd so far with all the Church of Strasburgh, that they publish'd this Doctrine of Divorce, as an Article of their Confession, after they had taught so Eight and Twenty Years, through all those times, when that City flourish'd, and excell'd most, both in Religion, Learning and good Government, under those first Restorers of the Gospel there, Zelius, Hedio, Capito, Fagius, and those who incomparably then govern'd the Common-wealth, Farrerus and Struvius. If therefore God in the former Age found out a Servant, and by whom he had Converted and Reform'd many a City, by him thought good to restore the most needful Doctrine of Divorce, from rigorous and harmful mistakes on the Right Hand; it can be no strange thing, if in this Age, he stir up by whatsoever means whom it pleases him, to take in Hand, and maintain the same Assertion. Certainly of it be in Mans discerning to severe Providence from Chance, I could alledge many Instances wherein there would appear cause to esteem of me no other then a passive Instrument under some Power and Counsel higher and better then can be human, working to a general Good in the whole Course of this Matter. For that I owe no Light or Leading receiv'd from any Man in the Discovery of this Truth, what time I first undertook it in the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, and had only the infallible Grounds of Scripture to be my Guide, he who tries the inmost Heart, and saw with what severe Industry and Examination of my self, I set down every Period, will be my Witness. When I had almost finished the first Edition, I chanc'd to read in the Notes of Hugo Grotius, upon the 5th. of Matthew, whom I straight understood inclining to reasonable Terms in this Controversie; and something he whisper'd rather then disputed about the Law of Charity, and the true end of Wedlock. Glad therefore of such an able Assistant, however at much distance, I resolv'd at length to put off into this wild and calumnious World. For God, it seems, intended to prove me, whether I durst alone take up a rightful Cause, against a World of disesteem, and found I durst. My Name I did not publish, as not willing it should sway the Reader either for me or against me. But when I was told, that the Stile, which what it ailes to be so soon distinguishable, I cannot tell, was known by most Men, and that some of the Clergy began to envy and exclaim on what I was credibly inform'd they had not read, I took it then for my proper Season both to shew them a Name that could easily contemn such an undiscreet kind of Censure, and to reinforce the question with a more accurate Diligence; that if any of them would be so good as to leave Railing, and to let us hear so much of his Learning and Christian Wisdom, as will be strictly demanded of him in his answering to this Problem: Care was had he should not spend his Preparations against a nameless Pamphlet. By this time I had learn'd that Paulus Fagius, one of the chief Divines in Germany, sent for by Frederick the Palatine, to reform his Dominion; and after that, invited hither in King Edwards Days, to be Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, was of the same Opinion touching Divorce, which those Men so lavishly traduc'd in me. What I found, I inserted where fittest place was, thinking sure they would respect so grave an Author, at least to the moderating of their odious Inferences. And having now perfected a Second Edition, I referr'd the judging thereof to your High and Impartial Sentence, Honoured Lords and Commons. For I was Confident, if any thing Generous, any thing Noble, and above the Multitude, were left yet in the Spirit of England, it could be no where sooner found, and no where sooner understood, then in that House of Justice and true Liberty, where ye sit in Council. Nor doth the Event hitherto, for some Reasons which I shall not here deliver, fail me of what I conceiv'd so highly. Nevertheless being far otherwise dealt with by some, of whose Profession and supposed Knowledge I had better hope, and esteem'd the deviser of a new and pernicious Paradox, I felt no difference within me from that Peace and firmness of Mind, which is of nearest Kin to Patience and Contentment; both for that I knew I had divulg'd a Truth link'd inseparably with the most Fundamental Rules of Christianity, to stand or fall together, and was not uninform'd that Divers Learned and Judicious Men testify'd their daily Approbation of the Book. Yet at length it hath pleased God, who had already giv'n me Satisfaction in my Self, to afford me now a means whereby I may be fully justify'd also in the Eyes of Men. When the Book had been now the second time set forth well-nigh three Months, as I best remember, I then first came to hear that Martin Bucer had written much concerning Divorce, whom earnestly turning over, I soon perceiv'd, but not without amazement, in the same Opinion, confirm'd with the same Reasons which in that publish'd Book, without the help or imitation of any precedent Writer, I had labour'd out, and laid together. Not but that there is some difference in the Handling, in the Order, and the Nimber of Arguments, but still agreeing in the same Conclusion. So as I may justly gratulate my own Mind, with due acknowledgment of Assistance from above, which led me, not as a Learner, but as a collateral Teacher, to a Sympathy of Judgment with no less a Man then Martin Bucer. And he, if our things here below arrive him where he is, does not repent him to see that Point of Knowledge which he first, and with unwonted Freedom preach'd to those more knowing times of England, now found so necessary, though what he admonish'd were lost out of our Memory, yet that God doth now again create the

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ſame Doctrine in another unwritten Table, and raiſes it up immediately out of his pure Oracle to the Convincement of a perverſe Age, eager in the Reformation of Names and Ceremonies, but in realities as traditional and as ignorant as their Fore-fathers. I would ask now the foremoſt of my profound Accuſers, whether they dare affirm that to be Licentious, New and Dangerous, which Martin Bucer ſo often, and ſo urgently avouch'd to be moſt lawful, moſt neceſſary, and moſt Chriſtian, without the leaſt blemiſh to his good Name, among all the worthy Men of that Age, and ſince, who teſtifie ſo highly of him? If they dare, they muſt then ſet up an Arrogance of their own, againſt all thoſe Churches and Saints, who honour'd him without this exception: If they dare not, how can they now make that Licentious Doctrine in another, which was never blam'd, or confuted in Bucer, or in Fagius? The Truth is, there will be due to them for this their unadviſed raſhneſs, the beſt Donative that can be given them, I mean, a round Reproof; now that where they thought to be moſt Magiſterial, they have diſplay'd their own want, both of Reading, and of Judgment. Firſt, to be ſo unacquainted in the Writings of Bucer, which are ſo obvious and ſo uſeful in their own Faculty; next, to be ſo caught in a prejudicating Weakneſs, as to condemn that for lewd, which (whether they knew or not) theſe elect Servants of Chriſt commended for Lawful, and for New, that which was taught by theſe almoſt the firſt and greateſt Authors of Reformation, who were never taxt for ſo teaching; and Dedicated without Scruple to a Royal Pair of the firſt reforming Kings in Chriſtendom, and confeſt in the publick Confeſſion of a moſt Orthodoxal Church and State in Germany. This is alſo another Fault which I muſt tell them, that they have ſtood now almoſt this whole Year, clamouring afar off, while the Book hath been twice Printed, twice bought up, and never one vouchſaft a Friendly Conference with the Author, who would be glad and thankful to be ſhewn an Error, either by private Diſpute, or publick Anſwer, and could retract, as well as Wiſe Men before him, might alſo be worth the gaining, as one who heretofore, hath done good Service to the Church by their own Confeſſion. Or if he be obſtinate, their Confutation would have render'd him without excuſe, and reclaim'd others of no mean parts, who incline to his Opinion. But now their work is more then doubl'd; and how they will hold up their Heads againſt the ſudden aſpect of theſe two Great and Reverend Saints, whom they have defam'd, how they will make good the cenſuring of that for a Novelty of Licenſe, which Bucer conſtantly taught to be a pure and holy Law of Chriſt's Kingdom, let them adviſe. For againſt theſe my Adverſaries, who before the examining of a propounded Truth, in a fit time of Reformation, have had the Conſcience to oppoſe nothing elſe but their blind Reproaches and Surmiſes, that a ſingle Innocence might not be oppreſt and overborn by a crew of Mouths, for the reſtoring of a Law and Doctrine falſly and unlearnedly reputed new and ſcandalous, God, that I may ever magnifie and record this his Goodneſs, hath unexpectedly rais'd up as it were from the Dead, more then one famous Light of the firſt Reformation to bear Witneſs with me, and to do me Honour in that very thing, wherein theſe Men thought to have blotted me; and hath given them the proof of a Capacity which they deſpis'd, running equal, and authentick with ſome of their chiefeſt Maſters unthought of, and in a point of ſageſt Moment. However, if we know at all, when to aſcribe the occurrences of this Life to the work of a ſpecial Providence, as nothing is more uſual in the talk of good Men, what can be more like to a ſpecial providence of God, then in the firſt Reformation of England, that this queſtion of Divorce, as a main thing to be reſtor'd to juſt Freedom, was written, and ſeriouſly commended to Edward the Sixth, by a Man call'd from another Countrey, to be the Inſtructer of our Nation, and now in this preſent renewing of the Church and Common-wealth, which we pray may be more laſting, that the ſame Queſtion ſhould be again treated and preſented to this Parliament, by one enabl'd to uſe the ſame Reaſons, without the leaſt Sight or Knowledge of what was done before. It were no Treſpaſs, Lords and Commons, though ſomething of leſs Note were attributed to the ordering of a Heavenly Power; this Queſtion therefore of ſuch prime Concernment, both to Chriſtian and Civil Welfare, in ſuch an extraordinary Manner, not recover'd, but plainly twice born to theſe latter Ages, as from a Divine Hand I tender to your Acceptance, and moſt conſiderate Thoughts. Think not that God rais'd up in Vain, a Man of greateſt Authority in the Church, to tell a Trivial and Licentious Tale in the Ears of that good Prince, and to bequeath it as his Laſt Will and Teſtament, nay, rather as the Teſtament and Royal Law of Chriſt to this Nation, or that it ſhould of it Self after ſo many Years, as it were, in a new Field where it was never ſown, grow up again as a vitious Plant in the mind of another, who had ſpoke honeſteſt things to the Nation; though he knew not that what his Youth then reaſon'd without a Pattern, had been heard already, and well allow'd from the Gravity and Worth of Martin Bucer, till meeting with the Envy of Men, ignorant in their own undertaken Calling, God directed him to the forgotten Writings of this faithful Evangeliſt, to be his Defence and Warrant againſt the groſs Imputation of broaching Licenſe. Ye are now in the Glorious way to high Vertue, and matchleſs Deeds, truſted with a moſt ineſtimable Truſt, the aſſerting of our juſt Liberties. Ye have a Nation that expects now, and from mighty Sufferings aſpires to be the Example of all Chriſtendom to a perfecteſt Reforming. Dare to be as Great, as Ample, and as Eminent in the fair progreſs of your noble Deſigns, as the full and goodly ſtature of Truth and Excellence it ſelf, as unlimited by petty Preſidents and Copies, as your unqueſtionable Calling from Heaven gives ye power to be. What are all our publick Immunities and Privileges worth, and how ſhall it be judg'd that we fight for them with Minds worthy to enjoy them, if we ſuffer our Selves in the mean while, not to underſtand the moſt important

Freedom that God and Nature hath given us in the Family, which no wiſe Nation ever wanted, till the Popery and Superſtition of ſome former Ages attempted to remove and alter Divine and moſt Prudent Laws for Human and moſt imprudent Canons; whereby good Men in the beſt Portion of their Lives, and in that Ordinance of God which entitles them from the Beginning to moſt juſt and requiſite Contentments, are compell'd to civil Indignities, which by the Law of Moſes, *bad Men were not compell'd to. Be not bound about, and ſtraitn'd in the ſpatious Wiſdom of your free Spirits, by the ſcanty and unadequat and inconſiſtent Principles of ſuch as condemn others for adhering to Traditions, and are themſelves the proſtrate Worſhippers of Cuſtom, and of ſuch a Tradition as they can deduce from no Antiquity, but from the rudeſt, and thickeſt Barbariſm of Antichriſtian times. But why do I anticipate the more acceptable, and prevailing Voice of learned* Bucer *himſelf, the Paſtor of Nations? And O that I could ſet him Living before ye in that Doctoral Chair, where once the Learnedſt of* England, *thought it no Diſparagement to ſit at his Feet! He would be ſuch a Pilot, and ſuch a Father to ye, as ye would ſoon find the difference of his Hand and Skill, upon the Helm of Reformation. Nor do I forget that Faithful Aſſociate of his Labours,* Paulus Fagius, *for theſe their great Names and Merits, how precious ſoever, God hath now joyn'd with me neceſſarily, in the Good or Evil Report of this Doctrine which I leave with you. It was written to a Religious King of this Land, written earneſtly, as a main matter, wherein this Kingdom needed a Reform, if it purpoſ'd to be the Kingdom of Chriſt: Written by him, who if any ſince the days of* Luther, *merits to be counted the Apoſtle of our Church, whoſe unwearied Pains, and Watching for our Sakes, as they ſpent him quickly here among us, ſo did they, during the ſhortneſs of his Life, incredibly promote the Goſpel throughout this Realm. The Authority, the Learning, the Godlineſs of this Man conſulted with, is able to out ballance all that the Lightneſs of a vulgar Oppoſition can bring to counterpoiſe. I leave him alſo as my compleat Surety and Teſtimonial, if Truth be not the beſt Witneſs to it Self, that what I formerly preſented to your Reading on this Subject, was Good, and Juſt, and Honeſt, not Licentious. Not that I have now more Confidence by the Addition of theſe great Authors to my Party; for what I wrote, was not my Opinion, but my Knowledge; even then when I could trace no Footſtep in the way I went; nor that I think to win upon your Apprehenſions with Numbers and with Names, rather then with Reaſons, yet certainly the worſt of my Detractors will not except againſt ſo good a Bail of my Integrity and Judgment, as now appears for me. They muſt elſe put in the Fame of* Bucer *and of* Fagius, *as my Accomplices and Confederates into the ſame Enditement, they muſt dig up the good Name of theſe prime Worthies (if their Names could be ever Buried) they muſt dig them up, and brand them, as the* Papiſts *did their Bodies; and thoſe their pure unblameable Spirits, which live not only in Heaven, but in their Writings, they muſt attaint with new Attaintures, which no Proteſtant ever before aſpers'd them with. Or if perhaps we may obtain to get our Appeachment new drawn, a Writ of Error, not of Libertiniſm, that theſe two principal Leaders of Reformation, may not come now to be ſu'd in a Bill of Licenſe, to the ſcandal of our Church, the brief reſult will be, that for the Errour, if their own Works be not thought ſufficient to defend them, there lives yet, who will be ready, in a fair and Chriſtianly diſcuſſive way, to debate and ſift this Matter to the utmoſt Ounce of Learning and Religion, in him that ſhall lay it as an Error, either upon* Martin Bucer, *or any other of his Opinion. If this be not enough to qualifie my Traducers, and that they think it more for the Wiſdom of their Virulence, not to recant the Injuries they have beſpoke me, I ſhall not for much more Diſturbance then they can bring me, intermit the Proſecution of theſe Thoughts which may render me beſt ſerviceable, either to this Age, or if it ſo happen to Poſterity; following the fair path which your illuſtrious Exploits, Honoured Lords and Commons, againſt the Breaſt of Tyranny have open'd; and depending ſo on your happy Succeſſes, in the hopes that I have conceiv'd either of my Self, or of the Nation, as muſt needs conclude me one, who moſt affectionately wiſhes and awaits the proſperous Iſſue of your Noble and Valorous Counſels.*

JOHN MILTON.

Teſti-

Teſtimonies of the High Approbation, which Learned Men have given of Martin Bucer.

Symon Grynæus, 1533.

AMong all the *Germans*, I give the Palm to *Bucer*, for Excellence in the Scriptures. *Melanchton* in human Learning, is wondrous fluent; but greater Knowedge in the Scripture I attribute to *Bucer*, and ſpeak it unfeignedly.

John Calvin, 1539.

Martin Bucer, a moſt Faithful Doctor of the Church of Chriſt, beſides his rare Learning, and copious Knowledge of many Things, beſides his Clearneſs of Wit, much Reading, and many other and various Virtues, wherein he is almoſt by none now Living excell'd, hath few equals, and excells moſt, hath this Praiſe peculiar to himſelf, that none in this Age hath us'd exacter diligence in the Expoſition of Scripture.

And a little Beneath.

Bucer is more large, then to be read by over buſied Men, and too high to be eaſily underſtood by unattentive Men, and of a low Capacity.

Sir *John Cheek*, Tutor to King *Edward* the Sixth. 1551.

WE have loſt our Maſter, then whom the World ſcarce held a greater, whether we conſider his Knowledge of true Religion, or his Integrity and Innocence of Life, or his inceſſant Study of Holy Things, or his matchleſs Labour of promoting Piety, or his Authority and Amplitude of Teaching, or what ever elſe was Praiſe-worthy and Glorious in him. *Script. Anglicana, page* 864.

John Sturmius, of *Strasburgh*.

NO Man can be ignorant what a Great and Conſtant Opinion and Eſtimation of *Bucer* there is in *Italy*, *France* and *England*. Whence the Saying of *Quintilian* hath oft come to my Mind, that he hath well profited in Elequence whom *Cicero* pleaſes. The ſame ſay I of *Bucer*, that he hath made no ſmall Progreſs in Divinity, whom *Bucer* pleaſes; for in his Volumes, which he wrote very many, there is the plain Impreſſion to be diſcern'd of many great Virtues, of Diligence, of Charity, of Truth, of Acuteneſs, of Judgment, of Learning. Wherein he hath a certain proper kind of Writing, whereby he doth not only teach the Reader, but affects him with the ſweetneſs of his Sentences, and with the manner of his Arguing, which is ſo Teaching, and ſo Logical, that it may be perceiv'd how Learnedly he ſeparates probable Reaſons from neceſſary, how forcibly he confirms what he has to prove, how ſutly he refutes, not with Sharpneſs, but with Truth.

Theodore Beza, on the Portraiture of *M. Bucer*.

THis is that Countenance of *Bucer*, the mirror of Mildneſs, temper'd with Gravity, to whom the City of *Straſburgh* owes the Reformation of her Church. Whoſe ſingular Learning, and eminent Zeal, joyn'd with excellent Wiſdom, both his Learned Books, and publick Diſputations in the general Diets of the Empire, ſhall witneſs to all Ages. Him the *German* Perſecution drove into *England*, where Honourably entertain'd by *Edward* the Sixth, he was for Two Years, chief Profeſſor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, with greateſt Frequency and Applauſe of all Learned and Pious Men, untill his Death. 1551. *Bezæ Icones.*

Mr. *Fox* Book of Martyrs, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 763.

Bucer what by Writing, but chiefly by Reading and Preaching openly, wherein being painful in the Word of God, he never ſpar'd himſelf, nor regarded his Health, brought all Men into ſuch an Admiration of him, that neither his Friends could ſufficiently praiſe him, nor his Enemies in any point find faulr with his ſingular Life, and ſincere Doctrine. A moſt certain Token, whereof may be his Sumptuous Burial at *Cambridge*, ſolemniz'd with ſo great an Aſſidance of all the Univerſity, that it was not poſſible to deviſe more to the ſetting out, and amplifying of the ſame.

Dr. *Pern*

Dr. *Pern*, the Popiſh Vice-Chancellour of *Cambridge*'s Adverſary.

CArdinal *Pool*, about the fourth Year of Queen *Mary*, intending to reduce the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to Popery again, thought no way ſo effectual, as to cauſe the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius*, which had been Four Years in the Grave, to be taken up and burnt openly with their Books, as knowing, that thoſe two Worthy Men had been of greateſt Moment to the Reformation of that Place from Popery, and had left ſuch powerful Seeds of their Doctrine behind them, as would never Dye, unleſs the Men themſelves were digged up, and openly Condemn'd for Hereticks, by the Univerſity it ſelf. This was put in Execution, and Doctor *Pern* Vice-Chancellour, appointed to Preach againſt *Bucer*. Who among other Things, laid to his Charge the Opinions which he held of the Marriage of Prieſts, of Divorcement, and of Uſury. But immediately after his Sermon, or ſomewhat before, as the Book of Martyrs for a Truth relates, *Vol.* 3. *Page* 770. The ſaid Doctor *Pern* ſmiting himſelf on the Breaſt, and in a manner Weeping, wiſht with all his Heart, that God would Grant his Soul might then preſently Depart, and remain with *Bucers*; for he knew his Life was ſuch, that if any Man's Soul were worthy of Heaven, he thought *Bucers* in ſpecial, to be moſt Worthy, *Hiſtor. de Combuſt. Buceri, & Fagii.*

Acworth, the Univerſity Orator.

SOON after that Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, this Condemnation of *Bucer* and *Fagius* by the Cardinal and his Doctors, was ſolemnly repeal'd by the Univerſity; and the Memory of thoſe two famous Men celebrated in an Oration, by *Acworth* the Univerſity Orator, which is yet extant in the Book of Martyrs, *Vol.* 3. *Page* 773. and in Latin, *Scripta Anglic. Page* 936.

Nicholas Carre, a Learned Man, *Walter Haddon*, Maſter of the Requeſts to Q. *Elizabeth*, *Matthew Parker*, afterwards Primate of *England*, with other eminent Men, in their Funeral Orations and Sermons, expreſs abundantly how great a Man *Martin Bucer* was, what an incredible Loſs *England* ſuſtain'd in his Death; and that with him dy'd the hope of a perfect Reformation for that Age. *Ibid.*

Jacobus Verheiden of *Grave*, in his Elogies of famous Divines.

THough the Name of *Martin Luther* be famous, yet thou *Martin Bucer*, for Piety, Learning, Labour, Care, Vigilance and Writing, art not to be held inferiour to *Luther*. *Bucer* was a ſingular Inſtrument of God, ſo was *Luther*. By the Death of this moſt Learned and moſt Faithful Man, the Church of Chriſt ſuſtain'd a heavy Loſs, as *Calvin* witneſſeth; and they who are ſtudious of *Calvin*, are not ignorant how much he aſcribes to *Bucer*, for thus he writes in a Letter to *Viretus*: What a manifold Loſs befell the Church of God, in the Death of *Bucer*, as oft as I call to Mind, I feell my Heart almoſt rent aſunder.

Peter Martyr Epiſt. to *Conradus Hubertus.*

HE is dead, who hath overcome in many Battles of the Lord. God lent us for a time this our Father, and our Teacher, never enough prais'd. Death hath divided me from a moſt unanimous Friend, ne truly according to mine own Heart. My Mind is over-preſt with Grief, in ſo much that I have not Power to write more. I bid thee in Chriſt farewel, and wiſh thou mayſt be able to bear the loſs of *Bucer*, better then I can bear it.

Teſtimonies given by Learned Men to Paulus Fagius, *who held the ſame Opinion with* Martin Bucer, *concerning Divorce.*

P*Aulus Fagius* born in the *Palatinate*, became moſt skilful in the Hebrew Tongue. Being call'd to the Miniſtery at *Iſna*, he publiſh'd many Ancient and Profitable Hebrew Books, being aided in the Expences by a Senator of that City, as *Origen* ſometime was by a certain rich Man call'd *Ambroſius*. At length invited to *Strasburgh*, he there famouſly diſcharged the Office of a Teacher; until the ſame Perſecution drove him and *Bucer* into *England*, where he was preferr'd to a Profeſſors Place in *Cambridge*, and ſoon after dyed.

Melchior Adamus writes his Life among the famous *German* Divines.

Sleidan and *Thuanus* mention him with Honour in their Hiſtory. And *Verheiden* in his *Elogies.*

TO

THE JUDGMENT OF Martin Bucer, TOUCHING DIVORCE.

Taken out of the Second Book; Entitl'd, *Of the Kingdom of Chriſt*, Written by *Martin Bucer* to *Edward* the 6th. King of *England*.

CHAP. XV.

The 7th Law of the Sanctifying and Ordering of Marriage.

BEſides theſe things, Chriſt our King, and his Churches require from your Sacred Majeſty, that you would take upon you the juſt Care of Marriages. For it is unſpeakable, how many Good Conſciences are hereby entangl'd, afflicted, and in danger, becauſe there are no Juſt Laws, no ſpeedy way conſtituted, according to Gods Word, touching this Holy Society and Fountain of Mankind. For ſeeing Matrimony is a Civil thing, Men, that they may rightly contract, inviolably keep, and not without extream Neceſſity diſſolve Marriage, are not only to be taught by the Doctrin and Diſcipline of the Church, but alſo are to be acquitted, aided, and compell'd by Laws and Judicature of the Common-wealth. Which thing pious Emperours acknowledging, and therein framing themſelves to the Law of Nations, gave Laws both of Contracting and Preſerving, and alſo where an unhappy need requir'd, of Divorcing Marriages. As may be ſeen in the Code of *Juſtinian* the 5 Book, from the Beginning through 24 Titles. And in the Authentick of *Juſtinian* the 22d. and ſome others.

But the Antichriſts of *Rome*, to get the Imperial Power into their own Hands, firſt by fraudulent Perſwaſion, afterwards by Force, drew to themſelves the whole Authority of Determining and Judging, as well in Matrimonial Cauſes, as in moſt other Matters. Therefore it hath been long believ'd, that the Care and Government thereof doth not belong to the Civil Magiſtrate. Yet where the Goſpel of Chriſt is receiv'd, the Laws of Antichriſt ſhould be rejected. If therefore Kings and Governors take not this Care, by the Power of Law and Juſtice to provide, that Marriages be piouſly contracted, religiouſly kept, and lawfully diſſolv'd, if need require, who ſees not what Confuſion and Trouble is brought upon this Holy Society; and what a Rack is prepar'd, even for many of the beſt Conſciences, while they have no certain Laws to follow, no Juſtice to implore, if any intolerable thing happen. And how much it concerns the Honour and Safety of the Common wealth, that Marriages, according to the Will of Chriſt, be made, maintain'd, and not without juſt Cauſe diſſolv'd, who underſtands

ſtands not? For unleſs that firſt and holieſt Society of Man and Woman be purely conſtituted, that Houſhold Diſcipline may be upheld by them according to God's Law, how can we expect a Race of good Men. Let your Majeſty therefore know that this is your Duty, and in the firſt place, to reaſſume to your ſelf the juſt Ordering of Matrimony, and by firm Laws to eſtabliſh and defend the Religion of this firſt and Divine Society among Men, as all Wiſe Law-givers of old, and Chriſtian Emperours have carefully done.

The two next Chapters, becauſe they chiefly treat about the degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity I omit; only ſetting down a paſſage or two concerning the Judicial Laws of Moſes, how fit they be for Chriſtians to imitate rather than any other.

CHAP. XVII.

Toward the End.

I Confeſs, that we being free in Chriſt are not bound to the Civil Laws of *Moſes* in every Circumſtance, yet ſeeing no Laws can be more Honeſt, Juſt, and Wholeſom, then thoſe which God himſelf gave, who is Eternal Wiſdom and Goodneſs, I ſee not why Chriſtians, in things, which no leſs appertain to them, ought not to follow the Laws of God, rather then of any Men. We are not to uſe Circumciſion, Sacrifice, and thoſe Bodily waſhings preſcrib'd to the *Jews*; yet by theſe things we may rightly learn, with what Purity and Devotion, both Baptiſm and the Lords Supper ſhould be Adminiſter'd and receiv'd. How much more is it our Duty to obſerve diligently what the Lord hath Commanded, and taught by the Examples of his People concerning Marriage; whereof we have the Uſe no leſs then they.

And becauſe this ſame worthy Author hath another paſſage to this purpoſe in his Comment upon Matthew, Chap. 5. 19. I here inſert it from p. 46.

Since we have need of Civil Laws and the Power of Puniſhing, it will be wiſeſt not to Contemn thoſe given by *Moſes*; but ſeriouſly rather to conſider what the meaning of God was in them, what he chiefly requir'd, and how much it might be to the Good of every Nation, if they would borrow thence their manner of Governing the Common-wealth; yet freely all things and with the Spirit of Chriſt. For what *Solon*, or *Plato*, or *Ariſtotle*, what Lawyers or *Cæſars* could make better Laws then God? And it is no light Argument, that many Magiſtrates at this Day do not enough acknowledge the Kingdom of Chriſt, though they would ſeem moſt Chriſtian, in that they govern their States by Laws ſo diverſe from thoſe of *Moſes*.

The 18 Chap. *I only mention as determining a thing not here in Queſtion, that Marriage without Conſent of Parents ought not to be held Good; yet with this Qualification fit to be known.*

That if Parents admit not the honeſt deſires of their Children, but ſhall perſiſt to abuſe the Power they have over them, they are to be mollify'd by Admonitions, Entreaties, and Perſwaſions, firſt of their Friends and Kindred, next of the Church-Elders. Whom if ſtill the hard Parents refuſe to hear, then ought the Magiſtrate to interpoſe his Power: Leaſt any by the Evil Mind of their Parents be detain'd from Marriage longer then is meet, or forc'd to an unworthy Match: In which Caſe the *Roman* Laws alſo provided. *C. de nupt. l.* 11. 13. 26.

CHAP. XIX.

Whether it may be permitted to revoke the promiſe of Marriage.

HEre ariſeth another Queſtion concerning Contracts, when they ought to be unchangeable; for Religious Emperours decree'd, that the

the Contract was not indiſſoluble, until the Spouſe were brought home, and the Solemnities perform'd. They thought it a thing unworthy of divine and human Equity, and the due Conſideration of Mans Infirmity in deliberating and determining, when Space is giv'n to renounce other Contracts of much leſs Moment, which are not yet confirm'd before the Magiſtrate, to deny that to the moſt weighty Contract of Marriage, which requires the greateſt Care and Conſultation. Yet leaſt ſuch a Covenant ſhould be brok'n for no juſt Cauſe, and to the Injury of that Perſon to whom Marriage was promis'd, they decreed a Fine, that he who deny'd Marriage to whom he had promis'd, and for ſome Cauſe not approv'd by the Judges, ſhould pay the double of that Pledge which was given at making ſure, or as much as the Judge ſhould pronounce might ſatisfy the Damage or the Hindrance of either Party. It being moſt certain, that oft-times after Contract, juſt and honeſt Cauſes of departing from Promiſe, come to be known and found out, it cannot be other then the Duty of pious Princes, to give Men the ſame Liberty of Unpromiſing in theſe Caſes, as pious Emperours granted: Eſpecially, where there is only a Promiſe, and not carnal Knowledge. And as there is no true Marriage between them, who agree not in true Conſent of Mind, ſo it will be the Part of godly Magiſtrates to procure, that no Matrimony be among their Subjects, but what is knit with Love and Conſent. And though your Majeſty be not bound to the Imperial Laws, yet it is the Duty of a Chriſtian King to embrace and follow what ever he knows to be any where piouſly and juſtly conſtituted, and to be honeſt, juſt and well-pleaſing to his People. But why, in Gods Law and the Examples of his Saints, nothing hereof is read, no Marvel, ſeeing his Ancient People had Power, yea a Precept, that whoſo could not bend his Mind to the true Love of his Wife, ſhould give her a Bill of Divorce, and ſend her from him, though after carnal Knowledge and long Dwelling together. This is enough to authorize a godly Prince in that Indulgence which he gives to the changing of a Contract; both becauſe it is certainly the Invention of Antichriſt, that the Promiſe of Marriage *de præſenti* as they call it, ſhould be indiſſoluble, and becauſe it ſhould be a Princes Care, that Matrimony be ſo joyn'd, as God ordain'd; which is, that every one ſhould love his Wife with ſuch a Love as *Adam* expreſt to *Eve*: So as we may hope, that they who marry may become one Fleſh, and One alſo in the Lord.

CHAP. XX.

Concerns only the Celebration of Marriage.

CHAP. XXI.

The Means of preſerving Marriage holy and pure:

NOW ſince there ought not to be leſs Care, that Marriage be religiouſly kept, then that it be piouſly and deliberately contracted, it will be meet, that to every Church be ordain'd certain grave and godly Men, who may have this Care upon them, to obſerve whether the Husband bear himſelf wiſely toward the Wife, loving and inciting her to all Piety, and the other Duties of this Life; and whether the Wife be ſubject to her Husband, and ſtudy to be truly a meet Help to him, as firſt to all Godlineſs, ſo to every other Uſe of Life. And if they ſhall find each to other failing of their Duty, or the one long abſent from the other without juſt and urgent Cauſe, or giving Suſpicion of irreligious and impure Life, or of living in manifeſt Wickedneſs, let it be admoniſh'd them in Time. And if their Authority be contemn'd, let the Names of ſuch Contemners be brought to the Magiſtrate, who may uſe Puniſhment to compel ſuch Violators of Marriage to their Du-

ty, that they may abſtain from all probable Suſpicion of Tranſgreſſing; and if they admit of ſuſpected Company, the Magiſtrate is to forbid them; whom they not therein obeying, are to be puniſh'd as Adulterers, according to the Law of *Juſtinian*, *Authent.* 117. For if holy Wedlock, the Fountain and Seminary of good Subjects, be not vigilantly preſerv'd from all Blots and Diſturbances, what can be hop'd, as I ſaid before, of the ſpringing up of good Men, and a right Reformation of the Common-wealth. We know it is not enough for Chriſtians to abſtain from foul Deeds, but from the Appearance and Suſpicion thereof.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Lawful Divorce, what the Ancient Churches have thought.

NOW we ſhall ſpeak about that diſſolving of Matrimony, which may be approv'd in the Sight of God, if any grievous Neceſſity require. In which thing the *Roman* Antichriſts have knit many a pernicious Entanglement to diſtreſſed Conſciences: For that they might here alſo exalt themſelves above God, as if they would be wiſer and chaſter than God himſelf is, for no Cauſe, honeſt or neceſſary, will they permit a final Divorce, in the mean while Whoredoms and Adulteries, and worſe things than theſe, not only tolerating in themſelves and others, but cheriſhing, and throwing Men headlong into theſe Evils. For although they alſo diſ-joyn marryed Perſons from Bed and Board, that is, from all conjugal Society and Communion, and this not only for Adultery, but for ill Uſage, and matrimonial Duties deny'd, yet they forbid thoſe thus parted, to joyn in Wedlock with others, but, as I ſaid before, any diſhoneſt Aſſociating they permit. And they pronounce the Bond of Marriage to remain between thoſe whom they have thus ſeparated. As if the Bond of Marriage, God ſo teaching and pronouncing, were not ſuch a League as binds the marryed Couple to all Society of Life, and Communion in divine and human things; and ſo aſſociated keeps them. Something indeed out of the latter Fathers they may pretend for this their Tyranny, eſpecially out of *Auſtin*, and ſome others, who were much taken with a prepoſterous Admiration of ſingle Life; yet though theſe Fathers, from the Words of Chriſt, not rightly underſtood, taught, that it was unlawful to marry again, while the former Wife liv'd, whatever Cauſe there had been either of Deſertion or Divorce, yet if we mark the Cuſtom of the Church, and the common Judgment, which both in their Times and afterward prevail'd, we ſhall perceive that neither theſe Fathers did ever caſt out of the Church any one for marrying after a Divorce, approv'd by the Imperial Laws.

Nor only the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, but the latter alſo, even to *Juſtinian*, and after him, did grant for certain Cauſes approv'd by Judges, to make a true Divorce, which made and confirm'd by Law, it might be lawful to marry again: Which if it could not have been done without diſpleaſing Chriſt and his Church, ſurely it would not have been granted by Chriſtian Emperours, nor had the Fathers then wink'd at thoſe Doings in the Emperours. Hence ye may ſee that *Jerom* alſo, though zealous of ſingle Life more then enough, and ſuch a Condemner of Second Marriage, though after the Death of either Party, yet forc'd by plain Equity, defended *Fabiola*, a noble Matron of *Rome*, who having refus'd her Husband for juſt Cauſes, was marryed to another. For that the ſending of a Divorce to her Husband was not blame-worthy, he affirms, becauſe the Man was heinouſly vitious, and that if an adulterous Wife may be diſcarded, an adulterous Husband is not to be kept. But that ſhe marryed again, while yet her Husband was alive, he defends in that the Apoſtle hath ſaid, *It is better to Marry then to Burn*, and that young Widows ſhould marry, for ſuch was *Fabiola*, and could not remain in Widowhood.

But

But ſome one will object, that *Jerom* there adds, *Neither did ſhe know the Vigor of the Goſpel, wherein all Cauſe of marrying is debarr'd from Women, while their Husbands live, and again, while ſhe avoided many Wounds of Satan, ſhe receiv'd one e're ſhe was aware.* But let the equal Reader mind alſo what went before; *Becauſe*, ſaith he, ſoon after the Beginning, *there is a Rock and Storm of Slanderers oppos'd againſt her, I will not praiſe her converted, unleſs I firſt abſolve her guilty.* For why does he call them Slanderers, who accus'd *Fabiola* of Marrying again, if he did not judge it a matter of Chriſtian Equity and Charity, to paſs by and pardon that Fact, though in his own Opinion he held it a Fault. And what can this mean? *I will not praiſe her, unleſs I firſt abſolve her.* For how could he abſolve her but by proving that *Fabiola* neither in rejecting her vitious Husband, nor in Marrying another had committed ſuch a Sin, as could be juſtly condemn'd. Nay, he proves both by evident Reaſon, and clear Teſtimonies of Scripture, that ſhe avoided Sin.

This alſo is hence underſtood, that *Jerom* by the vigor of the Goſpel, meant, that height and perfection of our Saviours Precept, which might be remitted to thoſe that burn; for he adds, *But if ſhe be accus'd in that ſhe remain'd not unmarried, I ſhall confeſs the Fault, ſo I may relate the neceſſity.* If then he acknowledg'd a neceſſity, as he did, becauſe ſhe was young, and could not live in Widowhood, certainly he could not impute her ſecond Marriage to her much blame: But when he excuſes her out of the Word of God, does he not openly declare his thoughts, that the ſecond Marriage of *Fabiola* was permitted her by the holy Ghoſt himſelf, for the neceſſity which ſhe ſuffer'd, and to ſhun the danger of Fornication, though ſhe went ſomewhat aſide from the vigor of the Goſpel. But if any urge, that *Fabiola* did public Pennance for her ſecond Marriage, which was not impos'd but for great Faults. 'Tis anſwer'd, ſhe was not enjoyn'd to this Pennance. But did it of her own accord *and not till after her ſecond Husbands Death.* As in the time of *Cyprian* we read, that many were wont to do voluntary Pennance for ſmall Faults, which were not liable to Excommunication.

CHAP. XXIII.

That Marriage was granted by the ancient Fathers, ev'n after the Vow of ſingle Life.

I omit his Teſtimonies out of Cyprian, Gelaſius, Epiphanius, *contented only to relate what he thence Collects to the preſent Purpoſe.*

SOME will ſay perhaps, wherefore all this concerning Marriage after Vow of ſingle Life, when as the Queſtion was of Marriage after Divorce? For this reaſon, that they whom it ſo much moves, becauſe ſome of the Fathers thought Marriage after any kind of Divorce, to be condemn'd of our Saviour, may ſee that this Concluſion follows not. The Fathers thought all Marriage after Divorce to be forbidd'n of our Saviour, therefore they thought ſuch Marriage was not to be tolerated in a Chriſtian. For the ſame Fathers judged it forbidd'n to Marry after Vow; yet ſuch Marriages they neither diſſolv'd nor excommunicated. For theſe Words of our Saviour, and of the holy Ghoſt, ſtood in their way; *All cannot receive this ſaying, but they to whom it is giv'n. Every one hath his proper gift from God, one after this manner, another after that. It is better to Marry then to burn. I will that younger Widows Marry*, and the like.

So there are many Cannons, and Laws extant, whereby Prieſts, if they Marry'd were remov'd from their Office, yet is it not read, that their Marriage was diſſolv'd, as the Papiſts now-a-days do, or that they were excommunicated, nay expreſly they might communicate as Lay-men. If the conſideration of human Infirmity, and thoſe Teſtimonies of Divine Scripture, which grant Marriage to every one that wants it, perſuaded thoſe

Fathers to bear themſelves ſo humanly toward them who had Marryed with Breach of Vow to God, as they believ'd, and with Divorce of that Marriage wherein they were in a manner joyn'd to God, who doubts, but that the ſame Fathers held the like Humanity was to be afforded to thoſe, who after Divorce and Faith broken with Men, as they thought, enter'd into ſecond Marriage: For among ſuch are alſo found no leſs weak, and no leſs burning.

CHAP. XXIV.

Who of the Ancient Fathers have granted Marriage after Divorce.

THIS is clear both by what hath been ſaid, and by that which *Origen* relates of certain Biſhops in his time, *Homil.* 7. *in* Matth. *I know ſome*, ſaith he, *which are over Churches, who without Scripture have permitted the Wife to Marry while her former Husband liv'd. And did this againſt Scripture, which ſaith, The Wife is bound to her Husband ſo long as he lives, and ſhe ſhall be call'd an Adultereß, if, her Husband living, ſhe take another Man, yet did they not permit this without Cauſe, perhaps for the Infirmity of ſuch as had not Continence, they permitted Evil to avoid worſe.* Ye ſee *Origen* and the Doctors of his Age, not without all Cauſe, permitted Women after Divorce to Marry, though their former Husbands were living: Yet writes, that they permitted againſt Scripture. But what cauſe could they have to do ſo, unleſs they thought our Saviour in his Precepts of Divorce, had ſo forbid'n, as willing to remit ſuch Perfection to his weaker ones, caſt into danger of worſe Faults.

The ſame thought *Leo*, Biſhop of *Rome*, *Ep.* 85. to the *African* Biſhops of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, wherein complaining of a certain Prieſt, who Divorcing his Wife, or being Divorc'd by her, as other Copies have it, had Marryed another, neither diſſolves the Matrimony, nor excommunicates him, only Unprieſts him. The Fathers therefore as we ſee, did not ſimply and wholly condemn Marriage after Divorce.

But as for me, this remitting of our Saviours Precepts, which theſe Ancients allow to the infirm in Marrying after Vow and Divorce, I can in no ways admit; for what ſo ever plainly conſents not with the Commandment, cannot, I am certain, be Permitted, or Suffer'd in any Chriſtian: For Heav'n and Earth ſhall paſs away, but not a Tittle from the Commands of God, among them who expect Life Eternal. Let us therefore conſider, and weigh the Words of our Lord concerning Marriage, and Divorce, which he pronounc'd both by himſelf, and by his Apoſtle, and let us compare them with other Oracles of God; for whatſoever is contrary to theſe, I ſhall not perſuade the leaſt tolerating thereof. But if it can be taught to agree with the Word of God, yea to be commanded, that moſt Men may have Permiſſion giv'n them to Divorce and Marry again, I muſt prefer the Authority of Gods Word before the Opinion of Fathers and Doctors, as they themſelves teach.

CHAP. XXV.

The Words of our Lord and of the holy Ghoſt, by the Apoſtle Paul *concerning Divorce are explain'd.*

BUT the Words of our Lord and of the holy Ghoſt, out of which *Auſtin*, and ſome others of the Fathers think it concluded, that our Saviour forbids Marriage after any Divorce, are theſe, *Mat.* 5. 31, 32. *It hath been ſaid*, &c. And *Mat.* 19. 7. *They ſay unto him, why did Moſes then command,*

commandi, &c. And *Mark* the 10th, and *Luke* [illegible] *dom.* 7. 1, 2, 3. 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. Hence therefore they conclude, that all Marriage after Divorce is call'd Adultery; which to commit being no ways to be tolerated in any Christian, they think it follows, that second Marriage is in no case to be permitted either to the Divorcer or to the Divorced.

But that it may be more fully and plainly perceiv'd, what Force is in this kind of Reasoning, it will be the best course to lay down certain Grounds, whereof no Christian can doubt the Truth. *First*, it is a wickedness to suspect that our Saviour branded that for Adultery, which himself in his own Law, which he came to fulfil, and not to dissolve, did not only Permit, but also Command; for by him the only Mediator was the whole Law of God giv'n. But that by this Law of God, Marriage was permitted after any Divorce is certain by *Deut.* 24. 1.

CHAP. XXVI.

That God in his Law did not only grant, but also command Divorce to certain Men.

Deut. 24. 1. *When a Man hath taken a Wife*, &c. But in *Mala.* 2. 15, 16. is read the Lords Command to put her away whom a Man Hates, in these Words. *Take heed to your Spirit, and let none deal injuriously against the Wife of his Youth. If he Hate, let him put away, saith the Lord God of* Israel. *And he shall hide thy Violence with his Garment*, that Marries her Divorc't by thee, *saith the Lord of Hosts*; But *take heed to your Spirit, and do no Injury.* By these Testimonies of the divine Law, we see, that the Lord did not only Permit, but also expressly and earnestly Commanded his People, by whom he would that all Holiness and Faith of Marriage-Covenant should be observ'd, that he who could not induce his Mind to Love his Wife, with a true conjugal Love, might dismiss her that she might Marry to another.

CHAP. XXVII.

That what the Lord permitted and commanded to his Ancient People, concerning Divorce, belongs also to Christians.

NOW what the Lord permitted to his first-born People, that certainly he could not forbid to his own among the *Gentiles*, whom he made Co-heirs and into one Body with his People, nor could he ever Permit, much less Command ought that was not good for them, at least so used, as he Commanded. For being God, he is not chang'd as Man. Which thing who seriously considers, how can he Imagine, that God would make that wicked to them that beleive, and serve him under Grace, which he granted and commanded to them that serv'd him under the Law. When as the same Causes require the same Permission. And who, that knows but human matters, and loves the Truth, will deny, that many Marriages hang as ill together now, as ever they did among the *Jews*? So that such Marriages are liker to Torments then true Marriages. As therefore the Lord doth always succour and help the oppressed, so he would ever have it provided for injur'd Husbands and Wives, that under pretence of the Marriage Bond, they be not sold to perpetual Vexations, instead of the loving and comfortable Marriage-duties. And *lastly*, as God doth always detest Hypocrisie, and Fraud, so neither doth he approve, that among his People, that should be counted Marriage, wherein none of those Duties remain, whereby the League of Wedlock is chiefly preserv'd. What inconsiderate neglect then of Gods Law is this, that I may not call it worse, to hold that Christ our Lord would not grant the same remedies both of Divorce and second Marriage to the weak, or to the evil, if they will needs have it so, but especially to the innocent and wronged, when as the same urgent

gent Cauſes remain, as before; when the Diſcipline of the Church and Magiſtrate hath try'd what may be try'd.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That our Lord Chriſt intended not to Make new Laws of Marriage and Divorce, or of any Civil Matters.

IT is agreed by all who determin of the Kingdom, and Offices of Chriſt by the holy Scriptures, as all godly Men ought to do, that our Saviour upon Earth took not on him either to give new Laws in Civil Affairs, or to change the old. But it is certain that Matrimony and Divorce are Civil things. Which the Chriſtian Emperours knowing, gave conjugal Laws; and reſerv'd the Adminiſtration of them to their own Courts; which no true ancient Biſhop ever condemn'd.

Our Saviour came to Preach Repentance, and Remiſſion; ſeeing therefore thoſe who put away their Wives without any juſt Cauſe, were not toucht with Conſcience of the Sin, through miſunderſtanding of the Law, he recall'd them to a right Interpretation, and taught, that the Woman in the beginning was ſo joyn'd to the Man, that there ſhould be a perpetual Union both in Body and Spirit: Where this is not, the Matrimony is already broke, before there be yet any Divorce made or ſecond Marriage.

CHAP. XXIX.

That it is wicked to ſtrain the Words of Chriſt beyond their Purpoſe.

This is his third Axiom, whereof there needs no Explication here.

CHAP. XXX.

That all Places of Scripture about the ſame thing are to be joyn'd, and compar'd, to avoid Contradictions.

This he Demonſtrates at large out of ſundry Places in the Goſpel; and principally by that Precept againſt Swearing, which compar'd with many Places of the Law and Prophets, is a flat Contradiction of them all, if we follow ſuperſtitiouſly the Letter. Then having repeated briefly his four Axioms, he thus Proceeds.

Theſe things thus preadmoniſht, let us enquire what the undoubted Meaning is of our Saviours Words; and enquire, according to the Rule, which is obſerv'd by all learned and good Men in their Expoſitions; that Praying firſt to God, who is the only Opener of our Hearts, we may firſt with Fear and Reverence conſider well the Words of our Saviour touching this Queſtion. Next, that we may compare them with all other Places of Scripture, treating of this Matter, to ſee how they conſent with our Saviours Words, and thoſe of his Apoſtle.

CHAP. XXXI.

This Chapter diſputes againſt Auſtin *and the Papiſts, who deny ſecond Marriage, even to them who Divorce in caſe of Adultery, which becauſe it is not controverted among true Proteſtants, but that the innocent Perſon is eaſily allow'd to Marry, I ſpare the Tranſlating.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

That a manifeſt Adultereſs ought to be Divorc't, and cannot lawfully be retain'd in Marriage by any true Chriſtian.

This though he prove ſufficiently, yet I let paſs, becauſe this Queſtion was not handl'd in the Doctrin and Diſcipline of Divorce; to which Book I bring ſo much of this Treatiſe as runs Parallel.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Adultery is to be puniſht by Death.

This Chapter alſo I omit for the Reaſon laſt alledg'd.

CHAP. XXXIV.

That it is lawful for a Wife to leave an Adulterer, and to Marry another Husband.

This is generally granted, and therefore excuſes me the Writing out.

CHAP. XXXV.

Places in the Writings of the Apoſtle Paul *touching Divorce explain'd.*

LET us conſider the Anſwers of the Lord giv'n by the Apoſtle ſeverally. Concerning the firſt which is *Rom.* 7. 1. *Know ye not Brethren, for, I ſpeak to them that know the Law*, &c. Ver. 2. *The Woman is bound by the Law to her Husband ſo long as he liveth.* Here it is certain, that the holy Ghoſt had no purpoſe to determine ought of Marriage, or Divorce, but only to bring an Example from the common and ordinary Law of Wedlock, to ſhew that as no Covenant holds either Party being Dead, ſo now, that we are not bound to the Law, but to Chriſt our Lord, ſeeing that through him we are dead to Sin, and to the Law; and ſo joyn'd to Chriſt, that we may bring forth Fruit in him from a willing Godlineſs, and not by the Compulſion of Law, whereby our Sins are more excited, and become more violent. What therefore the Holy Spirit here ſpeaks of Matrimony, cannot be extended beyond the general Rule.

Beſides, it is manifeſt, that the Apoſtle did alledge the Law of Wedlock, as it was deliver'd to the *Jews*; for, ſaith he, I ſpeak to them that know the Law. They knew no Law of God, but that by *Moſes*, which plainly grants Divorce for ſeveral Reaſons. It cannot therefore be ſaid that the Apoſtle cited this general Example out of the Law, to aboliſh the ſeveral Exceptions of that Law, which God himſelf granted by giving Authority to Divorce.

Next, when the Apoſtle brings an Example out of Gods Law concerning Man and Wife, it muſt be neceſſary, that we underſtand ſuch for Man and Wife, as are ſo indeed according to the ſame Law of God; that is, who are ſo diſpos'd as that they are both willing and able to perform the neceſſary Duties of Marriage; not thoſe who under a falſe Title of Marriage, keep themſelves mutually bound to Injuries and Diſgraces; for ſuch Twain are nothing leſs then lawful Man and Wife.

The like Anſwer is to be giv'n to all the other Places both of the Goſpel and the Apoſtle, that what ever Exception may be prov'd out of Gods Law, be not excluded from thoſe Places. For the Spirit of God doth not condemn things formerly granted, and allow'd, where there is like Cauſe and Reaſon. Hence *Ambroſe* upon that Place, 1 *Cor.* 7. 15. *A Brother or a Si-*

Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes; thus Expounds; *The reverence of Marriage is not due to him who abhors the Author of Marriage; nor is that Marriage ratified which is without Devotion to God: He Sins not therefore who is put away for Gods Cauſe, though he joyn himſelf to another. For the diſhonour of the Creator diſſolves the right of Matrimony to him who is deſerted, that he be not accus'd, though Marrying to another. The Faith of Wedlock is not to be kept with him who departs, that he might not hear the God of Chriſtians to be the Author of Wedlock. For if* Ezra *caus'd the miſ-believing Wives and Husbands to be Divorc'd, that God might be appeas'd, and not offended, though they took others of their own Faith; how much more ſhall it be free, if the miſ-believer depart, to Marry one of our own Religion. For this is not to be counted Matrimony which is againſt the Law of God?*

Two things are here to be obſerv'd toward the following Diſcourſe, which truth it ſelf, and the force of Gods word hath drawn from this Holy Man. For thoſe words are very large, *Matrimony is not Ratify'd without Devotion to God.* And *the diſhonour of the Creator diſſolves the right of Matrimony.* For Devotion is far off, and Diſhonour is done to God by all who perſiſt in any wickedneſs and hanious Crime.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That although it ſeem in the Goſpel, as if our Saviour granted Divorce only for Adultery, yet in very deed he granted it for other Cauſes alſo.

NOW is to be dealt with this Queſtion, whether it be Lawful to Divorce and Marry again for other Cauſes beſides Adultery, ſince our Saviour expreſt that only. To this Queſtion, if we retain our Principles already laid, and muſt acknowledge it to be a curſed Blaſphemy, if we ſay, that the words of God do contradict one another, of neceſſity we muſt confeſs, that our Lord did grant Divorce, and Marriage after that for other Cauſes beſides Adultery, notwithſtanding what he ſaid in *Matthew.* For firſt, they who conſider but only that Place, 1 *Cor.* 7. which treats of Believers and Miſ-believers matcht together, muſt of force confeſs, that our Lord granted juſt Divorce, and ſecond Marriage in the of Cauſe Deſertion, which is other then the Cauſe of Fornication. And if there be one other Cauſe found Lawful, then is it moſt true, that Divorce was granted not only for Fornication.

Next, It cannot be doubted, as I ſhew'd before, by them to whom it is giv'n to know God and his Judgments out of his own word, but that, what means of Peace and Safety God ever granted and ordain'd to his Elected People, the ſame he grants and ordains to Men of all Ages who have equally need of the ſame remedies. And who, that is but a knowing Man, dares ſay there be not Husbands and Wives now to be found in ſuch a hardneſs of heart, that they will not perform either conjugal Affection, or any requiſit Duty thereof, though it be moſt deſerv'd at their hands.

Neither can any one defer to confeſs, but that God whoſe Property it is to judge the Cauſe of them that ſuffer Injury, hath provided for innocent and honeſt Perſons Wedded, how they might free themſelves by Lawful Means of Divorce, from the Bondage and Iniquity of thoſe who are falſly term'd their Husbands or their Wives. This is clear out of *Deut.* 24. 1. *Malack.* 2. *Matth.* 19. 1 *Cor.* 7. And out of thoſe Principles which the Scripture every where teaches, That God changes not his Mind, diſſents not from himſelf, is no Accepter of Perſons; but allows the ſame Remedies to all Men oppreſt with the ſame Neceſſities and Infirmities; yea, requires that we ſhould uſe them. This he will eaſily perceive, who conſiders theſe things in the Spirit of the Lord.

Laſtly, it is moſt certain, that the Lord hath commanded us to obey the Civil

Civil Laws every one of his own Common-wealth, if they be not againſt the Laws of God.

CHAP. XXXVII.

For what Cauſes Divorce is permitted by the Civil Law ex L. Conſenſu Codic. de Repudiis.

IT is alſo manifeſt, that the Law of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, which begins *Conſenſu, &c.* Touching Divorce, and many other Decrees of Pious Emperours agreeing herewith, are not contrary to the Word of God. And therefore may be recall'd into uſe by any Chriſtian Prince or Common-wealth, nay ought to be with due reſpect had to every Nation. For whatſoever is equal and juſt, that in every thing is to be ſought and us'd by Chriſtians. Hence it is plain, that Divorce is granted by Divine Approbation, both to Huſbands and to Wives, if either Party can convict the other of theſe following Offences before the Magiſtrate.

If the Husband can prove the Wife to be an Adultereſs, a Witch, a Murdreſs, to have bought or ſould to Slavery any one Free-born, to have violated Sepulchers, committed Sacrilege, favour'd Thieves and Robbers, deſirous of Feaſting with ſtrangers, the Husband not knowing, or not willing, if ſhe lodge fourth without a juſt and probable Cauſe, or frequent Theaters and Sights, he forbidding, if ſhe be privy with thoſe that Plot againſt the State, or if ſhe deal falſly, or offer Blows. And if the Wife can prove her Husband guilty of any of thoſe fore-named Crimes, and frequent the Company of Lewd Women in her ſight; or if he Beat her, ſhe had the like Liberty to quit herſelf; with this difference, that the Man after Divorce might forthwith Marry again, the Woman not till a Year after, leaſt ſhe might chance to have conceiv'd.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

An Expoſition of thoſe Places wherein God declares the Nature of Holy Wedlock.

NOw to the end it may be ſeen that this agrees with the Divine Law, the firſt Inſtitution of Marriage is to be conſider'd, and thoſe Texts in which God eſtabliſht the joyning of Male and Famale, and deſcrib'd the Dutys of them both. When God had determin'd to make Woman, and give her as a Wife to Man, he ſpake thus *Gen.* 2. 18. *It is not Good for Man to be alone, I will make him a Help Meet for him. And* Adam *ſaid*, but in the Spirit of God, *v.* 23, 24. *This is now Bone of my Bone, and Fleſh of my Fleſh. Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and Mother and ſhall cleave to his Wife, and they ſhall be one Fleſh.*

To this firſt Inſtitution did Chriſt recal his own; when Anſwering the Phariſees, he condemn'd the Licence of unlawful Divorce. He taught therefore by his example, that we, according to this firſt Inſtitution, and what God hath ſpoken thereof, ought to determin what kind of Covenant Marriage is, how to be kept, and how far; and *Laſtly*, for what Cauſes to be diſſolved. To which Decrees of God, theſe alſo are to be joyn'd, which the Holy Ghoſt hath taught by his Apoſtle, that neither the Husband nor the Wife *hath Power of their own Body, but mutually each of eithers.* That *the Husband ſhall Love the Wife as his own Body, yea as Chriſt Loves his Church, and that the Wife ought to be Subject to her Husband, as the Church is to Chriſt.*

By theſe things the Nature of Holy Wedlock is certainly known; whereof if only one be wanting in both or either Party, and that either by obſtinate Malevolence, or too deep imbred Weakneſs of Mind, or *Laſtly*, through in-

curable Impotence of Body, it cannot then be ſaid that the Covenant of Matrimony holds Good between ſuch; if we mean that Covenant which God inſtituted, and call'd Marriage, and that whereof only it muſt be underſtood that our Saviour ſaid, *Thoſe whom God hath joyn'd, let no Man Separate.*

And hence is concluded, that Matrimony requires continual Cohabitation and Living together, unleſs the Calling of God be otherwiſe Evident, which Union if the Parties themſelves diſ-joyn either by Mutual Conſent, or one againſt the others Will depart, the Marriage is then brok'n. Wherein the Papiſts, as in other things oppoſe themſelves againſt God; while the ſeparate for many Cauſes from Bed and Board, and yet will have the Bond of Matrimony remain, as if this Covenant could be other then the Conjunction and Communion not only of Bed and Board, but of all other Loving and Helpful Duties. This we may ſee in theſe words; *I will make him a Help Meet for him; Bone of his Bones, and Fleſh of his Fleſh: For this Cauſe ſhall he leave Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife, and they Twain ſhall be one Fleſh.* By which words who diſcerns not, that God requires of them both ſo to live together, and to be United not only in Body but in Mind alſo, with ſuch an Affection as none may be dearer and more ardent among all the Relations of Mankind, nor of more Efficacy to the Mutual Offices of Love, and Loyalty. They muſt communicate and conſent in all things both Divine and Human, which have any Moment to Well and Happy Living. The Wife muſt Honour and Obey her Husband, as the Church Honours and Obeys Chriſt her Head. The Husband muſt Love and Cheriſh his Wife, as Chriſt his Church. Thus they muſt be to each other, if they will be True Man and Wife in the ſight of God, whom certainly the Churches ought to follow in their Judgment. Now the proper and ultimate End of Marriage is not Copulation, or Children, for then there was not true Matrimony between *Joſeph* and *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt, nor between many Holy Perſons more; but the full and proper and main End of Marriage, is the Communicating of all Duties, both Divine and Human, each to other, with utmoſt Benevolence and Affection.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Properties of a True and Chriſtian Marriage, more diſtinctly repeated.

BY which Definition we may know, That God eſteems and reckons upon theſe four neceſſary Properties to be in every true Marriage. 1. That they ſhould live together, unleſs the Calling of God require otherwiſe for a time. 2. That they ſhould love one another to the height of dearneſs, and that in the Lord, and in the Communion of true Religion. 3. That the Husband bear himſelf as the Head and Preſerver of his Wife, inſtructing her to all Godlineſs and Integrity of Life; that the Wife alſo be to her Husband a Help, according to her Place, eſpecially furthering him in the true Worſhip of God, and *next*, in all the Occaſions of Civil Life. And 4. That they defraud not each other of conjugal Benevolence, as the Apoſtle commands, 1 *Cor.* 7. Hence it follows according to the Sentence of God, which all Chriſtians ought to be rul'd by, that between thoſe who either through Obſtinacy, or helpleſs Inability, cannot or will not, perform theſe repeated Duties, between thoſe there can be no true Matrimony, nor ought they to be counted Man and Wife.

CHAP. XV.

Whether thoſe Crimes recited Chap. 37. *out of the Civil Law diſſolve Matrimony in Gods Account.*

NOw if a Husband or Wife be found guilty of any thoſe Crimes, which by the Law *Conſenſu* are made Cauſes of Divorce, tis manifeſt, that

ſuch

ſuch a Man cannot be the Head and Preſerver of his Wife, nor ſuch a Woman be a meet Help to her Husband, as the divine Law in true Wedlock requires; for theſe Faults are puniſh'd either by Death, or Deportation, or extream Infamy, which are directly oppoſite to the Covenant of Marriage. If they deſerve Death, as Adultery and the like, doubtleſs God would not that any ſhould live in Wedlock with them whom he would not have to live at all. Or if it be not Death, but the incurring of notorious Infamy, certain it is neither juſt, nor expedient, nor meet, that an honeſt Man ſhould be coupl'd with an infamous Woman, nor an honeſt Matron with an infamous Man. The wiſe *Roman* Princes had ſo great Regard to the equal Honour of either wedded Perſon, that they counted thoſe Marriages of no Force, which were made between the one of good Repute, and the other of evil Note. How much more will all honeſt Regard of Chriſtian Expedience and Comelineſs beſeem and concern thoſe who are ſet free and digniſi'd in Chriſt, then it could the *Roman* Senate, or their Sons for whom that Law was provided.

And this all godly Men will ſoon apprehend, that he who ought to be the Head and Preſerver, not only of his Wife, but alſo of his Children and Family, as Chriſt is of his Church, had need be one of honeſt Name: So likewiſe the Wife, which is to be the meet Help of an honeſt and good Man, the Mother of an honeſt Off-ſpring and Family, the Glory of the Man, ev'n as the Man is the Glory of Chriſt, ſhould not be tainted with Ignominy; as neither of them can avoid to be, having been juſtly appeach'd of thoſe forenamed Crimes; and therefore cannot be worthy to hold their Place in a Chriſtian Family: Yea they themſelves turn out themſelves, and diſſolve that holy Covenant. And they who are true Brethren and Siſters in the Lord, are no more in Bondage to ſuch Violators of Marriage.

But here the Patrons of Wickedneſs and Diſſolvers of Chriſtian Diſcipline will object, that it is the Part of Man and Wife to bear one anothers Croſs, whether in Calamity or Infamy, that they might gain each other, if not to a good Name, yet to Repentance and Amendment. But they who thus object, ſeek the Impunity of Wickedneſs, and the Favour of wicked Men, not the Duties of true Charity; which prefers public Honeſty before private Intereſt; and had rather the remedies of wholeſom Puniſhment appointed by God ſhould be in uſe, than that by remiſneſs the Licence of Evil doing ſhould encreaſe. For if they who by committing ſuch Offences, have made void the Holy Knot of Marriage, be capable of Repentance, they will be ſooner moved, when due Puniſhment is executed on them, then when it is remitted.

We muſt ever beware, leaſt, in contriving what will be beſt for the Souls Health of Delinquents, we make our ſelves wiſer and diſcreeter then God. He that religiouſly weighs his Oracles concerning Marriage, cannot doubt that they who have committed the foreſaid Tranſgreſſions, have loſt the Right of Matrimony, and are unworthy to hold their Dignity in an honeſt and Chriſtian Family.

But if any Husband or Wife ſee ſuch Signs of Repentance in their Tranſgreſſor, as that they doubt not to regain them by continuing with them, and partaking of their Miſeries and Attaintures, they may be left to their own Hopes, and their own Mind, ſaving ever the Right of Church and Commonwealth, that it receive no Scandal by the Neglect of due Severity, and their Children no Harm by this Invitation to Licence, and Want of good Education.

From all theſe Conſiderations, if they be thought on, as in the Preſence of God, and out of his Word, any one may perceive, who deſires to determine of theſe things by the Scripture, that thoſe Cauſes of lawful Divorce, which the moſt religious Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* ſet forth in the forecited Place, are according to the Law of God, and the prime Inſtitution of Marriage. *And were ſtill more and more ſtraitn'd, as the Church and State of the Empire ſtill more and more corrupted and degenerated.* Therefore pious

Princes and Common-wealths both may and ought eſtabliſh them again, if they have a Mind to reſtore the Honour, Sanctity and Religion of holy Wedlock to their People, and diſ-intangle many Conſciences from a miſerable and perilous Condition, to a chaſte and honeſt Life.

To thoſe recited Cauſes wherefore a Wife might ſend a Divorce to her Husband, *Juſtinian* added four more, *Conſtit.* 117. And four more, for which a Man might put away his Wife. Three other Cauſes were added in the *Code de Repudiis, L. Jubemus.* All which Cauſes are ſo clearly contrary to the firſt Intent of Marriage, that they plainly diſſolve it. *I ſet them not down being eaſy to be found in the Body of the Civil Law.*

It was permitted alſo by Chriſtian Emperours, that they who would divorce by mutual Conſent, might without Impediment. *Or if there were any Difficulty at all in it, the Law expreſſes the Reaſon, that it was only in Favour of the Children, ſo that if there were none, the Law of thoſe godly Emperours made no other Difficulty of a Divorce by Conſent.* Or if any were minded without Conſent of the other to Divorce, and without thoſe Cauſes which have been nam'd, the Chriſtian Emperours laid no other Puniſhment upon them, then that the Husband wrongfully divorcing his Wife ſhould give back her Dowry, and the Uſe of that which was call'd *Donatio propter Nuptias*; or if there were no Dowry nor no Donation, that he ſhould then give her the fourth Part of his Goods. The like Penalty was inflicted on the Wife departing without juſt Cauſe. But that they who were once marryed ſhould be compell'd to remain ſo ever againſt their Wills, was not exacted. Wherein thoſe pious Princes follow'd the Law of God in *Deut.* 24. 1. and his expreſs Charge by the Prophet *Malachi* to diſmiſs from him the Wife whom he hates. For God never meant in Marriage to give to Man a perpetual Torment, inſtead of a meet Help. Neither can God approve that to the Violation of this holy League (which is violated as ſoon as true Affection ceaſes and is loſt) ſhould be added Murther, which is already committed by either of them who reſolvedly hates the other, as I ſhew'd out of 1 *John* 15. *Whoſo hateth his Brother is a Murtherer.*

CHAP. XLI.

Whether the Husband or Wife deſerted may marry to another.

THE Wives Deſertion of her Husband the Chriſtian Emperours plainly decreed to be a juſt Cauſe of Divorce, whenas they granted him the Right thereof, if ſhe had but lain out one Night againſt his Will without probable Cauſe. But of the Man deſerting his Wife they did not ſo determine. Yet if we look into the Word of God, we ſhall find, that he who, though but for a Year without juſt Cauſe forſakes his Wife, and neither provides for her Maintenance, nor ſignifies his Purpoſe of Returning, and good Will towards her, whenas he may, hath forfeited his Right in her ſo forſak'n. For the Spirit of God ſpeaks plainly, that both Man and Wife hath ſuch Power over one anothers Perſon, as that they cannot deprive each other of living together, but by Conſent and for a Time.

Hither may be added, that the holy Spirit grants Deſertion to be a Cauſe of Divorce, in thoſe Anſwers giv'n to the *Corinthians* concerning a Brother or Siſter deſerted by a Miſ-believer. *If he depart, let him depart, a Brother or a Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes.* In which Words, who ſees not, that the holy Ghoſt openly pronounc'd, that the Party without Cauſe deſerted, is not bound for anothers wilful Deſertion, to abſtain from Marriage, if he have need thereof.

But ſome will ſay, that this is ſpok'n of a Misbeliever departing. But I beſeech ye, doth not he reject the Faith of Chriſt in his Deeds, who raſhly breaks the Holy Covenant of Wedloc inſtituted by God? And beſides this, the holy Spirit does not make the Misbelieving of him who Departs, but the Departing of him who Misbelieves to be the juſt Cauſe of Freedom to the Brother or Siſter.

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Since therefore it will be agreed among Chriſtians, that they who depart from Wedlock without juſt Cauſe, do not only deny the Faith of Matrimony, but of Chriſt alſo, what ever they profeſs with their Mouths, it is but Reaſon to conclude, that the Party deſerted is not bound in Caſe of cauſleſs Deſertion, but that he may lawfully ſeek another Conſort, if it be needful to him toward a pure and blameleſs Converſation.

CHAP. XLII.

That Impotence of Body, Leproſie, Madneſs, &c. are juſt Cauſes of Divorce.

OF this, becauſe it was not diſputed in the Doctrin and Diſcipline of Divorce, him that would know further I commend to the Latin Original.

CHAP. XLIII.

That to grant Divorce for all the Cauſes which have been hitherto brought, diſagrees not from the Words of Chriſt naming only the Cauſe of Adultery.

NOW we muſt ſee how theſe things can ſtand with the Words of our Saviour, who ſeems directly to forbid all Divorce except it be for Adultery. To the Underſtanding whereof, we muſt ever remember this: That in the Words of our Saviour, there can be no Contrariety. That his Words and Anſwers are not to be ſtretcht beyond the Queſtion propos'd. That our Saviour did not there purpoſe to treat of all the Cauſes, for which it might be lawful to Divorce and Marry again; *for then that in the Corinthians of Marrying again without guilt of Adultery could not be added.* That it is not good for that Man to be alone who hath not the ſpecial Gift from above. That it is good for every ſuch one to be Marryed, that he may ſhun Fornication.

With regard to theſe Principles, let us ſee what our Lord anſwered to the tempting *Phariſees* about Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, and how far his Anſwer doth extend.

Firſt, No Man who is not very contentious, will deny, that the *Phariſees* askt our Lord, whether it were lawful to put away ſuch a Wife, as was truly, and according to Gods Law, to be counted a Wife; that is, ſuch a one as would dwell with her Husband, and both would and could perform the neceſſary Duties of Wedlock tolerably. But ſhe who will not dwell with her Husband, is not put away by him, but goes of her ſelf: And ſhe who denies to be a meet help, or to be ſo, hath made her ſelf unfit by open Miſdemeanours, or through incurable Impotencies cannot be able, is not by the Law of God to be eſteem'd a Wife: as hath been ſhewn both from the firſt Inſtitution, and other Places of Scripture. Neither certainly would the *Phariſees* propound a Queſtion concerning ſuch an unconjugal Wife; *for their Depravation of the Law had brought them to that paſs, as to think a Man had right to put away his Wife for any Cauſe, though never ſo ſlight.* Since therefore it is manifeſt that Chriſt anſwer'd the *Phariſees* concerning a fit and meet Wife according to the Law of God, whom he forbid to Divorce for any Cauſe but Fornication. Who ſees not that it is a wickedneſs, ſo to wreſt and extend that Anſwer of his, as if it forbad to Divorce her who hath already forſak'n, or hath loſt the place and dignity of a Wife by deſerved Infamy, *or hath undertaken to be that which ſhe hath not natural Ability to be.*

This Truth is ſo powerful that it hath mov'd the Papiſts to grant their kind of Divorce for other Cauſes beſides Adultery, as for ill Uſage, and the not performing of conjugal Duty; and to ſeparate from bed and board for theſe Cauſes, which is as much Divorce, as they grant for Adultery.

But ſome perhaps will object, that though it be yielded, that our Lord granted Divorce not only for Adultery, yet it is not certain that he permitted

mitted Marriage after Divorce, unleſs for that only Cauſe. I Anſwer, *Firſt*, That the Sentence of Divorce, and ſecond Marriage, is one and the ſame. So that when the right of Divorce is evinc'd to belong not only to the Cauſe of Fornication, the Power of ſecond Marriage is alſo prov'd to be not limitted to that Cauſe only; and that moſt evidently, when as the holy Ghoſt, 1 *Cor.* 7. ſo frees the deſerted Party from Bondage, as that he may not only ſend a juſt Divorce in caſe of Deſertion, but may ſeek another Marriage.

Laſtly, Seeing God will not, that any ſhould live in danger of Fornication, and utter Ruin for the default of another, and hath commanded the Husband to ſend away with a Bill of Divorce, her, whom he could not love, it is impoſſible, that the charge of Adultery ſhould belong to him, who for lawful Cauſes, Divorces and Marries, or to her, who Marries after ſhe hath been unjuſtly rejected, or to him who receives her without all Fraud to the former Wedlock. For this were a horrid Blaſphemy againſt God, ſo to interpret his Words, as to make him diſſent from himſelf; for who ſees not a flat Contradiction in this, to enthral blameleſs Men and Women to Miſeries and Injuries, under a falſe and ſoothing Title of Marriage, and yet to declare by his Apoſtle, that a Brother or Siſter is not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes. No leſs do theſe two things conflict with themſelves, to enforce the Innocent and Faultleſs to endure the Pain and Miſery of anothers Perverſneſs, or elſe to live in unavoidable Temptation; and to affirm elſe where that he lays on no Man the Burthen of another Mans Sin, nor doth conſtrain any Man to the endangering of his Soul.

CHAP. XLIV.

That to thoſe alſo who are juſtly Divorc'd, ſecond Marriage ought to be permitted.

This although it be well prov'd, yet becauſe it concerns only the Offender, I leave him to ſearch out his own Charter himſelf in the Author.

CHAP. XLV.

That ſome Perſons are ſo ordain'd to Marriage, as that they cannot obtain the Gift of Continence, no not by earneſt Prayer, and that therein every one is to be left to his own Judgment, and Conſcience, and not to have a burthen laid upon him by any other.

CHAP. XLVI.

The words of the Apoſtle concerning the praiſe of ſingle Life unfolded.

THeſe two Chapters not ſo immediatly debating the Right of Divorce, I choſe rather not to inſert.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Concluſion of this Treatiſe.

THeſe things, moſt renowned King, I have brought together both to explain for what Cauſes the unhappy, but ſometimes moſt neceſſary help of Divorce ought to be granted, according to Gods Word, by Princes and Rulers: As alſo to explain how the Words of Chriſt do conſent with ſuch a Grant. I have been large indeed both in handling thoſe Oracles of God, and in laying down thoſe certain Principles, which he who will know what the Mind of God is in this matter, muſt ever think on, and remember. But if we conſider what Miſt and Obſcurity hath been powr'd out by Antichriſt upon this Queſtion, and how deep this pernicious Contempt of Wedlock, and Admiration of ſingle Life, ev'n in thoſe who are not call'd thereto, hath ſunk into many Mens Perſuaſions, I fear leaſt all that hath been ſaid, be hardly enough to perſuade ſuch that they would ceaſe at length to make themſelves Wiſer and Holier then God himſelf, in being ſo ſevere to grant lawful Marriage, and ſo eaſie to connive at all,

not

not only Whoredoms, but Deflowrings, and Adulteries. When as among the People of God, no Whoredom was to be tolerated.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to destroy the Works of Satan, send down his Spirit upon all Christians, and principally upon Christian Governours both in Church and Common-wealth (for of the clear Judgment of your Royal Majesty I nothing doubt, revolving the Scripture so often as ye do) that they may acknowledge how much they provoke the Anger of God against us, when as all kind of Unchastity is tolerated, Fornications and Adulteries winkt at: But holy and honourable Wedlock is oft withheld by the meer Persuasion of Antichrist, from such as without this Remedy, cannot preserve themselves from Damnation! For none who hath but a spark of honesty will deny, that Princes and States ought to use diligence toward the maintaining of pure and honest Life among all Men, without which all Justice, all Fear of God, and true Religion decays.

And who knows not, that Chastity and Pureness of Life, can never be restor'd, or continu'd in the Common-wealth, unless it be first Establisht in Private-houses, from whence the whole Breed of Men is to come forth. To effect this, no Wise Man can doubt, that it is necessary for Princes and Magistrates first with Severity to punish Whoredom and Adultery; next to see, that Marriages be lawfully contracted, and in the Lord, then that they be faithfuly kept; and *lastly*, when that unhappiness urges, that they be lawfully dissolv'd, and other Marriage granted, according as the Law of God and of Nature, and the Constitutions of Pious Princes have decreed; as I have shewn both by evident Authorities of Scripture, together with the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, and other Testimonies. Only the Lord grant, that we may learn to prefer his ever just and saving Word, before the Comments of Antichrist, too deeply rooted in many, and the False and Blasphemous Exposition of our Saviours Words. *Amen.*

A POST-SCRIPT.

THus far Martin Bucer, *whom where I might without Injury to either part of the cause I deny not to have Epitomiz'd: In the rest, observing a well warranted Rule, not to give an Inventory of so many Words, but to weigh their Force, I could have added that Eloquent and right Christian Discourse, written by* Erasmus *on this Argument, not disagreeing in effect from* Bucer. *But this, I hope, will be enough to excuse me with the meer* Englishman, *to be no forger of new and loose Opinions. Others may read him in his own Phrase on the first to the* Corinthians, *and ease me who never could delight in long Citations, much less in whole Traductions; whether it be natural Disposition or Education in me, or that my Mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a Translator. There be others also whom I could reckon up, of no mean Account in the Church (and* Peter Martyr *among the first) who are more then half our own in this Controversie. But this is a Providence not to be slighted, that as* Bucer *wrote this Tractate of Divorce in* England *and for* England, *so* Erasmus *professes he begun here among us the same Subject, especially out of Compassion, for the need he saw this Nation had of some charitable Redresi herein; and seriously exhorts others to use their best Industry in the clearing of this Point, wherein Custom hath a greater sway then Verity. That therefore which came into the mind of these two admir'd Strangers to do for* England, *and in a touch of highest Prudence which they took to be not yet recover'd from Monastick Superstition, if I a Native am found to have done for mine own Country, altogether sutably and conformly to their so large and clear understanding, yet without the least help of theirs, I suppose that hence forward among conscionable and judicious Persons, it will no more be thought to my Discredit, or at all to this Nations Dishonour. And if these their Books, the one shall be printed often, with best allowance in most Religious Cities, the other with expres Authority of* Leo *the Tenth a Pope, shall for the propagating of Truth, be publisht and republisht, though against the receiv'd Opinion of that Church, and mine containing by the same Thing, shall in a time of Reformation, a time of free Speaking, free Writing, not find a permission to the Press, I refer me to wisest Men, whether Truth be suffer'd to be Truth, or Liberty to be Liberty now among us, and be not again in danger of new Fetters and Captivity, after all our Hopes and Labours lost, and whether Learning be not (which our Enemies too prophetically fear'd) in the way to be trodd n down again by Ignorance. Whereof while time is, out of the Faith owing to God and my Country, I bid this Kingdom beware: and doubt not but God who hath dignify'd this Parliament already to so many glorious Decrees, will also give them (which is a singular Blessing) to inform themselves rightly in the midst of an unprincipl'd Age; and to prevent this working Mystery of Ignorance and Ecclesiastical Thraldom, which under new Shapes and Disguises begins afresh to grow upon us.*

The END.

OF REFORMATION, TOUCHING Church Diſcipline, IN ENGLAND:

And the Cauſes that hitherto have hinder'd it.

In Two Books.

Written to a Friend.

By the Author, *JOHN MILTON.*

SIR,

AMIDST thoſe deep and retired Thoughts, which with every Man Chriſtianly inſtructed, ought to be moſt frequent of *God*, and of his miraculous *Ways* and *Works*, amongſt Men, and of our *Religion* and *Worſhip*, to be perform'd to him: After the Story of our Saviour *Chriſt*, ſuffering to the loweſt Bent of Weakneſs, in the *Fleſh*, and preſently triumphing to the higheſt Pitch of *Glory*, in the *Spirit*, which drew up his Body alſo, till we in both be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdom: I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole Paſſion of Pity on the one ſide, and Joy on the other, then to conſider firſt, the foul and ſudden Corruption, and then after many a tedious Age, the long deferr'd, but much more wonderful and happy Reformation of the *Church* in theſe latter Days. Sad it is to think how that Doctrin of the *Goſpel*, planted by Teachers divinely inſpired, and by them winnow'd, and ſifted from the Chaff of overdated Ceremonies, and refin'd to ſuch a ſpiritual Height, and Temper of Purity, and Knowledge of the Creator, that the Body, with all the Circumſtances of Time and Place, were purifi'd by the Affections of the regenerate Soul, and nothing left impure, but Sin; *Faith* needing not the weak and fallible Office of the Senſes, to be either the Uſhers or Interpreters of heavenly Myſteries, ſave where our Lord himſelf

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in his Sacraments ordain'd; that ſuch a Doctrin ſhould through the Groſneſs and Blindneſs of her Profeſſors, and the Fraud of deceivable Traditions, drag ſo downwards, as to backſlide one way into the *Jewiſh* Beggary of old-caſt Rudiments, and to ſtumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganiſm of ſenſual Idolatry, attributing Purity or Impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward Acts of the *Spirit* to the outward, and cuſtomary Eye-ſervice of the Body, as if they could make *God* earthly and fleſhly, becauſe they could not make themſelves *heavenly* and *ſpiritual*: They began to draw down all the divine Intercourſe betwixt God and the Soul, yea, the very Shape of God himſelf into an exterior and bodily Form, urgently pretending a Neceſſity and Obligement of joyning the Body in a formal Reverence, and *Worſhip* circumſcrib'd, they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they ſprinkl'd it, they bedeck'd it, not in Robes of pure Innocency, but of pure Linnen, with other deformed and fantaſtic Dreſſes in Palls and Mitres, Gold and Gewgaws fetcht from *Aaron*'s old Wardrobe or the *Flamin*'s *Veſtry*: Then was the *Prieſt* ſet to *con his Motions* and his *Poſtures*, his *Liturgies* and his *Lurries*, till the Soul by this Means of over-bodying her ſelf, given up juſtly to fleſhly Delights, bated her Wing apace downward: And finding the Eaſe ſhe had from her viſible and ſenſuous Colleague the Body in Performance of *Religious* Duties, her Pinions now broken and flagging, ſhifted off from her ſelf the Labour of high ſoaring any more, forgot her heavenly Flight, and left the dull and droyling Carcaſe to plod in the old Road, and drudging Trade of outward Conformity. And here out of Queſtion from her perverſe Conceiting of *God* and holy things, ſhe had fallen to believe no *God* at all, had not Cuſtom and the Worm of Conſcience nipt her Incredulity hence to all the Duties of Evangelical Grace, inſtead of the adoptive and cheerful Boldneſs which our new Alliance with *God* requires, came ſervile and thral-like Fear: For in very Deed, the ſuperſtitious Man by his good Will is an *Atheiſt*; but being ſcar'd from thence by the Pangs and Gripes of a boiling Conſcience, all in a Pudder ſhuffles up to himſelf ſuch a *God*, and ſuch a *Worſhip* as is moſt agreeable to remedy his Fear, which Fear of his, as alſo is his Hope, fixt only upon the *Fleſh*, renders likewiſe the whole Faculty of his Apprehenſion, carnal, and all the inward Acts of *Worſhip* iſſuing from the native Strength of the SOUL, run out laviſhly to the upper Skin, and there harden into a Cruſt of Formality. Hence Men came to ſcan the *Scriptures*, by the Letter, and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnify'd the external Signs more then the quickning Power of the *Spirit*, and yet looking on them through their own Guiltineſs with a ſervile Fear, and finding as little Comfort, or rather Terror from them again, they knew not how to hide their ſlaviſh Approach to *God*'s Beheſts by them not underſtood, nor worthily receiv'd, but by cloaking their ſervile Crouching to all *Religious* Preſentments, ſometimes Lawful, ſometimes Idolatrous, under the Name of *Humility*, and terming the pye-bald Frippery and Oſtentation of Ceremony's Decency.

Then was Baptiſm chang'd into a kind of Exorciſm, and Water ſanctify'd by *Chriſt*'s Inſtitute, thought little enough to waſh off the Original Spot without the Scratch, or croſs Impreſſion of a Prieſts Fore-Finger: And that Feaſt of free Grace and Adoption, to which *Chriſt* invited his Diſciples to ſit as Brethren, and Co-heirs of the happy Covenant, which at that Table was to be Seal'd to them, even that Feaſt of Love and Heavenly admitted Fellowſhip, the Seal of filial Grace became the Subject of Horror, and glouting Adoration pageanted about, like a dreadful Idol; which ſometimes deceives well meaning Men, and beguils them of their Reward, by their voluntary Humility, which indeed, is Fleſhly Pride, preferring a fooliſh Sacrifice, and the Rudiments of the World, as St. *Paul* to the *Coloſians* explaineth, before a ſavory Obedience to *Chriſt*'s Example. Such was *Peters* unſeaſonable Humility, as then his Knowledge was ſmall, when *Chriſt* came

to waſh his Feet; who at an impertinent time would needs ſtrain Courteſie with his Maſter, and falling troubleſomly upon the lowly, alwiſe, and unexaminable Intention of *Chriſt* in what he went with reſolution to do, ſo provok'd by his Interruption the meek *Lord*, that he threatned to exclude him from his Heavenly Portion, unleſs he could be content to be leſs Arrogant, and ſtiff Neckt in his Humility.

But to dwell no longer in Characterizing the *Depravities* of the *Church*, and how they ſprung, and how they took Increaſe; when I recal to mind at laſt, after ſo many dark Ages, wherein the huge overſhadowing Train of *Error* had almoſt ſwept all the Stars out of the Firmament of the *Church*; how the bright and bliſsful *Reformation* (by Divine Power) ſtrook through the black and ſettled Night of *Ignorance* and *Antichriſtian Tyranny*, me thinks a Soveraign and reviving Joy muſt needs ruſh into the boſome of him that reads or hears; and the ſweet Odour of the returning *Goſpel* imbath his Soul with the Fragrancy of Heaven. Then was the Sacred BIBLE ſought out of the duſty Corners where prophane Falſhood and Neglect had thrown it, the *Schools* opened, *Divine* and *Human Learning* rak'd out of the *Embers* of *forgotten Tongues*, the *Princes* and *Cities* trooping apace to the new Erected Banner of *Salvation*; the *Martyrs*, with the unreſiſtible *Might* of *Weakneſs*, ſhaking the *Powers* of *Darkneſs*, and ſcorning the *fiery Rage* of the old *Red Dragon*.

The pleaſing Purſuit of theſe Thoughts hath oft-times led me into a ſerious Queſtion and Debatement with my ſelf, how it ſhould come to paſs that *England* having had this *Grace* and *Honour* from GOD to be the firſt that ſhould ſet up a Standard for the Recovery of *loſt Truth*, and blow the firſt *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lamp of *ſaving Light* to all Chriſtendom, ſhould now be laſt, and moſt unſettl'd in the Enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof we taught the way to others; although indeed our *Wickleſs* Preaching, at which all the ſucceeding *Reformers* more effectually lighted their *Tapers*, was to his Country-Men but a ſhort Blaze ſoon dampt and ſtiff'd by the *Pope*, and *Prelates* for Six or Seven Kings Reigns; yet methinks the *Precedency* which GOD gave this *Iſland*, to be the firſt *Reſtorer* of *Buried Truth*, ſhould have been followed with more Happy Succeſs, and ſooner attain'd Perfection; in which, as yet we are amongſt the laſt: For, albeit in *Purity* of *Doctrin* we agree with our Brethren; yet in the *Execution* and *Applying* of *Doctrine* home, and laying the *Salve* to the very *Orifice* of the *Wound*; yea tenting and ſearching to the *Core*, without which *Pulpit Preaching* is but ſhooting at Rovers; in this we are no better then a *Schiſm*, from all the *Reformation*, and a ſore Scandal to them; for while we hold *Ordination* to belong only to *Biſhops*, as our *Prelates* do, we muſt of neceſſity hold alſo their *Miniſters* to be no *Miniſters*, and ſhortly after their *Church* to be no *Church*. Not to ſpeak of thoſe Senceleſs *Ceremonies* which we only retain, as a dangerous Earneſt of ſliding back to *Rome*, and ſerving meerly, either as a Miſt to cover Nakedneſs where true *Grace* is extinguiſht; or as an Enterlude to ſet out the *Pomp* of *Prelatiſm*. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore and the pains, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief Cauſes have been, that have ſtill hindred our *Uniform Conſent* to the reſt of the *Churches* abroad (at this time eſpecially) when the *Kingdom* is in a good *Propenſity* thereto; and all Men in Prayers, in Hopes, or in Diſputes, either for or againſt it.

Yet will I not inſiſt on that which may ſeem to be the Cauſe on GOD's Part; as his Judgment on our Sins, the Tryal of his own, the unmasking of Hypocrites; nor ſhall I ſtay to ſpeak of the contiuual Eargerneſs and extream Diligence of the *Pope* and *Papiſts* to ſtop the Furtherance of *Reformation*, which know they have no hold or hope of *England* their loſt Darling,

ling, longer then the *Government* of *Biſhops* bolſters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be ſeen by the Book of *Santa Clara* the Popiſh *Prieſt* in Defence of *Biſhops*, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own *Prelates* out of an ominous Fear had writ on the ſame *Argument*; as if they had joyn'd their Forces like good Confederates to ſupport one falling *Babel*.

But I ſhall chiefly indeavour to declare thoſe Cauſes that hinder the forwarding of *true Diſcipline*, which are among our ſelves. Orderly Proceeding will divide our Inquiry into our *Fore-Fathers Days*, and into *our Times*. HENRY the 8. was the firſt that rent this *Kingdom* from the *Popes* Subjection totally; but his Quarrel being more about *Supremacy*, then other Faultineſs in *Religion* that he regarded, it is no Marvel if he ſtuck where he did. The next Default was in the *Biſhops*, who though they had renounc'd the *Pope*, they ſtill hug'd the *Popedom*, and ſhar'd the Authority among themſelves, by their Six Bloody Articles perſecuting the *Proteſtants* no ſlacker then the *Pope* would have done. And doubtleſs, when ever the *Pope* ſhall fall, if his Ruin be not like the ſudden Down-come of a Tower, the *Biſhops*, when they ſee him tottering, will leave him, and fall to ſcrambling, catch who may, he a Patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand; as the *French* Cardinal of late, and the *See* of *Canterbury* hath plainly effected.

In *EDWARD* the 6th. Days, why a Compleat *Reform* was not effected, to any conſiderate Man may appear. *Firſt*, he no ſooner entred into his Kingdom, but into a War with *Scotland*; from whence the Protector returning with Victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the *6 Articles*, and throw the Images out of *Churches*, but Rebellions on all ſides ſtirr'd up by obdurate Papiſts, and other Tumults with a plain War in *Norfolk*, holding tack againſt two of the Kings *Generals*, made them of force content themſelves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd Ambitious Contentions among the *Peers*, which ceas'd not but with the Protectors Death, who was the moſt zealous in this Point: And then *Northumberland* was he that could do moſt in *England*, who little minding *Religion*, as his Apoſtacy well ſhew'd at his Death, bent all his Wit how to bring the Right of the *Crown* into his own Line. And for the *Biſhops*, they were ſo far from any ſuch worthy Attempts, as that they ſuffer'd themſelves to be the common Stales to countenance with their proſtituted Gravities every Politick Fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the Potent *Statiſts* pleas'd to employ them. Never do we read, that they made uſe of their Authority and high Place of Acceſs, to bring the jarring Nobility to *Chriſtian Peace*, or to withſtand their Diſloyal Projects; but if a Toleration for *Maſs* were to be beg'd of the King for his Siſter MARY, leaſt CHARLES the Fifth ſhould be angry; who but the grave Prelates *Cranmer* and *Ridley* muſt be ſent to extort it from the young King? But out of the Mouth of that Godly and Royal *Child*, Chriſt himſelf return'd ſuch an awful Repulſe to thoſe halting and time-ſerving *Prelates*, that after much bold Importunity, they went their way not without Shame and Tears.

Nor was this the firſt time, that they diſcover'd to be Followers of this World; for when the Protectors Brother, Lord *Sudley*, the Admiral, through private Malice and Male-engine was to loſe his Life, no Man could be found fitter then Biſhop *Latimer* (like another Doctor *Shaw*) to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accuſations laid to his Charge, thereby to defame him with the People, who elſe was thought would take ill the Innocent Mans Death, unleſs the Reverend *Biſhop* could warrant them there was no foul Play. What could be more impious than to debar the Children of the King from their Right to the Crown? To comply with the ambitious Uſurpation of a Traytor; and to make void the laſt Will of HENRY the 8th. to which the Breakers had ſworn Obſervance? Yet Biſhop *Cranmer*, one of the Execu-

cutors, and the other Biſhops none refuſing (leaſt they ſhould reſiſt the Duke of *Northumberland*) could find in their Conſciences to ſet their Hands to the diſinabling and defeating not only of Princeſs *MART* the Papiſt, but of *ELIZABETH* the Proteſtant, and (by the Biſhops Judgment) the Lawful Iſſue of King *HENRY*.

Who then can think (though theſe *Prelates* had ſought a further *Reformation*) that the leaſt wry Face of a *Politician* would not have huſht them. But it will be ſaid, Theſe Men were *Martyrs*: What then? Though every true Chriſtian will be a *Martyr* when he is called to it; not preſently does it follow that every one ſuffering for Religion, is without Exception. St. *Paul* writes, that *a Man may give his Body to be burnt* (meaning for Religion,) *and yet not have Charity*: He is not therefore above all Poſſibility of Erring, becauſe he burns for ſome Points of Truth.

Witneſs the *Arians* and *Pelagians*, which were ſlain by the Heathen for *Chriſt*'s ſake; yet we take both theſe for no true Friends of *Chriſt*. If the *Martyrs* (ſaith *Cyprian* in his 30. Epiſtle) decree one Thing, and the *Goſpel* another, either the *Martyrs* muſt loſe their Crown by not obſerving the *Goſpel*, for which they are *Martyrs*; or the Majeſty of the *Goſpel* muſt be broken and ly flat, if it can be over-topt by the *Novelty* of any other *Decree*.

And here withal, I Invoke the *Immortal* DEITY *Revealer*, and *Judge* of Secrets, That whereever I have in this BOOK plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the Faults and Blemiſhes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Chriſtian *Emperors*; or have otherwiſe inveighed againſt Error and Superſtition with vehement Expreſſions; I have done it, neither out of Malice, nor Liſt to ſpeak Evil, nor any vain Glory; but of meer Neceſſity, to vindicate the ſpotleſs *Truth* from an Ignominious Bondage, whoſe native Worth, is now become of ſuch a low eſteem, that ſhe is like to find ſmall Credit with us for what ſhe can ſay, unleſs ſhe can bring a Ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridly*; or prove her ſelf a Retainer to *Conſtantine*, and wear his *Badg*. More tolerable it were for the *Church* of GOD that all theſe Names were utterly Aboliſht, like the *Brazen Serpent*; then that Mens fond Opinion ſhould thus idolize them, and the Heavenly *Truth* be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatſoever the *Biſhops* were, it ſeems they themſelves were unſatisfy'd in Matters of *Religion*, as they then ſtood, by that Commiſſion granted to eight *Biſhops*, eight other *Divines*, eight *Civilians*, eight *Common Lawyers*, to frame *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions*; which no wonder if it came to nothing; for (as *Hayward* relates) both their Profeſſions and their Ends were different. *Laſtly*, we all know by Examples, that exact *Reformation* is not perfected at the firſt puſh, and thoſe unweildy Times of *Edward* VI. may hold ſome Plea by this Excuſe: Now let any reaſonable Man judge, whether that *Kings Reign*, be a fit Time from whence to Pattern out the Conſtitution of a *Church Diſcipline*, much leſs that it ſhould yeild Occaſion, from whence to foſter and eſtabliſh the Continuance of Imperfection, with the commendatory Subſcriptions of *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs*, to Intitle and Ingage a glorious *Name* to a groſs *Corruption*. It was not *Epiſcopacy*, that wrought in them the Heavenly Fortitude of *Martyrdom*; as little is it that *Martyrdom* can make good *Epiſcopacy*: But it was *Epiſcopacy* that led the good and holy Men through the Temptation of the *Enemy*, and the Snare of this preſent World, to many blame-worthy and opprobrious *Actions*. And it is ſtill *Epiſcopacy*, that before all our Eyes worſens and ſlugs the moſt Learned, and ſeeming Religious of our *Miniſters*, who no ſooner advanc'd to it, but like a ſeething Pot ſet to coole, ſenſibly exhale and reak out the greateſt part of that Zeal, and thoſe Gifts which were formerly in them, ſetling in a skinny Congealment of

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eaſe and ſloth at the top: And if they keep their Learning by ſome potent Sway of Nature, 'tis a rare chance; but their *Devotion* moſt commonly comes to that queazy Temper of luke-warmneſs, that gives a Vomit to GOD himſelf.

But what do we ſuffer miſ-ſhapen and enormous *Prelatiſm*, as we do, thus to blanch and varniſh her Deformities with the fair Colours, as before of *Martyrdom*, ſo now of *Epiſcopacy*? They are not *Biſhops*, GOD and all *good Men* know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late Confuſion and Violence; but a Tyrannical Crew, and Corporation of Impoſtors, that have blinded and abus'd the World ſo long under that Name. He that enabl'd with *Gifts* from *God*, and the Lawful and Primitive Choice of the *Church*, aſſembl'd in convenient Number, faithfully from that time forward, feeds his Parochial *Flock*, has his Coequal and Compresbyterial Power, to ordain *Miniſters* and *Deacons* by publick *Prayer*, and *Vote* of *Chriſt*'s Congregation in like ſort as he himſelf was ordain'd, and is a true *Apoſtolick Biſhop*. But when he ſteps up into the Chair of *Pontifical* Pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary Houſe, for a miſ-govern'd and haughty *Pallace*, *ſpiritual Dignity* for carnal *Precedence*, and *ſecular high Office and Employment*, for the *high Negotiations* of his Heavenly *Embaſſage*, then he *Degrades*, then he *un-Biſhops* himſelf; he that makes him *Biſhop* makes him no *Biſhop*. No marvel therefore if St. *Martin* complain'd to *Sulpitius Severus*, that ſince he was *Biſhop*, he felt inwardly a ſenſible decay of thoſe *Vertues* and *Graces*, that *God* had given him in great Meaſure before: Although the ſame *Sulpitius* writ, that he was nothing tainted, or alter'd in his *Habit*, *Diet*, or perſonal *Demeanour* from that ſimple Plainneſs, to which he firſt betook himſelf. It was not therefore that Thing alone, which *God* took Diſpleaſure at in the *Biſhops* of thoſe Times, but rather an univerſal Rottenneſs, and Gangrene in the whole *Function*.

From hence then I paſs to Queen *ELIZABETH*, the next *Proteſtant* Prince, in whoſe Days, why *Religion* attain'd not a perfect Reducement in the beginning of her Reign, I ſuppoſe the hindring Cauſes will be found to be Common, with ſome formerly alledg'd for King *EDWARD* VI. the greenneſs of the Times, the weak Eſtate which Queeen *MARY* left the Realm in, the great Places and Offices executed by *Papiſts*, the *Judges*, the *Lawyers*, the *Juſtices* of Peace for the moſt Part *Popiſh*, the *Biſhops* firm to *Rome*, from whence was to be expected the furious flaſhing of Excommunications, and abſolving the *People* from their Obedience. Next her private *Councellors*, whoever they were, perſwaded her (as *Cambden* writes) that the altering of *Eccleſiaſtical Policy* would move Sedition. Then was the *Liturgy* given to a number of Moderate *Divines*, and Sir *Tho. Smith* a Stateſman to be Purg'd, and Phyſick't: And ſurely they were Moderate *Divines* indeed, neither hot nor cold; and *Grindal* the beſt of them, afterwards *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* loſt Favour in the Court, and I think was diſcharg'd the Government of his *See* for favouring the Miniſters, though *Cambden* ſeem willing to find another Cauſe: Therefore about her ſecond Year in a *Parliament* of Men and Minds, ſome ſcarce well grounded, others belching, the ſour Crudities of yeſterdays *Popery*, thoſe Conſtitutions of *EDWARD* VI. which as you heard before, no way ſatisfy'd the Men that made them, are now Eſtabliſh'd for beſt, and not to be mended. From that Time follow'd nothing but Impriſonments, Troubles, Diſgraces on all thoſe that found Fault with the *Decrees* of the Convocation; and ſtreight were they branded with the Name of *Puritans*. As for the Queen her ſelf, ſhe was made believe that by putting down *Biſhops*, her *Prerogative* would be Infring'd, of which ſhall be ſpoken anon, as the courſe of Method brings it in. And why the *Prelates* labour'd it ſhould be ſo thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle,

bernacle, they ſate under a ſpreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a fair Inheritance. And theſe perhaps were the chief Impeachments of a more ſound Rectifying the *Church* in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which, becauſe they concern us more nearly, and our own Eyes and Ears can give us the ampler Scope to judge, will require a more exact Search; and to effect this the ſpeedier, I ſhall diſtinguiſh ſuch as I eſteem to be the Hinderers of *Reformation* into 3 Sorts, *Antiquitarians* (for ſo I had rather call them then *Antiquaries*, whoſe Labours are uſeful and laudable) 2. *Libertines*. 3. *Politicians*.

To the Votariſts of Antiquity I ſhall think to have fully anſwer'd, if I ſhall be able to prove out of Antiquity, *Firſt*, that if they will conform our Biſhops to the purer Times, they muſt mew their Feathers and their Pounces, and make but curtail'd Biſhops of them; and we know they hate to be dock'd and clip'd as much as to be put down out-right. *Secondly*, that thoſe purer Times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted ſoon after. *Thirdly*, that the beſt of thoſe that then wrote, diſclaim that any Man ſhould repoſe on them, and ſend all to the Scriptures.

Firſt therefore, If thoſe that over-affect Antiquity, will follow the Square thereof, their Biſhops muſt be elected by the Hands of the whole *Church*. The Ancienteſt of the extant Fathers, *Ignatius*, writing to the *Philadelphians*, ſaith, *That it belongs to them as to the Church of God to chooſe a Biſhop*. Let no Man cavil, but take the Church of *God* as meaning the whole Conſiſtence of Orders and Members, as St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles expreſs, and this likewiſe being read over: Beſides this, it is there to be mark'd, that thoſe *Philadelphians* are exhorted to chooſe a Biſhop of *Antioch*. Whence it ſeems by the way, that there was not that wary Limitation of Dioceſſes in thoſe Times, which is confirm'd even by a faſt Friend of Epiſcopacy, *Cambden*, who cannot but love Biſhops, as well as old Coins, and his much lamented Monaſteries for Antiquities ſake. He writes in his Deſcription of *Scotland*, *That over all the World Biſhops had no certain Dioceſs, till Pope* Dionyſius *about the Year* 268. *did cut them out, and that the Biſhops of* Scotland *executed their Function in what Place ſoever they came indifferently, and without Diſtinction till King* Malcolm *the Third, about the Year* 1070. whence may be gueſt what their Function was: Was it to go about circl'd with a Band of rooking Officials, with Cloak-bags full of Citations, and Proceſſes to be ſerv'd by a Corporalty of Griffon-like Promoters and Apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his Bank, to inveigle in all the Money of the Country? No, certainly it would not have been permitted him to exerciſe any ſuch Function indifferently wherever he came. And verily ſome ſuch Matter it was as Want of a fat Dioceſs that kept our *Britain* Biſhops ſo poor in the Primitive Times, that being call'd to the Council of *Ariminum* in the Year 359. they had not wherewithal to defray the Charges of their Journey, but were fed, and lodg'd upon the Emperours Coſt, which muſt needs be no accidental, but uſual Poverty in them, for the Author *Sulp. Severus* in his 2 Book of Church-Hiſtory praiſes them, and avouches it praiſe-worthy in a Biſhop, to be ſo poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient Election of Biſhops, that it could not lawfully be without the Conſent of the People, is ſo expreſs in *Cyprian*, and ſo often to be met with, that to cite each Place at large, were to tranſlate a good Part of the Volume, therefore touching the chief Paſſages, I refer the reſt to whom ſo liſt peruſe the Author himſelf: In the 24. *Epiſt. If a Biſhop*, ſaith he, *be once made and allow'd by the Teſtimony and Judgment of his Collegues and the People, no other can be made*. In the 55. *When a Biſhop is made by the Suffrage of all the People in Peace*. In the 68. mark but what he ſays, *The People chiefly hath Power, either of chooſing worthy ones, or refuſing unworthy* : This he there proves by

by Authorities out of the Old and New Teſtament, and with ſolid Reaſons; theſe were his Antiquities.

This Voice of the People to be had ever in Epiſcopal Elections was ſo well known, before *Cyprians* time, even to thoſe that were without the Church, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* deſir'd to have his Governours of Provinces choſen in the ſame manner, as *Lampridius* can tell: So little thought it he offenſive to Monarchy; and if ſingle Authorities perſwade not, hearken what the whole general Councel of *Nicæa* the firſt and famouſeſt of all the reſt determines, writing a Synodal *Epiſt.* to the African Churches, to warn them of Arianiſm, it exhorts them to chooſe Orthodox Biſhops in the place of the dead ſo they be worthy, and the People choſe them, whereby they ſeem to make the Peoples Aſſent ſo neceſſary; that Merit without their free choice were not ſufficient to make a Biſhop. What would ye ſay now, grave Fathers, if you ſhould wake and ſee unworthy Biſhops; or rather no Biſhops, but *Egyptian* Task-makers of Ceremonies thruſt purpoſely upon the groaning Church to the Affliction, and Vexation of Gods People? It was not of old, that a Conſpiracy of Biſhops could fruſtrate and fob off the Right of the People, for we may read how S. *Martin* ſoon after *Conſtantine* was made Biſhop of *Turon* in *France* by the Peoples Conſent from all places thereabout maugre all the oppoſition that the Biſhops could make. Thus went Matters of the Church almoſt 400. Years after *Chriſt*, and very probably far lower, for *Nicephorus Phocas*, the *Greek* Emperour, whoſe Reign fell near the 1000. Year of our Lord, having done many things Tyrannically, is ſaid by *Cedrenus* to have done nothing more grievous and diſpleaſing to the People, then to have inacted, that no Biſhop ſhould be choſen without his Will; ſo long did this Right remain to the People in the midſt of other palpable Corruptions: Now for Epiſcopal Dignity, what it was, ſee out of *Ignatius*, who in his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Trallis* confeſſeth, *that the Presbyters are his Fellow Counſellers, and Fellow Benchers.* And *Cyprian* in many Places, as in the 6. 41. 52. *Epiſt.* ſpeaking of *Presbyters*, calls them his *Compresbyters*, as if he deem'd himſelf no other, whenas by the ſame Place it appears he was a Biſhop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his Meekneſs: Yea, but the *Presbyters* and Deacons writing to him think they do him honour enough when they Phraſe him no higher then Brother *Cyprian*, and dear *Cyprian* in the 26. *Epiſt.* For their Authority 'tis evident not to have been ſingle, but depending on the Counſel of the *Presbyters*, as from *Ignatius* was 'ere while alledg'd; and the ſame *Cyprian* acknowledges as much in the 6. *Epiſt.* and adds thereto, that he had determin'd from his Entrance into the Office of Biſhop to do nothing without the Conſent of his People, and ſo in the 31. *Epiſt.* for it were tedious to courſe through all his Writings which are ſo full of the like Aſſertions, inſomuch that ev'n in the Womb and Center of Apoſtacy, *Rome* it ſelf, there yet remains a Glimpſe of this Truth, for the *Pope* himſelf, as a Learned *Engliſh* Writer notes well, performeth all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction as in Conſiſtory amongſt his *Cardinals*, which were Originally but the Pariſh Prieſts of *Rome*. Thus then did the Spirit of Unity and Meekneſs inſpire and animate every Joint, and Sinew of the Myſtical Body, but now the graveſt, and worthieſt Miniſter, a true Biſhop of his Fold ſhall be revil'd, and ruffl'd by an inſulting, and only Canon-wiſe Prelate, as if he were ſome ſlight paltry Companion: And the People of *God* redeem'd, and waſh'd with *Chriſts* Blood, and dignify'd with ſo many glorious Titles of Saints, and Sons in the Goſpel, are now no better reputed then impure Ethnicks, and Lay-Dogs; Stones and Pillars, and Crucifixes have now the Honour, and the Almes due to *Chriſts* living Members; the Table of Communion now become a Table of Separation, ſtands like an exalted Platform upon the Brow of the Quire, fortify'd with Bulwark, and Barricado, to keep off the profane Touch of the Laics, whilſt the obſcene, and ſurfeited Prieſt ſcruples not to paw, and mam-

mammock the Sacramental Bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. And thus the People vilify'd and rejected by them, give over the earneſt Study of Vertue, and Godlineſs as a thing of greater Purity then they need, and the Search of Divine Knowledge as a Myſtery too high for their Capacities, and only for Church-Men to meddle with, which is that the Prelates deſire, that when they have brought us back to Popiſh Blindneſs we might commit to their Diſpoſe, the whole Managing of our Salvation, for they think it was never fair World with them ſince that time. But he that will mould a modern Biſhop into a primitive, muſt yield him to be elected by the popular Voice, Undioceſt, Unrevenu'd, Unlorded, and leave him nothing but Brotherly Equality, matchleſs Temperance, frequent Faſting, inceſſant Prayer, and Preaching, continual Watchings, and Labours in his Miniſtery, which what a rich Booty it would be, what a plump Endowment to the many Benefice-gaping Mouth of a Prelate, what a Reliſh it would give to his Canary-ſucking, and Swan-eating Palate, let old Biſhop *Mountain* judge for me.

How little therefore thoſe ancient times make for modern Biſhops hath been plainly diſcours'd, but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not ſtand to their Arbitrement ſhall now appear by a three-fold Corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The beſt Times were ſpreadingly infected. 2. The beſt Men of thoſe times fouly tainted. 3. The beſt Writings of thoſe Men dangerouſly adulterated. Theſe Poſitions are to be made Good out of thoſe Times witneſſing of themſelves. *Firſt, Ignatius* in his early Days teſtifies to the Churches of *Aſia*, that even then Hereſies were ſprung up, and riſe every where, as *Euſebius* relates in his 3 Book, 35. *Chap.* after the Greek Number. And *Hegeſippus* a grave Church Writer of prime Antiquity affirms in the ſame Book of *Euſeb.* Chap. 32. *That while the Apoſtles were on Earth the depravers of Doctrin did but lurk, but they once gone, with open Forehead they durſt Preach down the Truth with Falſities:* yea, thoſe that are reckon'd for Orthodox began to make ſad, and ſhameful Rents in the Church about the Trivial Celebration of Feaſts, not agreeing when to keep *Eaſter* Day, which Controverſy grew ſo hot, that *Victor* the Biſhop of *Rome* Excommunicated all the Churches of *Aſia* for no other Cauſe, and was worthily thereof reprov'd by *Irenæus*. For can any ſound Theologer think, that theſe great Fathers underſtood what was Goſpel, or what was Excommunication? Doubtleſs that which led the Good Men into Fraud and Error was, that they attended more to the meer Tradition of what they heard the Apoſtles ſometimes did, then to what they had left written, not conſidering that many things which they did, were by the Apoſtles themſelves profeſt to be done only for the preſent, and of meer Indulgence to ſome ſcrupulous Converts of the Circumciſion, but what they writ was of firm Decree to all future Ages. Look but a Century lower in the 1. *Chap.* of *Euſebius* 8. Book. What a Univerſal Tetter of Impurity had invenom'd every Part, Order, and Degree of the Church, to omit the Lay-herd, which will be little regarded, *thoſe that ſeem'd to be our Paſtors*, ſaith he, *overturning the Law of Gods Worſhip, burnt in Contentions one towards another, and increaſing in hatred and bitterneſs, outragiouſly ſought to uphold Lordſhip, and command as it were a Tyranny.* Stay but a little, magnanimous Biſhops, ſuppreſs your aſpiring Thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but *Conſtantine* to Reign, and then Tyranny her ſelf ſhall give up all her Cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her truſtieſt Agents. Such were theſe that muſt be call'd the Ancienteſt, and moſt Virgin Times between *Chriſt* and *Conſtantine*. Nor was this general Contagion in their Actions, and not in their Writings; who is ignorant of the foul Errors, the ridiculous wreſting of Scripture, the Hereſies, the Vanities thick ſown through the Volums of *Juſtin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian* and others of eldeſt Time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Chriſtian Faith to the *Roman* Senate, that would

tell

tell them how of the Angels, which he muſt needs mean thoſe in *Gen.* called the *Sons of God*, mixing with Women were begotten the Devils, as good *Juſtin Martyr* in his Apology told them. But more Indignation would it move to any Chriſtian, that ſhall read *Tertullian*, terming S. *Paul* a Novice, and raw in Grace, for reproving S. *Peter* at *Antioch*, worthy to be blam'd, if we believe the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*: Perhaps from this hint, the blaſphemous Jeſuits preſum'd in *Italy* to give their Judgment of S. *Paul*, as of a hot-headed Perſon, as *Sandys* in his Relations tells us.

Now beſides all this, who knows not how many Surreptitious Works are ingrafted into the legitimate Writings of the Fathers, and of thoſe Books that paſs for Authentick, who knows, what hath been tamper'd withal, what hath been raz'd out, what hath been inſerted, beſides the late Legerdemain of the *Papiſts*, that which *Sulpitius* writes concerning *Origens* Books, gives us cauſe vehemently to ſuſpect, there hath been packing of old. In the third *Chap.* of his 1. *Dialogue*, we may read what wrangling the Biſhops and Monks had about the reading, or not reading of *Origen*, ſome objecting, that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others anſwering that all ſuch Books had been ſo dealt with. How then ſhall I truſt theſe times to lead me, that teſtifie ſo ill of leading themſelves, certainly of their Defects, their own Witneſs may be beſt received, but of the Rectitude, and Sincerity of their Life and Doctrin to judge rightly, we muſt judge by that which was to be their Rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unſetl'd State of the Church, wanting the temporal Magiſtrate, to ſuppreſs the Licence of falſe Brethren, and the Extravagancy of ſtill new Opinions, a Time not imitable for Church Government, where the temporal and ſpiritual Power did not cloſe in one Belief, as under *Conſtantine*. I am not of Opinion to think the Church a *Vine* in this reſpect, becauſe, as they take it, ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without claſping about the Elme of worldly Strength, and Felicity, as if the Heavenly City could not ſupport it ſelf, without the Props and Buttreſſes of ſecular Authority. They extol *Conſtantine* becauſe he extol'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Hiſtories, blanch the Kings their Benefactors, and brand thoſe that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice and Luxury of the *Clergy*, then every Page of his Story ſhould have ſwell'd with his Faults, and that which *Zozimus* the Heathen writes of him ſhould have come in to boot: We ſhould have heard then in every Declamation, how he ſlew his Nephew *Commodus* a worthy Man, his noble and eldeſt Son *Criſpus*, his Wife *Fauſta*, beſides numbers of his Friends, then his cruel Exactions, his Unſoundneſs in Religion, favouring the *Arians* that had been condemn'd in a Counſel, of which himſelf ſat, as it were, Preſident, his hard Meaſure and Baniſhment of the faithful and invincible *Athanaſius*, his living unbaptiz'd almoſt to his dying day; theſe Blurs are too apparent in his Life. But ſince he muſt needs be the Load-ſtar of *Reformation* as ſome Men clatter, it will be good to ſee further his Knowledge of *Religion*, what it was? And by that we may likewiſe gueſs at the Sincerity of his Times, in thoſe that were not Heretical, it being likely that he would converſe with the famouſeſt *Prelates* (for ſo he had made them) that were to be found for Learning.

Of his *Arianiſm* we heard, and for the reſt, a pretty Scantling of his Knowledg, may be taken by his deferring to be Baptiz'd ſo many Years, a thing not uſual and repugnant to the Tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing that ſhould hinder the *Eunuch* to be *Baptiz'd* after *Profeſſion* of his *Belief*. *Next*, by the exceſſive Devotion, that I may not ſay Superſtition both of him and his Mother *Helena*, to find out the Croſs on which *Chriſt* ſuffer'd, that had long lain under the rubbiſh of old Ruins (a thing which the Diſciples and Kindred of our Saviour might with more eaſe

have done, if they had thought it a pious Duty:) ſome of the Nails whereof he put into his Helmet, to bear off blows in Battel, others he faſten'd among the Studds of his Bridle, to fulfil (as he thought, or his Court *Biſhops* perſuaded him) the Propheſy of *Zachariah*; *And it ſhall be, that that which is in the Bridle, ſhall be Holy to the Lord.* Part of the Croſs, in which he thought ſuch Vertue to reſide, as would prove a kind of *Palladium* to ſave the *City* where ever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphiry by his Statue. How he or his Teachers could trifle thus with half an Eye open upon St. *Paul*'s Principles, I know not hw to imagin.

How ſhould then the dim Taper of this Emperours Age, that had ſuch need of ſnuffing,extend any beam to our Times, wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, then by thoſe Luminaries thatGod hath ſet up to ſhine to us far nearer Hand. And what *Reformation* he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiſs to conſider, he appointed certain Times for Faſts, and Feaſts, built ſtately Churches, gave large Immunities to the Clergy, great Riches and Promotions to *Biſhops*, gave and miniſter'd Occaſion to bring in a Deluge of Ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a reſemblance of their Rites, or to ſet a gloſs upon the ſimplicity and plainneſs of Chriſtianity, which to the gorgeous Solemnity of *Paganiſm*, and the Senſe of the Worlds Children ſeem'd but a homely and yeomanly *Religion*, for the Beauty of inward Sanctity was not within their Proſpect.

So that in this manner the *Prelates* both then, and ever ſince, coming from a mean and plebeian *Life*, on a ſudden, to be Lords of ſtately Palaces, rich Furniture, delicious Fair and *Princely* Attendance, thought the plain and home-ſpun Verity of *Chriſt*'s Goſpel unfit any longer to hold their Lordſhips Acquaintance, unleſs the poor thred-bare Matron were put into better Cloaths; her chaſt and modeſt Veil ſurrounded with Celeſtial Beams, they overlay'd with wanton *Treſſes*, and in a flaring Tire, beſpeckled her with all the gaudy Allurements of a Whore.

Thus flouriſh'd the Church with *Conſtantines* Wealth, and thereafter were the Effects that follow'd; his Son *Conſtantius* prov'd a flat *Arian*, and his Nephew *Julian* an Apoſtate, and there his Race ended; the Church that before by inſenſible Degrees walk'd and impair'd, now with large ſteps went down Hill decaying; at this time *Antichriſt* began firſt to put forth his Horn, and that Saying was common, that former Times had woodden Chalices and golden *Preiſts*; but they golden Chalices and woodden *Preiſts*. Formerly (ſaith *Sulpitius*) *Matyrdom* by glorious Death was ſought more greedily, then now Biſhopricks by vile Ambition are hunted after (ſpeaking of theſe Times) and in another Place; they gape after Poſſeſſions, they tend Lands and Livings, they cover over their Gold, they buy and ſell: And if there be any that neither Poſſeſs nor Traffick, that which is worſe, they ſit ſtill, and expect Gifts, and proſtitute every Inducement of Grace, every holy Thing to ſale. And in the end of his Hiſtory thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the *Faction*, *Wilfulneſs* and *Avarice* of the *Biſhops*, and by this means *Gods People*, and every *good Man* was had in ſcorn and deriſion; which *S. Martin* found truly to be ſaid by his Friend *Sulpitius*; for being held in Admiration of all Men, he had only the *Biſhops* his Enemies, found God leſs favorable to him after he was *Biſhop* then before, and for his laſt 16. Years would come at no *Biſhops* Meeting. Thus you ſee Sir, what *Conſtantine*'s Doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own, or in his Sons Reign.

Now leaſt it ſhould be thought, that ſomething elſe might aile this Author, thus to hamper the Biſhops of thoſe Days; I will bring you the Opinion of three the famouſeſt Men for Wit and Learning, that *Italy* at this

this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd Opinion, even among Men, profeſſing the *Romiſh* Faith, that *Conſtantine* marryed all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19. *Canto* of *Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in Engliſh blank Verſe.

Ah Conſtantine, *of how much ill was Cauſe*
Not thy Converſion, but thoſe rich Demains
That the firſt wealthy Pope *receiv'd of thee.*

So in his 20. Canto of *Paradiſe* he makes the like Complaint, and *Petrarch* ſeconds him in the ſame Mind in his 108. Sonnet, which is wip'd out by the Inquiſitor in ſome Editions; ſpeaking of the *Roman Antichriſt* as merely bred up by *Conſtantine.*

Founded in chaſt and humble Poverty,
'Gainſt them that rais'd thee doſt thou lift thy Horn,
Impudent Whore, where haſt thou plac'd thy Hope?
In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got Wealth?
Another Conſtantine *comes not in haſt.*

Arioſto of *Ferrara* after both theſe in Time, but equal in Fame, following the ſcope of his Poem in a difficult knot, how to reſtore *Orlando* his chief Hero to his loſt Senſes, brings *Aſtolfo* the *Engliſh* Knight, up into the Moon, where St. *John* as he feigns, met him. *Cant.* 34.

And to be ſhort, at laſt his guide him brings
Into a goodly Vally, where he ſees
A mighty Maß of Things ſtrangly confus'd,
Things that on Earth were loſt, or were abus'd.

And amongſt theſe ſo abuſed things, liſten what he met withal, under the Conduct of the *Evangeliſt.*

Then paſt he to a flowry Mountain green,
Which once ſmelt ſweet, now ſtinks as odiouſly;
This was that Gift (if you the Truth will have)
That Conſtantine *to good* Sylveſtro *gave.*

And this was a Truth well known in *England* before this *Poet* was born, as our *Chaucers* Plow-man ſhall tell you by and by upon another Occaſion. By all theſe Circumſtances laid together, I do not ſee how it can be diſputed, what Good this Emperour *Conſtantine* wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, ſet open a Door to more Miſchief in Chriſtendom. There is juſt Cauſe therefore, that when the *Prelates* cry out, Let the Church be reform'd according to *Conſtantine*, it ſhould ſound to a judicious Ear no otherwiſe, then if they ſhould ſay, make us Rich, make us Lofty, make us Lawleſs, for if any under him were not ſo, Thanks to thoſe ancient Remains of Integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his Government.

Thus *finally* it appears, that thoſe purer Times were no ſuch as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without Suſpicion, Doubt and Danger. The *laſt* Point wherein the *Antiquary* is to be dealt with at his own Weapon, is to make it manifeſt, that the ancienteſt and beſt of the Fathers have diſclaim'd all Sufficiency in themſelves that Men ſhould rely on, and ſent all Commerce to the Scriptures, as All-ſufficient: That this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by ſhewing what Eſteem they had of Antiquity themſelves, and what Validity they thought in it to prove Doctrin or Diſcipline. I muſt of Ne-

ceſſity begin from the ſecond Rank of Fathers, becauſe till then Antiquity could have no Plea. *Cyprian* in his 63. *Epiſtle.* If any, ſaith he, of our Anceſtours, either ignorantly or out of ſimplicity, hath not obſerv'd that which the Lord taught us by his Example (ſpeaking of the Lord's Supper) his Simplicity *God* may pardon of his Mercy, but we cannot be excus'd for following him, being inſtructed by the Lord. And have not we the ſame Inſtructions, and will not this holy Man with all the whole Conſiſtory of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old riſe up and ſtop our Mouths in Judgment, when we ſhall go about to father our Errors and Opinions upon their Authority? In the 73. *Epiſt.* he adds, in vain do they oppoſe Cuſtom to us if they be overcome by Reaſon; as if Cuſtom were greater then Truth, or that in ſpiritual things that were not to be follow'd, which is reveal'd for the better by the Holy Ghoſt. In the 74. neither ought Cuſtom to hinder that Truth ſhould not prevail, for Cuſtom without Truth is but Agedneſs of Error.

Next *Lactantius*, he that was preferr'd to have the Bringing up of *Conſtantin*'s Children, in his ſecond Book of *Inſtitutions*, *Chap.* 7. and 8. diſputes againſt the vain Truſt in Antiquity, as being the chiefeſt Argument of the *Heathen* againſt the Chriſtians, they do not conſider, ſaith he, what Religion is, but they are confident it is true, becauſe the Ancients deliver'd it, they count it a Treſpaſs to examin it. And in the 8th, not becauſe they went before us in Time, therefore in Wiſdom, which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be prepoſſeſt by the Ancients; wherefore ſeeing that to ſeek the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themſelves of Wiſdom, the Gift of God, who without Judgment follow the Ancients, and are led by others like brute Beaſts. St. *Auſtin* writes to *Fortunatian* that he counts it lawful in the Books of whomſoever to reject that which he finds otherwiſe then true, and ſo he would have others deal by him, he neither accounted, as it ſeems, thoſe Fathers that went before, nor himſelf, nor others of his Rank, for Men of more then ordinary Spirit, that might equally deceive and be deceived, and oft-times ſetting our ſervile Humours aſide, yea *God* ſo ordering, we may find Truth with one Man, as ſoon as in a Council, as *Cyprian* agrees 71. Epiſt. *Many things*, ſaith he, *are better reveal'd to ſingle Perſons.* At *Nicæa* in the firſt and beſt reputed Council of all the World, there had gone out a Canon to divorce married Prieſts, had not one old Man *Paphnutius* ſtood up, and reaſon'd againſt it.

Now remains it to ſhew clearly, that the Fathers refer all Deciſion of Controverſy to the Scriptures, as All-ſufficient to direct, to reſolve and to determine. *Ignatius*, taking his laſt Leave of the *Aſian* Churches, as he went to Martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere cloſe to the written Doctrin of the Apoſtles, neceſſarily written for Poſterity: So far was he from unwritten Traditions, as may be read in the 36. *C.* of *Euſebius* 3. *B.* In the 74. *Epiſt.* Of *Cyprian* againſt *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* impoſing upon him a Tradition, *Whence*, quoth he, *is this Tradition? Is it fetcht from the Authority of Chriſt in the Goſpel, or of the Apoſtles in their Epiſtles: For God teſtifies, that thoſe things are to be done which are written:* And then thus, *What Obſtinacy, what Preſumption is this to prefer human Tradition before divine Ordinance:* And in the ſame Epiſt. *If we ſhall return to the Head and Beginning of divine Tradition* (which we all know he means the Bible) *human Error ceaſes, and the Reaſon of heavenly Myſteries unfolded, whatſoever was obſcure becomes clear.* And in the 14. Diſtinct. of the ſame Epiſt. directly againſt our modern Fantaſies of a ſtill viſible Church, he teaches, *That Succeſſion of Truth may fail, to renew which we muſt have Recourſe to the Fountains,* uſing this excellent Similitude, *If a Channel or Conduit-pipe which brought in Water plentifully before, ſuddenly fail, do we not go to the Fountain to know the Cauſe, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the Vein be ſtopt or turn'd aſide in the Mid-courſe: Thus we ought to do, keeping God's Precepts, that if in ought the Truth ſhall be chang'd,*

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we may repair to the Goſpel, and to the Apoſtles, that thence may ariſe the Reaſon of our Doings, from whence our Order and Beginning aroſe. In the 75. he inveighs bitterly againſt Pope *Stephanus*, for that he could boaſt his Succeſſion from *Peter*, and yet foiſt in Traditions that were not Apoſtolical. And in his Book of the Unity of the Church, he compares thoſe that neglecting *God*'s Word, follow the Doctrins of Men, to *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. The very firſt Page of *Athanaſius* againſt the Gentiles avers the Scriptures to be ſufficient of themſelves for the Declaration of Truth; and that if his Friend *Macarius* read other Religious Writers, it was but φιλοκάλως *come un-virtuoſo*, (as the *Italians* ſay) as a Lover of Elegance: And in 2d. *Tome* 39. Pa. after he had reckon'd up the Canonical Books, *In theſe only*, ſaith he, *is the Doctrin of Godlineſs taught, let no Man add to theſe, or take from theſe*: And in his *Synopſis* having again ſet down all the Writers of the Old and New Teſtament, *Theſe*, ſaith he, *be the Anchors and Props of our Faith:* Beſides theſe, Millions of other Books have been written by great and wiſe Men according to Rule and Agreement with theſe, of which I will not now ſpeak, as being of infinite Number, and meer Dependance on the Canonical Books. *Baſil* in his 2*d*. Tome, writing of true Faith, tells his Auditors, he is bound to teach them that which he hath learn'd out of the Bible; and in the ſame Treatiſe, he ſaith, *That ſeing the Commandments of the Lord, are faithful and ſure for ever; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high Pride either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found:* And he gives the reaſon, *for Chriſt ſaith, My Sheep hear my voice, they will not follow another, but fly from him, becauſe they know not his voice.* But not to be endleſs in Quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many Opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture; ſo much the leſs, may I ſay, ſhould we follow them; for their own Words ſhall condemn them, and acquit us, that lean not on them; otherwiſe theſe their Words ſhall acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be underſtood, and therefore require the Explanation of the Fathers, 'tis true there be ſome Books, and eſpecially ſome Places in thoſe Books that remain clouded; yet ever that which is moſt neceſſary to be known is moſt eaſie; and that which is moſt difficult, ſo far expounds it ſelf ever, as to tell us how little it imports our *ſaving Knowledge*. Hence to infer a general Obſcurity over all the Text, is a meer Suggeſtion of the Devil to diſſwade Men from reading it, and caſts an Aſperſion of Diſhonour both upon the *Mercy*, *Truth* and *Wiſdom* of *God:* We count it no Gentleneſs, or fair Dealing in a Man of Power amongſt us, to require ſtrict and punctual Obedience, and yet give out all his Commands ambiguous and obſcure, we ſhould think he had a Plot upon us, certainly ſuch Commands were no Commands, but Snares. The very Eſſence of Truth is Plainneſs and Brightneſs; the Darkneſs and Crookedneſs is our own. The *Wiſdom* of *God* created *Underſtanding*, fit and proportionable to Truth the Object, and End of it, as the Eye to the Thing viſible. If our *Underſtanding* have a film of *Ignorance* over it, or be blear with gazing on other falſe Gliſterings, what is that to Truth? If we will but purge with Soveraign Eye-ſalve that intellectual Ray, which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures proteſting their own Plainneſs and Perſpicuity, calling to them to be inſtructed, not only the *wiſe*, and *learned*, but the *ſimple*, the *poor*, the *babes*, foretelling an extraordinary Effuſion of God's Spirit upon every Age, and Sex, attributing to all Men, and requiring from them the Ability of Searching, Trying, Examining all Things, and by the Spirit diſcerning that which is good; and as the Scriptures themſelves pronounce their own Plainneſs, ſo do the Fathers teſtify of them.

I will not run into a Paroxiſm of Citations again in this Point; only inſtance *Athanaſius* in his fore-mention'd firſt Page; *The Knowledge of Truth*, ſaith he, *wants no human Lore, as being evident in it ſelf, and by the Preaching*

ing of Chriſt now opens brighther then the Sun. If theſe Doctors who had ſcarce half the Light that we enjoy, who all except 2 or 3 were ignorant of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and many of the *Greek*, blundring upon the dangerous, and ſuſpectful Tranſlations of the Apoſtate *Aquila*, the Heretical *Theodotion*, the Judaiz'd *Symmachus*; the erroneous *Origen*; if theſe could yet find the Bible ſo eaſie, why ſhould we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithful Induſtry that Man in this Life can look for, and the Aſſiſtance of *God* as near now to us as ever. But let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abſtruſe then the Fathers? He that cannot underſtand the Sober, Plain, and Unaffected Stile of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzl'd with the knotty *Africaniſms*, the pamper'd *Metaphors*; the intricate, and involv'd Sentences of the Fathers; beſides the Fantaſtic, and Declamatory Flaſhes; the croſs-jingling Period which cannot but diſturb, and come thwart a ſettl'd Devotion, worſe then the Din of Bells and Rattles.

Now Sir, for the Love of holy *Reformation*, what can be ſaid more againſt theſe importunate Clients of Antiquity, then ſhe her ſelf their Patroneſs hath ſaid. Whether, think ye, would ſhe approve ſtill to dote upon Immeaſurable, Innumerable, and therefore Unneceſſary, and Unmerciful Volums, chooſing rather to err with the ſpecious Name of the Fathers, or to take a ſound Truth at the Hand of a plain upright Man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and thereto imploring *God's* Grace, while the Admirers of Antiquity, have been beating their Brains about their *Ambones*, their *Diptychs*, and *Maniaia's*? Now, he that cannot tell of Stations, and Indictions; nor has waſted his pretious Hours, in the endleſs conferring of Councils and Conclaves, that demoliſh one another, although I know many of thoſe that pretend to be great Rabbies in theſe Studies, have ſcarce ſaluted them from the Strings, and the Title-page, or to give 'em more, have been but the Ferrets and Mouſhunts of an Index: Yet what Paſtor, or Miniſter, how Learned, Religious, or Diſcreet ſoever, does not now bring both his Cheeks full blown with Oecomenical, and Synodical, ſhall be counted a lank, ſhallow, unſufficient Man, yea a Dunce, and not worthy to ſpeak about *Reformation* of *Church Diſcipline*. But I truſt they, for whom *God* hath reſerv'd the Honour of Reforming this Church, will eaſily perceive their Adverſaries Drift in thus calling for Antiquity, they fear the plain Field of the Scriptures; the Chaſe is too hot; they ſeek the dark, the buſhy, the tangled Forreſt, they would imbosk: They feel themſelves ſtrook in the tranſparent Streams of divine Truth, they would plung, and tumble, and think to lye hid in the foul Weeds, and muddy Waters, where no Plummet can reach the Bottom. But let them beat themſelves like Whales, and ſpend their Oyl till they be drag'd aſhoar: Though wherefore ſhould the Miniſters give them ſo much Line for ſhifts, and delays? Wherefore ſhould they not urge only the Goſpel, and hold it ever in their Faces like a Mirror of Diamond, till it dazle, and pierce their miſty Eye-balls? Maintaining it the Honour of its abſolute Sufficiency, and Supremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for *Reformation*, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an Advantage to the dozen, 'tis no winning Caſt: And though Antiquity be againſt it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cauſe is as good as ought to be wiſht; Antiquity it ſelf ſitting Judge.

But to draw to an End; the ſecond Sort of thoſe that may be juſtly numbered among the Hinderers of *Reformation*, are Libertines, theſe ſuggeſt, that the Diſcipline ſought would be intolerable: For one Biſhop now in a Dioceſe, we ſhould then have a Pope in every Pariſh. It will not be requiſit to anſwer theſe Men, but only to diſcover them, for Reaſon they have none, but Luſt, and Licentiouſneſs, and therefore Anſwer can

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have none. It is not any Diſciplin that they could live under, it is the Corruption and Remiſneſs of Diſciplin that they ſeek. Epiſcopacy duly executed, yea the *Turkiſh*, and *Jewiſh* Rigor againſt Whoring and Drinking; the dear and tender Diſciplin of a Father; the ſociable and loving Reproof of a Brother; the boſom Admonition of a Friend is a *Presbytery* and a Conſiſtory to them. 'Tis only the merry Friar in *Chaucer* can diſple them.

Full ſweetly heard he Confeſſion
And pleaſant was his Abſolution,
He was an eaſie Man to give Pennance.

And ſo I leave them: And refer the Political Diſcourſe of Epiſcopacy to a Second Book.

OF

REFORMATION, &c.

The Second Book.

Sir,

IT is a Work good and prudent to be able to guide one Man; of larger extended Vertue to order well one Houſe; but to govern a Nation Piouſly and Juſtly, which only is to ſay Happily, is for a Spirit of the greateſt Size and Divineſt Mettle. And certainly of no leſs a Mind, nor of leſs Excellence in another way, where they who by Writing laid the ſolid and true Foundations of this Science, which being of greateſt Importance to the Life of Man, yet there is no Art that hath been more canker'd in her Principles, more ſoyl'd and ſlubber'd with Aphoriſming Pedantry then the Art of Policy; and that moſt, where a Man would think ſhould leaſt be, in Chriſtian Common-wealths. They teach not, that to govern well is to train up a Nation in true Wiſdom and Vertue, and that which ſprings from thence Magnanimity (take heed of that) and that which is our Beginning, Regeneration; and happieſt End, Likeneſs to *God*, which in one Word we call *Godlineſs*, and that this is the true Flouriſhing of a Land, other things follow as the Shadow does the Subſtance: To teach thus were mere Pulpitry to them. This is the Maſter-piece of a modern Politician, how to qualifie and mould the Sufferance and Subjection of the People to the length of that Foot that is to tread on their Necks, how Rapin may ſerve it ſelf with the fair and honourable Pretences of publick Good, how the puny Law may be brought under the Wardſhip, and Controul of Luſt, and Will, in which Attempt if they fall ſhort, then muſt a ſuperficial Colour of Reputation by all means direct or indirect be gotten to waſh over the unſightly bruiſe of Honour. To make Men governable in this Manner, their Precepts mainly tend to break a National Spirit, and Courage, by countenancing open Riot, Luxury and Ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made Men beneath Men, as *Juno* in the Fable of *Io*, they deliver up the poor Transformed Heifer of the Common-Wealth to be ſtung and vext with the Breeſe and Goad of Oppreſſion under the Cuſtody of ſome *Argus* with a Hundred Eyes of Jealouſie. To be plainer Sir, how to ſoder, how to ſtop a Leak, how to keep up the floting Carcaſe of a crazy and diſeaſed Monarchy, or State, betwixt Wind and Water, ſwiming ſtill upon her own dead Lees, that now

is the deep deſign of a Politician. Alas Sir! A Common-wealth ought to be but as one huge Chriſtian Perſonage, one mighty Growth, and Stature of an Honeſt Man, as Big and Compact in Vertue as in Body; for look what the Grounds and Cauſes are of ſingle Happineſs to one Man, the ſame ye ſhall find them to a whole State, as *Ariſtotle* both in his Ethicks and Politicks, from the Principles of Reaſon lays down; by Conſequence therefore, that which is Good, and agreeable to Monarchy, will appear ſooneſt to be ſo, by being Good, and agreeable to the true Well-fare of every Chriſtian, and that which can be juſtly prov'd Hurtful and Offenſive to every true Chriſtian, will be evinc'd to be alike hurtful to Monarchy: For *God* forbid, that we ſhould ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the End and Good of a Monarch, from the End and Good of the Monarchy, or of that, from Chriſtianity. How then this Third, and laſt ſort that hinders Reformation, will juſtify that it ſtands not with Reaſon of State, I much muſe? For certain I am, the *Bible* is ſhut againſt them, as certain that neither *Plato*, nor *Ariſtotle* is for their Turns, what they can bring us now from the Schools of *Loyola* with his Jeſuits, or their *Malvezzi* that can cut *Tacitus* into Slivers and Steaks, we ſhall preſently hear. They alledge. 1. That the Church Government muſt be conformable to the Civil Polity, *next*, that no Form of Church Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Biſhops. Muſt Church Government that is appointed in the Goſpel, and has chief reſpect to the Soul, be conformable and pliant to Civil, that is Arbitrary, and chiefly Converſant about the Viſible and External Part of Man, this is the very Maxim that moulded the Calves of *Bethel* and of *Dan*, this was the Quinteſſence of *Jeroboams* Policy, he made Religion conform to his Politick Intereſts, and this was the Sin that watcht over the *Iſraelites* till their final Captivity; if this State Principle come from the Prelates, as they affect to be counted Statiſts, let them look back to *Elutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſee what he thought of the Policy of *England*; being requir'd by *Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King of this Iſland to give his Counſel for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this ſage Caution, but bids him betake himſelf to the Old and New Teſtament, and receive direction from them how to adminiſter both Church and Common-wealth; that he was *Gods* Vicar, and therefore to Rule by *Gods* Laws, that the Edicts of *Cæſar* we may at all times diſallow, but the Statutes of *God* for no Reaſon we may reject. Now certain, if Church-government be taught in the Goſpel, as the Biſhops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late ſtanding this Poſition is newly calculated for the Altitude of Biſhop Elevation, and Lettice for their Lips. But by what Example can they ſhew, that the Form of Church Diſciplin muſt be minted, and modell'd out to ſecular Pretences? The Ancient Republick of the Jews is evident to have run through all the Changes of Civil Eſtate, if we ſurvey the Story from the giving of the Law to the *Herods*, yet did one manner of Prieſtly Government ſerve without Inconvenience to all theſe Temporal Mutations: It ſerv'd the mild Ariſtocracy of Elective Dukes, and Heads of Tribes joyn'd with them; the Dictatorſhip of the Judges, the eaſie, or hard-handed Monarchys, the Domiſtick or Foreign Tyrannies. *Laſtly*, the *Roman* Senate from without, the *Jewiſh* Senate at home with the *Galilæan* Tetrarch, yet the *Levites* had ſome right to deal in Civil Affairs: But ſeeing the Evangelical Precept forbids Church-Men to intermeddle with worldly Imployments, what Interweavings, or Interworkings can knit the Miniſter, and the Magiſtrate in their ſeveral Functions to the regard of any preciſe Correſpondency? Seeing that the Church-Mans Office is only to teach Men the Chriſtian Faith, to exhort all, to incourage the Good, to admoniſh the Bad, privately the leſs Offender, publickly the Scandlous and Stubborn; to cenſure, and ſeparate from the Communion of *Chriſts* Flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with

with Joy and Fatherly Compaſſion the Penitent, all this muſt be done, and more then this is beyond any Church Authority. What is all this either here, or there, to the temporal Regiment of Weal-publick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchial? Where doth it intrench upon the temporal Governor, where does it come in his walk? Where does it make Inrode upon his Juriſdiction? Indeed if the Miniſters part be rightly diſcharg'd, it renders him the People more conſcionable, quiet and eaſie to be govern'd; if otherwiſe his Life and Doctrin will declare him. If therefore the Conſtitution of the Church be already ſet down by Divine Preſcript, as all ſides confeſs, then can ſhe not be a Hand-maid to wait on Civil Commodities and Reſpects: And if the Nature and Limits of Church Diſciplin be ſuch, as are either helpful to all Political Eſtates indifferently, or have no particular Relation to any, then is there no Neceſſity, nor indeed Poſſibility of linking the one with the other in a ſpecial Conformation.

Now, for their ſecond Concluſion, *That no Form of Church-Government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Biſhops*, although it fall to pieces of it ſelf by that which hath been ſaid, yet to give them Play, Front and Rear, it ſhall be my Task to prove that Epiſcopacy with that Authority which it challenges in *England* is only not agreeable, but tending, to the Deſtruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Paſtors of the Church of God labour'd faithfully in their Miniſtery, tending only their Sheep, and not ſeeking, but avoiding all worldly Matters as Clogs, and indeed, Derogations and Debaſements to their high Calling, little needed the Princes and Potentates of the Earth, which way ſoever the Goſpel was ſpread, to ſtudy ways how to make a Coherence between the Churches Policy and Theirs: Therefore when *Pilate* heard once our Saviour *Chriſt* profeſſing, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, he thought the Man could not ſtand much in *Cæſars* Light, nor much indammage the *Roman* Empire; for if the Life of *Chriſt* be hid to this World, much more is his Scepter unoperative, but in Spiritual Things. And thus liv'd for 2 or 3 Ages the Succeſſors, of the Apoſtles. But when through *Conſtantines* laviſh Superſtition, they forſook their *firſt Love*, and ſet themſelves up to Gods inſtead, *Mammon* and their Belly then taking advantage of the Spiritual Power which they had on Mens Conſciences, they began to caſt a longing Eye to get the Body alſo, and Bodily Things into their Command, upon which their Carnal Deſires, the Spirit daily quenching and dying in them, they knew no way to keep themſelves up from falling to nothing, but by bolſtering and ſupporting their inward Rottenneſs by a carnal and outward Strength. For a while they rather privily ſought Opportunity, then haſtily diſclos'd their Project, but when *Conſtantine* was dead and 3 or 4 Emperors more, their drift became Notorious and Offenſive to the Whole world: For while *Theodoſius* the younger reign'd, thus writes *Socrates* the Hiſtorian in his *7th* Book, 11. *Chap.* now began an ill Name to ſtick upon the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, who beyond their Prieſtly Bounds now long ago had ſtept into Principality. And this was ſcarce 80. Years ſince their raiſing from the meaneſt Worldly Condition. Of Courteſie now let any Man tell me, if they draw to themſelves a *Temporal Strength* and *Power* out of *Cæſar's* Dominion, is not *Cæſar's* Empire thereby diminiſh'd? But this was a ſtolen Bit, hitherto he was but a Caterpillar ſecretly gnawing at *Monarchy*, the next time you ſhall ſee him a Woolf, a Lyon, liſting up his Paw againſt his Raiſer, as *Petrach* expreſt it, and finally an open Enemy, and Subverter of the *Greek* Empire. *Philipicus* and *Leo*, with divers other Emperours after them, not without the Advice of their *Patriarchs* and at length of a whole Eaſtern Counſel of Three Hundred Thirty Eight *Biſhops*, threw the Images out of *Churches* as being Decreed Idolatrous.

Upon this goodly Occaſion the *Biſhop* of *Rome* not only ſeizes the City,

and all the Territory about into his own Hands, and makes himſelf Lord thereof, which till then was govern'd by a *Greek* Magiſtrate, but abſolves all *Italy* of their Tribute and Obedience due to the Emperour, becauſe he obey'd God's Commandment in aboliſhing Idolatry.

Mark Sir here, how the Pope came by St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, as he feigns it, not the Donation of *Conſtantine*, but Idolatry and Rebellion got it him. Ye need but read *Sigonius* one of his own Sect to know the Story at large. And now to ſhroud himſelf againſt a Storm from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to bear him out in theſe Practices, he takes upon him by *Papal* Sentence to unthrone *Chilpericus* the Rightful King of *France*, and gives the Kingdom to *Pepin* for no other Cauſe, but that he ſeem'd to him the more active Man. If he were a Friend herein to *Monarchy* I know not, but to the *Monarch* I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made *Pepin* his faſt Friend, he calls him into *Italy* againſt *Aiſtulphus* the *Lombard*, that warr'd upon him for his late Uſurpation of *Rome*, as belonging to *Ravenna* which he had newly won. *Pepin*, not unobedient to the Popes Call, paſſing into *Italy*, frees him out of Danger, and wins for him the whole Exarchat of *Ravenna*, which though it had been almoſt immediately before the hereditary Poſſeſſion of that *Monarchy*, which was his chief Patron and Benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himſelf as lawful Prize, and given to St. *Peter*. What a dangerous Fallacy is this, when a ſpiritual Man may ſnatch to himſelf any temporal Dignity or Dominion under Pretence of receiving it for the Churches Uſe; thus he claims *Naples*, *Sicily*, *England* and what not? To be ſhort, under Shew of his Zeal againſt the Errors of the *Greek* Church, he never ceas'd Baiting and Goring the Succeſſors of his beſt Lord *Conſtantine*, what by his barking Curſes and Excommunications, what by his Hindering the *Weſtern* Princes from aiding them againſt the *Sarazens* and *Turks*, unleſs when they humour'd him; ſo that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the Subverſion and Fall of that *Monarchy*, which was the Hoiſting of him: This, beſides *Petrarch*, whom I have cited, our *Chaucer* alſo hath obſerv'd, and gives from hence a Caution to *England* to beware of her *Biſhops* in Time, for that their Ends and Aims are no more freindly to *Monarchy* then the Popes.

Thus he brings in the Plough-man ſpeaking, 2. *Part. Stanz.* 28.

The Emperour Yafe the Pope ſometime
So high Lordſhip him about
That at laſt the ſilly Kime,
The proud Pope put him out,
So of this Realm is no doubt,
But Lords beware, and them defend,
For now theſe Folks be wonders ſtout
The King and Lords now this amend

And in the next *Stanza* which begins the Third Part of the Tale he argues, that they ought not to be Lords.

Moſes Law forbode it tho
That Prieſts ſhould no Lordſhips welde
Chriſt Goſpel biddeth alſo,
That they ſhould no Lordſhips held
No Chriſts Apoſtles were never ſo bold
No ſuch Lordſhips to him Embrace
But ſmeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.

And ſo forward. Whether the Biſhops of *England* have deſerv'd thus to be fear'd by Men ſo wiſe as our *Chaucer* is eſteem'd, and how agreeable to our *Monarchy*, and *Monarchs* their Demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our *Chronicles* needs not be inſtructed. Have they not been as the

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Canaanites and *Philiſtins* to this Kingdom? What Treaſons, what Revolts to the Pope, what Rebellions, and thoſe the baſeſt and moſt pretenſleſs have they not been chief in? What could *Monarchy* think when *Becket* durſt *Challenge* the Cuſtody of *Rocheſter-Caſtle*, and the Tower of *London*, as appertaining to his *Signory*? To omit his other Inſolencies and Affronts to Regal Majeſty, till the Laſhes inflicted on the anointed Body of the King waſh'd off the holy *Unction* with his *Blood* drawn by the polluted Hands of *Biſhops*, *Abbots* and *Monks*.

What good Upholders of Royalty were the *Biſhops*, when by their rebellious Oppoſition againſt King *John*, *Normandy* was loſt, he himſelf depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the *Pope*? When the *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter* durſt tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realm, that there were no Peers in *England* as in *France*, but that the King might do what he pleas'd. What could Tyranny ſay more? It would be pretty now, if I ſhould inſiſt upon the Rendring up of *Tournay* by *Woolſey*'s Treaſon, the Excommunications, Curſings and Interdicts upon the whole Land. For happly I ſhould be cut off ſhort by a Reply, that theſe were the Faults of the Men and their Popiſh Errors, not of *Epiſcopacy*, that hath now Renounc'd the Pope and is a Proteſtant. Yes ſure; as Wiſe and Famous Men have ſuſpected and fear'd the Proteſtant *Epiſcopacy* in *England*, as thoſe that have fear'd the Papal.

You know Sir, what was the Judgment of *Padre Paolo* the great *Venetian* Antagoniſt of the *Pope*, for it is extant in the Hands of many Men, whereby he declares his Fear, that when the *Hierarchy* of *England* ſhall light into the hands of buſie and audacious Men, or ſhall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much Miſchief is like to enſue. And can it be nearer Hand, then when *Biſhops* ſhall openly affirm, that no *Biſhop*, no *King*? A trim Paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Juſuites Cell? They feeling the Axe of Gods Reformation, hewing at the old and hollow Trunk of Papacy, and finding the *Spaniard* the ſureſt Friend and ſafeſt Refuge, to ſooth him up in his Dream of a fifth Monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit Papalty, have invented this ſuper-politick Aphoriſm, as One termes it, one Pope, and one King.

Surely, there is not any Prince in *Chriſtendom*, who hearing this rare Sophiſtry can chooſe but ſmile, and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, no *Biſhop*, no *King* is of the ſame Batch, and infanted out of the ſame Fears, a meer Agu-cake, coagulated of a certain Fever, they have preſaging their Time to be but ſhort: And now like thoſe that are ſinking, they catch round at that which is likelieſt to hold them up. And would perſuade Regal Power, that if they dive, he muſt after. But what greater Debaſement can there be to Royal Dignity, whoſe towring and ſtedfaſt heighth, reſts upon the unmovable Foundations of Juſtice and Heroick Vertue, then to chain it in a Dependance of ſubſiſting, or ruining to the painted Battlements and gaudy Rottenneſs of Prelatry, which want but one Puff of the Kings to blow them down, like a paſt-board Houſe built of *Court-Cards*. Sir the little ado, which me thinks I find in untacking theſe pleaſant Sophiſms, puts me into the Mood to tell you a Tale e're I proceed further; and *Menenius Agrippa* ſpeed us.

Upon a time, the Body ſummon'd all the Members to meet in the Guild, *A Tale.* for the common Good (as *Æſops* Chronicles aver many ſtranger Accidents,) the Head by right takes the firſt Seat, and next to it a huge and monſtrous Wen, little leſs then the Head it ſelf, growing to it by a narrower Excreſcency. The Members amaz'd, began to ask one another, what he was, that took Place next their Chief; none could Reſolve. Whereat the Wen, though unwieldy, with much ado, gets up and beſpeaks the Aſſembly, to this Purpoſe. That as in Place, he was Second to the Head, ſo by due of

Merit; that he was to it an Ornament and Strength and of ſpecial neat Relation, and that if the Head ſhould fail, none were fitter then himſelf to ſtep into his Place; therefore he thought it for the Honour of the Body, that ſuch Dignities and rich Indowments ſhould be Decreed him, as did adorn, and ſet out the nobleſt Members. To this was Anſwer'd, that it ſhould be Conſulted. Then was a Wiſe and Learned Philoſopher ſent for, that knew all the Charters, Laws and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as chief Committe to examine and diſcuſs the Claim and Petition of Right, put in by the Wen; who ſoon perceiving the Matter, and wondring at the Boldneſs of ſuch a ſwoln Tumor, wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a Bottle of vitious and harden'd Excrements, contend with the lawful and free-born Members, whoſe certain Number is ſet by Ancient and Unrepealable Statute? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge Subſtance from it, what Office bear'ſt thou? What good can'ſt thou ſhew by thee done to the Common-Wealth? The Wen not eaſily daſh't, Replies, that his Office was his Glory, for ſo oft as the Soul would retire out of the Head, from over the ſteaming Vapours of the lower Parts, to Divine Contemplation, with him ſhe found the pureſt and quieteſt Retreat, as being moſt remote from Soil and Diſturbance. *Lourdan*, quoth the Philoſopher, thy Folly is as great, as thy Filth; know, that all the Faculties of the Soul are confin'd of old to their ſeveral Veſſels and *Ventricles*, from which they cannot part without diſſolution of the whole Body; and that thou contain'ſt no good Thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathſom Uncleanneſs, and art to the Head, a foul Diſfigurment and Burden, when I have cut thee off and open'd thee, as by the help of theſe Implements I will do, all Men ſhall ſee.

But to return, whence was Digreſs'd, ſeeing, that the Throne of a King, as the Wiſe King *Solomon* often remembers us, *is Eſtabliſh'd in Juſtice*, which is the Univerſal *Juſtice* that *Ariſtotle* ſo much praiſes, containing in it all other *Vertues*, it may aſſure us, that the Fall of Prelacy, whoſe Actions are ſo far diſtant from *Juſtice*, cannot ſhake the leaſt Fring that borders the Royal Canopy: But that their ſtanding doth continually oppoſe and lay Battery to Regal Safety, ſhall by that which follows eaſily appear. Amongſt many Secondary and Acceſſory Cauſes, that ſupport Monarchy, theſe are not of leaſt Reck'ning, though common to all other States: The Love of the Subjects, the Multitude and Valour of the People and Store of Treaſure. In all theſe things hath the Kingdom been of late ſore weakn'd, and chiefly by the Prelates. *Firſt*, let any Man conſider, that if any Prince ſhall ſuffer under him a Commiſſion of Authority to be exercis'd, till all the Land groan and cry out, as againſt a Whip of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to leſſen and keel the Affections of the Subject. Next what numbers of faithful and freeborn *Engliſhmen* and good Chriſtians, have been conſtrain'd to forſake their deareſt Home, their Friends and Kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the ſavage Deſarts of *America*, could hide and ſhelter from the Fury of the Biſhops. O Sir, if we could but ſee the ſhape of our dear Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a Perſonal Form to what they pleaſe, how would ſhe appear think ye, but in a mourning Weed, with Aſhes upon her Head, and Tears abundantly flowing from her Eyes, to behold ſo many of her Children expos'd at once, and thruſt from things of deareſt Neceſſity, becauſe their Conſcience could not aſſent to Things, which the Biſhops thought *Indifferent*. What more binding then Conſcience? What more free then *Indifferency*? Cruel then muſt that *Indifferency* needs be, that ſhall violate the ſtrict Neceſſity of Conſcience, Mercileſs and Inhuman, that free Choice and Liberty, that ſhall break aſunder the Bonds of Religion. Let the Aſtrologer be diſmay'd at the portentous Blaſe of Comets

Comets and Impreſſions in the Air, as foretelling Troubles and Changes to States: I ſhall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding Sign to a Nation (*God* turn the Omen from us) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid inſufferable Grievances at Home, are inforc'd by Heaps to forſake their Native Country. Now whereas the only remedy and amends againſt the Depopulation and Thinneſs of a Land within, is the borrow'd Strength of firm Alliance from without, theſe Prieſtly Policies of theirs, having thus exhauſted our Domeſtick Forces, have gone the way alſo to leave us as naked of our firmeſt and faithfulleſt Neighbours abroad, by diſparaging and alienating from us all Proteſtant Princes and Common-wealths, who are not Ignorant, that our Prelates and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a Sort of Sacrilegious and Puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard* our deadly Enemy before them, and ſet all Orthodox Writers at naught in compariſon of the Jeſuits, who are indeed the only Corrupters of Youth and good Learning; and I have heard many Wiſe and Learned Men in *Italy* ſay as much. It cannot be, that the ſtrongeſt Knot of Confederacy ſhould not daily ſlak'n, when Religion which is the chief Ingagement of our League ſhall be turn'd to their Reproach. Hence it is, that the proſperous and prudent States of the United Provinces, whom we ought to Love, if not for themſelves, yet for our own good Work in them, they having been in a manner planted and erected by us, and having been ſince to us the faithful Watchman, and Diſcoverers of many a Popiſh and *Auſtrian* complotted Treaſon, and with us the Partners of many a bloody and victorious Battle, whom the ſimilitude of Manners and Language, the Commodity of Traffick, which founded the old *Burgundian* League betwixt us, but chiefly Religion ſhould bind to us Immortally, even ſuch Friends as theſe, out of ſome Principles inſtilled into us by the Prelates, have been often diſmiſt with diſtaſtful Anſwers, and ſometimes unfriendly Actions: Nor is it to be conſider'd to the breach of Confederate Nations, whoſe mutual Intereſt is of ſuch high Conſequence, though their Merchants bicker in the Eaſt *Indies*, neither is it Safe, or Wary, or indeed Chriſtianly, that the *French* King, of a different Faith, ſhould afford our neareſt Allies as good Protection as we. Sir, I perſuade my ſelf, if our Zeal to true Religon, and the brotherly Uſage of our trueſt Friends, were as Notorious to the World, as our *Prelatical Schiſm* and Captivity to *Rotchet Apothegms*, we had e're this ſeen our old Conquerours, and afterward Liege-men the *Normans*, together with the *Britains* our proper Colony, and all the *Gaſcoins* that are the rightful *Dowry* of our Ancient Kings, come with Cap and Knee, deſiring the Shadow of the *Engliſh* Scepter to defend them from the hot Perſecutions and Taxes of the *French*. But when they come hither and ſee a Tympany of *Spanioliz'd Biſhops* ſwaggering in the Fore-top of the State, and meddling to turn and dandle the *Royal Ball*, with Unskilful and *Pedantick Palms*, no marvel, though they think it as unſafe to commit Religion and Liberty, to their Arbitrating as to a Synagogue of *Jeſuites*.

But what do I ſtand reck'ning upon Advantages and Gains, loſt by the Miſ-rule and Turbulency of the *Prelates*, what do I pick up ſo thriftily their Scatterings and Diminiſhings of the meaner Subject, whilſt they by their ſeditious Practices have indanger'd to looſe the King one third of his main Stock; what have they not done to baniſh him from his own Native Country? But to ſpeak of this, as it ought, would ask a Volume by it ſelf.

Thus, as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdom by expulſion of ſo many Thouſands, as they have endeavour'd to lay the Skirts of it bare by diſheartning and diſhonourning our loyalleſt Confederates abroad, ſo have they hamſtrung the Valour of the Subject, by ſeeking to Effeminate us all at Home. Well knows every wiſe Nation, that their Liberty conſiſts in manly and honeſt

honeſt Labours, in Sobriety and rigorous Honour to the Marriage-Bed, which in both Sexes ſhould be bred up from chaſte Hopes to loyal Enjoyments; and when the People ſlacken, and fall to Looſneſs and Riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for ſome wilely Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learn'd *Cyrus* to tame the *Lydians*, whom by Arms he could not, whilſt they kept themſelves from Luxury; with one eaſy Proclamation to ſet up *Stews*, dancing, feaſting and dicing, he made them ſoon his Slaves. I know not what driſt the *Prelates* had, whoſe Brokers they were to prepare and ſupple us either for a Foreign Invaſion or Domeſtic Oppreſſion; but this I am ſure they took the ready way to deſpoil us both of *Manhood* and *Grace* at once, and that in the ſhamefulleſt and ungodlieſt manner upon that day which Gods Law, and even our own Reaſon, hath conſecrated, that we might have one day at leaſt of ſeven ſet apart, wherein to examin and encreaſe our Knowledg of God, to meditate and commune of our Faith, our Hope, our eternal City in Heaven, and to quick'n withal, the Study and Exerciſe of Charity; at ſuch a time, that Men ſhould be pluck'd from their ſobereſt and ſadeſt Thoughts, and by *Biſhops* the pretended *Fathers of the Church*, inſtigated by publick Edict, and with earneſt Endeavour puſh'd forward to Gaming, Jigging, Waſſailing, and mixt Dancing is a Horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate Hireling Prieſt *Balaam* ſeek to ſubdue the *Iſraelites* to *Moab*, if not by Force, then by this Deviliſh *Pollicy*, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald Feaſts of *Baal-peor*. Thus have they treſpaſs'd not only againſt the *Monarchy* of *England*, but of Heaven alſo, as others, I doubt not, can proſecute againſt them.

I proceed within my own Bounds to ſhew you next what good Agents they are about the Revenues and Riches of the Kingdom, which declares of what Moment they are to *Monarchy* or what Avail. Two Leeches they have that ſtill ſuck, and ſuck the Kingdom, their Ceremonies and their Courts. If any Man will contend, that Ceremonies be lawful under the Goſpel, he may be anſwer'd otherwhere. This doubtleſs, that they ought to be many and over-coſtly no true *Proteſtant* will affirm. Now I appeal to all wiſe Men, what an exceſſive Waſte of Treaſury hath been within theſe few Years in this Land, not in the expedient but in the idolatrous Erection of Temples beautified exquiſitely to outvie the Papiſts, the coſtly and dear-bought Scandals and Snares of Images, Pictures, rich Copes, gorgeous Altar-cloths: And by the Courſes they took, and the Opinions they held, it was not likely any Stay would be, or any End of their Madneſs, where a pious Pretext is ſo ready at hand to cover their inſatiate Deſires. What can we ſuppoſe this will come to? What other Materials then theſe have built up the *ſpiritual* BABEL to the Height of her Abominations? Believe it Sir, right truly it may be ſaid, that *Antichriſt* is *Mammon*'s Son. The ſowre Leaven of human Traditions mixt in one putrifi'd Maſs with the poiſonous Dregs of Hypocriſy in the Hearts of *Prelates*, that lye basking in the Sunny Warmth of Wealth and Promotion, is the Serpents Egg that will hatch an *Antichriſt* whereſoever, and ingender the ſame Monſter as big or little as the Lump is which breeds him. If the Splendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to lord it once again in the Church of *England*, we ſhall ſee *Antichriſt* ſhortly wallow here, though his chief Kennel be at *Rome*. If they had one Thought upon *God*'s *Glory* and the Advancement of Chriſtian Faith, they would be a Means that with theſe Expences thus profuſely thrown away in Traſh, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for Want, and more added where too few are: A moderate Maintenance diſtributed to every painful Miniſter, that now ſcarce ſuſtains his Family with Bread, while the *Prelates* revel like *Belſhazzar* with their full Carouſes in *Goblets* and *Veſſels* of *Gold* ſnatcht from *God*'s *Temple*. Which (I hope) the Worthy Men of our Land will conſider. Now then for the COURTS. What a Maſs of Money is drawn from the

Veins

Veins into the Ulcers of the Kingdom this Way: Their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the Multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that ſwarm about their Offices declare ſufficiently. And what though all this go not Over-ſea? 'Twere better it did: Better a penurious Kingdom, then where exceſſive Wealth flows into the *graceleſs* and injurious Hands of common Sponges, to the Impoveriſhing of good and loyal Men, and that by ſuch execrable, ſuch irreligious, Courſes.

If the ſacred and dreadful Works of holy *Diſciplin*, *Cenſure*, *Pennance*, *Excommunication* and *Abſolution*, where no prophane thing ought to have Acceſs, nothing to be aſſiſtant but ſage and chriſtianly *Admonition*, brotherly *Love*, flaming *Charity* and *Zeal*: And then according to the Effects, paternal *Sorrow* or paternal *Joy*, mild *Severity*, melting *Compaſſion*, if ſuch divine *Miniſteries* as theſe, wherein the Angel of the *Church* repreſents the Perſon of *Chriſt Jeſus*, muſt lye proſtitute to ſordid Fees, and not paſs to and fro between our Saviour, that of free Grace redeem'd us, and the ſubmiſſive Penitent without the Truckage of periſhing Coin, and the butcherly Execution of Tormentors, Rooks and Rakeſhames ſold to Lucre, then have the *Babyloniſh* Merchants of *Souls* juſt Excuſe. Hitherto, Sir, you have heard how the *Prelates* have weakn'd and withdrawn the external Accompliſhments of Kingly Proſperity, the Love of the People, their Multitude, their Valour, their Wealth; mining and ſapping the Out-works and Redoubts of *Monarchy*; now hear, how they ſtrike at the very Heart and Vitals.

We know, That *Monarchy* is made up of two Parts, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Supremacy of the King. I begin at the Root. See what gentle and benign Fathers they have been to our Liberty. Their Trade being by the ſame Alchimy that the *Pope* uſes, to extract Heaps of *Gold* and *Silver* out of the droſſie *Bullion* of the Peoples Sins, and juſtly fearing, that the quick-ſighted *Proteſtants* Eye, clear'd in great part, from the Miſt of Superſtition, may at one time or other look with a good Judgment into theſe their deceitful Pedlaries, to gain as many Aſſociates of Guiltineſs as they can, and to infect the Temporal Magiſtrate with the like lawleſs, though not ſacrilegious, Extortion; ſee a while what they do; they ingage themſelves to preach and perſwade an Aſſertion for Truth the moſt falſe, and to this *Monarchy* the moſt pernicious and deſtructive that could be choſen. What more baneful to *Monarchy* then a Popular Commotion; for the Diſſolution of *Monarchy* ſlides apteſt into a *Democracy*; and what ſtirs the *Engliſhmen*, as our wiſeſt Writers have obſerv'd, ſooner to Rebellion than violent and heavy hands upon their Goods and Purpoſes? Yet theſe devout *Prelates*, ſpight of our great Charter, and the Souls of our Progenitors, that wreſted their Liberties out of the *Norman* Gripe with their deareſt Blood and higheſt Proweſs; for theſe many Years have not ceas'd in their Pulpits wrinching and ſpraining the *Text*, to ſet at nought and trample under foot all the moſt Sacred and Life-blood Laws, Statutes and Acts of *Parliament*, that are the holy Cov'nant of Union and Marriage between the King and his Realm, by proſcribing and confiſcating from us all the Right we have to our own Bodies, Goods and Liberties. What is this, but to blow a Trumpet and proclaim a Fire-croſs to a hereditary and perpetual Civil War. Thus much againſt the Subjects Liberty hath been aſſaulted by them. Now how they have ſpar'd Supremacy, or likely are hereafter to ſubmit to it, remains laſtly to be conſider'd.

The Emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the *Prieſt*, is now ſo come about in the Goſpel, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the *Prieſt* to the *King*. Whilſt the *Prieſts Office* in the Law was ſet out with an exteriour Luſtre of Pomp and Glory, Kings were Ambitious to be *Prieſts*; now *Prieſts* not perceiving the Heavenly Brightneſs and Inward Splendor of their more glorious *Evangelick Miniſtery* with as great Ambition affect to be Kings; as in all their Courſes is eaſie to be obſerv'd. Their Eyes ever imminent

nent upon worldly Matters, their Deſires ever thriſting after worldly Employments, inſtead of diligent and fervent Study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons and Decretals, which may inable them to Judge and Interpoſe in Temporal Cauſes, however pretended *Eccleſiaſtical*. Do they not hoard up *Pelf*, ſeek to be potent in *Secular Strength*, in *State Affairs*, in *Lands*, *Lordſhips* and *Demeans*, to *ſway* and carry all before them in *High Courts* and *Privy Counſels*, to bring into their Graſp, the *High* and *Principal Offices* of the Kingdom? Have they not been bold of late to check the *Common Law*, to ſlight and brave the Indiminiſhable Majeſty of our higheſt Court, the Law-giving and Sacred *Parliament*? Do they not plainly labour to exempt *Church-men* from the *Magiſtrate*? Yea, ſo preſumptuouſly as to Queſtion and Menace *Officers*, that repreſent the *Kings Perſon*, for uſing their Authority againſt Drunken *Prieſts*? The Cauſe of protecting *Murderous Clergy-Men* was the firſt heartburning that ſwell'd up the Audacious *Becket* to the peſtilent and odious Vexation of *Henry* the Second. Nay more, have not ſome of their Devoted Schollars begun, I need not ſay to nibble, but openly to argue againſt the Kings *Supremacy*? Is not the Chief of them accus'd out of his own Book, and his *late Canons* to affect a certain unqueſtionable *Patriarchat*, Independent and Unſubordinate to the Crown? From whence having firſt brought us to a ſervile *Eſtate* of *Religion* and *Manhood*, and having prediſpos'd his Conditions with the *Pope*, that lays claim to this *Land*, or ſome *Pepin* of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aſpire to the *Monarchy* among us, as that the *Pope* could find means ſo on the ſudden both to bereave the Emperour of the *Roman Territory* with the Favour of *Italy*, and by an unexpected Friend out of *France*, while he was in danger to loſe his *New-got Purchaſe*, beyond hope to leap into the fair *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*.

A good while the *Pope* ſuttly acted the *Lamb*, writing to the Emperour, my Lord *Tiberius*, my Lord *Mauritius*, but no ſooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images and Idols, but he threw off his Sheeps clothing and ſtarted up a Wolf, laying his Paws upon the Emperours Right, as forfeited to *Peter*. Why may not we as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned *Caucer* and from abroad by the great and learned *Padre Paolo*, from the like beginnings, as we ſee they are, fear the like Events? Certainly a wiſe and provident King ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* in his Realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two ſuch greedy Purveyers, Ambition and Uſurpation, I ſay he ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* to be as Dangerous and Derogatory from his Crown as a *Tetrarchy* or a *Heptarchy*. Yet now that the *Prelates* had almoſt attain'd to what their Inſolent and Unbridl'd Minds had hurried them; to thruſt the Laity under the Deſpotical Rule of the *Monarch*, that they themſelves might confine the *Monarch*, to a kind of Pupillage under their *Hierarchy*, obſerve but how their own *Principles* combat one another, and ſupplant each one his Fellow.

Having fitted us only for Peace, and that a ſervile Peace, by leſſening our Numbers, Draining our Eſtates, Enfeebling our Bodies, Cowing our free Spirits by thoſe ways as you have heard, their Impotent Action, cannot ſuſtain themſelves the leaſt Moment, unleſs they rouze us up to a *War*, fit for *Cain* to be the Leader of, an Abhorred, a Curſed, a Fraternal *War*. *England* and *Scotland*, deareſt Brothers both in *Nature* and in *Chriſt*, muſt be ſet to wade in one anothers Blood; and *Ireland* our free *Denizon* upon the Back of us both, as occaſion ſhould ſerve: A piece of Service that the *Pope* and all his Factors have been compaſſing to do, ever ſince the *Reformation*.

But ever Bleſſed be he, and ever Glorify'd that from his high Watch-Tower, in the Heav'ns diſcerning the crooked ways of Perverſe and Cruel Men; hath hitherto maim'd and infatuated all their damnable Inventions and deluded their great Wizzards, with a Deluſion fit for Fools and Children: Had

God

God been ſo minded, he could have ſent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongſt us; as he did between *Abimilech* and the *Sechemites*, to have made our Funerals, and ſlain Heaps more in Number then the miſerable ſurviving Remnant, but he, when we leaſt deſerv'd, ſent out a gentle Gale, and Meſſage of Peace from the Wings of thoſe his Cherubins, that fan his Mercy-ſeat. Nor ſhall the *Wiſdom*, the *Moderation*, the *Chriſtian Piety*, the *Conſtancy* of our Nobility and Commons of *England* be ever forgotten, whoſe clam and temperate Connivence could ſit ſtill and ſmile out the ſtormy Bluſter of Men more audacious and precipitant, then of ſolid and deep Reach, till their own Fury had run it ſelf out of Breath, aſſailing, by raſh and heady *Approaches*, the impregnable Scituation of our Liberty and Safety, that laught ſuch weak Enginry to ſcorn, ſuch poor Driſts to make a *National War* of a *Surplice Brabble*, a *Tippet-Scuffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of *Engliſh* Knighthood, to unfurle the ſtreaming *Red Croſs*, or to rear the horrid *Standard* of thoſe fatal guly Dragons for ſo unworthy a purpoſe, as to force upon their *Fellow-Subjects*, that which themſelves are weary of, the *Skeleton* of a *Maſs Book*. Nor muſt the *Patience*, the *Fortitude*, the *firm Obedience* of the Nobles and People of *Scotland*, ſtriving againſt manifold Provocations, nor muſt their ſincere and moderate Proceedings, hitherto, be unremember'd, to the ſhameful Conviction of all their Detractors.

Go on both hand in hand O NATIONS, never to be Diſ-united, be the praiſe and the *Heroick Song* of all POSTERITY; Merit this, but ſeek only *Vertue*, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? To win a fading triumphant *Lawrel*, out of the *Tears* of *Wretched Men*, but to ſettle the *pure Worſhip* of *God* in his Church, and *Juſtice* in the State. Then ſhall the hardeſt Difficulties ſmooth out themſelves before ye; *Envy* ſhall ſink to Hell, *Craft* and *Malice* be confounded, whether it be home-bred Miſchief, or outlandiſh Cunning: Yea all other Nations will then covet to ſerve ye, for Lordſhip and Victory are but the Pages of *Juſtice* and *Vertue*. Commit ſecurely to true *Wiſdom* the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of Craft and Suttlety, which are but her two Runnagates: Joyn your invincible Might to do worthy and Godlike Deeds, and then he that ſeeks to break your Union, a cleaving Curſe be his Inheritance to all Generations.

Sir, you have now at length this Queſtion for the time, and as my Memory would beſt ſerve me in ſuch a copious and vaſt Theme, fully handl'd, and you your ſelf may judge whether Prelacy be the only Church-Government agreeable to MONARCHY. Seeing therefore the perillous, and confuſed Eſtate into which we are faln and that to the certain Knowledge of all Men, through the Irreligious Pride and Hateful Tyranny of Prelates (as the innumerable and grievous Complaints of every Shire cry out) if we will now reſolve to ſettle Affairs, either according to pure Religion, or ſound Policy, we muſt firſt of all begin roundly to caſhier, and cut away from the publick Body the noyſom and diſeaſed Tumor of Prelacy and come from Schiſm to *Unity* with our Neighbour Reformed Siſter Churches, which with the Bleſſing of *Peace* and *pure Doctrine*, have now long time flouriſh'd; and doubtleſs with all hearty *Joy* and *Gratulation*, will meet and welcome our Chriſtian *Union* with them, as they have been all this while griev'd at our Strangeneſs and little better then Separation from them. And for the Diſcipline propounded, ſeeing that it hath been inevitably prov'd, that the Natural and Fundamental Cauſes of Political Happineſs in all Governments are the ſame, and that this Church Diſcipline is taught in the Word of *God*, and, as we ſee, agrees according to wiſh, with all ſuch States as have receiv'd it, we may infallibly aſſure our ſelves, that it will as well agree with Monarchy, though all the Tribe of *Aphoriſmers* and *Politicaſters*, would perſwade us there be ſecret and myſterious Reaſons againſt it. For upon the ſetling hereof, mark what Nouriſhing and Cordial Reſtorments to the State

will follow the Miniſters of the Goſpel attending only to the work of *Salvation*, every one within his limited Charge, beſides the diffuſive Bleſſings of *God* upon all our Actions, the King ſhall ſit without an old Diſturber, a daily Incroacher and Intruder; ſhall rid his Kingdom of a ſtrong Sequeſter'd and Collateral Power; a confronting Miter, whoſe potent Wealth and weakful Ambition, he had juſt Cauſe to hold in Jealouſie: Not to repeat the other preſent Evils, which only their Removal will remove. And becauſe things ſimply Pure, are inconſiſtent in the Maſs of Nature, nor are the Elements, or Humors in Mans Body exactly *Homogeneal*, and hence the beſt founded Common-wealths and leaſt Barbarous, have aim'd at a certain Mixture and Temperament, partaking the ſeveral Vertues of each others State, that each part drawing to it ſelf, may keep up a ſteady and even Uprightneſs in common.

There is no Civil *Government* that hath been known, no not the *Spartan*, not the *Roman*, though both for this reſpect, ſo much prais'd by the Wiſe *Polybius*, more divinely and harmoniouſly tun'd, more equally ballanc'd, as it were by the Hand and Scale of Juſtice, then is the Common-wealth of *England*: Where under a free and untutor'd *Monarch*, the Nobleſt, Worthieſt and moſt Prudent Men, with full approbation and ſuffrage of the People, have in their Power the ſupream and final determination of higheſt Affairs. Now if Conformity of Church *Diſciplin* to the Civil be ſo deſir'd, there can be nothing more Parallel, more Uniform, then when under the Soveraign Prince, *Chriſts* Vicegerent uſing the *Scepter* of *David*, according to *Gods Law*, the *Godlieſt*, the *Wiſeſt*, the *Learnedeſt* Miniſters in their ſeveral Charges, have the inſtructing and diſciplining of *Gods People*, by whoſe full and free Election, they are conſecrated to that holy and equal *Ariſtocracy*. And why ſhould not the Piety and Conſcience of *Engliſhmen*, as Members of the Church, be truſted in the Election of Paſtors to Functions, that nothing concern a *Monarch*, as well as their worldly Wiſdoms are priviledg'd as *Members* of the *State*, in ſuffraging their Knights and Burgeſſes to matters that concern him nearly? And if in weighing theſe ſeveral Offices, their difference in time and quality be caſt in, I know they will not turn the Beam of equal Judgment the Moiety of a Scruple. We therefore having already a kind of Apoſtolical and Ancient *Church* Election in our State, what a Perverſneſs would it be in us, of all others, to retain forcibly, a kind of imperious and ſtately Election in our *Church*? And what a Blindneſs to think that what is already Evangelical, as it were, by a happy chance in our *Politie*, ſhould be repugnant to that, which is the ſame by divine Command in the Miniſtery? Thus then we ſee that our Eccleſial and Political Choices may conſent and ſort as well together without any Rupture in the STATE, as Chriſtians and Freeholders. But as for Honour, that ought indeed to be different and diſtinct, as either Office looks a ſeveral Way, the Miniſter whoſe *Calling* and *End* is Spiritual, ought to be honour'd as a Father, and Phyſitian to the Soul (if he be found to be ſo) with a *Son-like* and *Diſciple*-like Reverence, which is indeed the Deareſt and moſt Affectionate *Honour*, moſt to be deſir'd by a wiſe Man, and ſuch as will eaſily command a free and plentiful Proviſion of outward Neceſſaries, without his further Care of this World.

The Magiſtrate, whoſe Charge is to ſee to our Perſons and Eſtates, is to be honour'd with a more elaborate and perſonal Courtſhip, with large Salaries and Stipends, that he himſelf may abound in thoſe Things, whereof his legal Juſtice and watchful Care, gives us the quiet Enjoyment. And this diſtinction of Honour will bring forth a ſeemly and graceful Uniformity over all the Kingdom,

Then ſhall the Nobles poſſeſs all the Dignities and Offices of Temporal Honour to themſelves, ſole Lords without the improper Mixture of Scholaſtick and Puſilanimous Upſtarts, the *Parliament* ſhall void her *Upper Houſe* of

of the ſame Annoyances, the Common and Civil *Laws* ſhall be both ſet free, the former from the Controul, the other from the meer Vaſſalage and *Copy-hold* of the *Clergy*.

And whereas *temporal Laws*, rather puniſh Men when they have tranſgreſſed, then form them to be ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſs ſeldomeſt, we may conceive great Hopes, through the Showrs of Divine Benediction, watering the unmoleſted and watchful Pains of the *Miniſtery*, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up ſo ſtrait and blameleſs, that the Civil Magiſtrate may with far leſs Toyl and Difficulty, and far more Eaſe and Delight ſtear the tall and goodly *Veſſel* of the Common-wealth through all the guſts and tides of the Worlds Mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that ſome Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, preſs me to the endeavour of an Anſwer. We muſt not run they ſay into ſudden Extreams. This is a fallacious Rule, unleſs underſtood only of the Actions of Vertue, about things indifferent, for if it be found, that thoſe two Extreams be *Vice* and *Vertue*, *Falſhood* and *Truth*, the greater Extremity of *Vertue* and ſuperlative *Truth* we run into, the more *Vertuous*, and the more *Wiſe* we become; and he that flying from Degenerate and Traditional Corruption, fears to ſhoot himſelf too far into the meeting Imbraces of a Divinely-warranted *Reformation*, had better not have run at all. And for the Suddenneſs, it cannot be fear'd. Who ſhould oppoſe it? The *Papiſts*? They dare not. The *Proteſtants* otherwiſe Affected. They were Mad. There is nothing will be remov'd, but what to them is profeſſedly Indifferent. The long Affection which the People have born to it, what for it ſelf, what for the odiouſneſs of *Prelates*, is Evident: From the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, it hath ſtill been more and more propounded, deſir'd and beſeech'd, yea ſometimes favourably forwarded by the *Parliaments* themſelves. Yet if it were ſudden and ſwift, provided ſtill it be from worſe to better, certainly we ought to hie us from Evil like a Torrent, and rid our ſelves of corrupt Diſciplin, as we would ſhake fire out of our Boſoms.

Speedy and vehement were the *Reformations* of all the good Kings of *Juda*, though the People had been nuzzl'd in Idolatry never ſo long before; they fear'd not the bug-bear Danger, nor the Lyon in the way, that the ſluggiſh and timorous Politician thinks he ſees; no more did our Brethren of the *Reformed Churches* abroad; they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid POPERY, into that which we in Mockery call preciſe *Puritaniſm*, and yet we ſee no Inconvenience befel them.

Let us not dally with God, when he offers us a full Bleſſing, to take as much of it as we think will ſerve our Ends, and turn him back the reſt upon his Hands, leſt in his Anger he ſnatch all from us again. Next, they alledge the *Antiquity* of *Epiſcopacy* through all *Ages*. What it was in the *Apoſtles* time, that queſtionleſs it muſt be ſtill, and therein I truſt the Miniſters will be able to ſatisfy the *Parliament*. But if *Epiſcopacy* be taken for *Prelacy*, all the Ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more Venerable then *Papacy*.

Moſt certain it is (as all our *Stories* beats witneſs) that ever ſince their comming to the See of *Canterbury*, for near twelve hundred Years, to ſpeak of them in General, they have been in *England* to our Souls a ſad and doleful Succeſſion of illiterate and blind Guides: To our Purſes and Goods, a waſtful Band of Robbers, a perpetual Havock and Rapine: To our State a continual *Hydra* of Miſchief and Moleſtation, the Forge of Diſcord and Rebellion: This is the Trophy of their Antiquity, and boaſted Succeſſion through ſo many Ages. And for thoſe *Prelate-Martyrs* they glory of, they are to be judg'd what they were by the *Goſpel*, and *not* the *Goſpel* to be tryed by them.

And it is to be Noted, that if they were for Biſhopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their Proſperity, and Fulneſs of Bread, but in their Perſecution,

which purifi'd them, and near their Death, which was their Garland, they plainly diſlik'd and condemn'd the Ceremonies, and threw away thoſe Epiſcopal Ornaments wherein they were inſtall'd, as fooliſh and deteſtable, for ſo the Words of *Ridley* at his Degradement and his Letter to *Hooper* expreſly ſhew. Neither doth the Author of our Church Hiſtory ſpare to record ſadly the Fall (for ſo he terms it) and Infirmities of theſe Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why ſhould their Martyrdom more countenance corrupt Doctrin or Diſciplin, then their Subſcriptions juſtify their Treaſon to the Royal Blood of this Realm, by diverting and intailing the Right of the Crown from the true Heirs to the Houſes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*, which had it took effect, this preſent King had in all likelihood never ſate on this Throne, and the happy Union of this Iſland had been fruſtrated.

Laſtly, Whereas they add, that ſome the learneſt of the Reformed abroad admire our Epiſcopacy, it had been more for the Strength of the Argument to tell us, that ſome of the wiſeſt *States-men* admire it, for thereby we might gueſs them weary of the preſent Diſciplin as offenſive to their State, which is the Bug we fear, but being they are Church-men, we may rather ſuſpect them for ſome *Prelatizing Spirits* that admire our *Biſhopricks*, not *Epiſcopacy*. The next Objection vaniſhes of it ſelf, propounding a Doubt, whether a greater Inconvenience would not grow from the Corruption of any other Diſciplin then from that of *Epiſcopacy*. This ſeems an unſeaſonable Foreſight, and out of Order to defer and put off the moſt needful Conſtitution of one right *Diſcipline*, while we ſtand ballancing the Diſcommodities of two corrupt ones. Firſt conſtitute that which is right, and of it ſelf it will diſcover and rectify that which ſwerves, and eaſily remedy the pretended Fear of having a *Pope* in every Pariſh, unleſs we call the zealous and meek Cenſure of the *Church*, a *Popedom*, which whoſo does let him adviſe how he can reject the Paſtorly *Rod* and Sheep-hook of CHRIST, and thoſe Cords of Love, and not fear to fall under the Iron *Sceptre* of his Anger, that will daſh him to Pieces like a Potſherd.

At another Doubt of theirs I wonder; Whether this Diſciplin which we deſire, be ſuch as can be put in Practice within this Kingdom, they ſay it cannot ſtand with the Common Law nor with the Kings Safety; the Government of Epiſcopacy is now ſo weav'd into the Common Law, in *God*'s Name, let it weave out again, let not human Quillets keep back divine Authority. 'Tis not the Common Law nor the Civil, but Piety and Juſtice that are our Foundreſſes; they ſtoop not, neither change Colour for *Ariſtocracy*, *Democracy* or *Monarchy*, nor yet at all interrupt their juſt Courſes, but far above the taking notice of theſe inferiour Niceties with perfect Sympathy, whereever they meet kiſs each other. *Laſtly*, They are fearful that the Diſciplin which will ſucceed cannot ſtand with the Kings Safety. Wherefore? It is but *Epiſcopacy* reduc'd to what it ſhould be, were it not that the Tyranny of *Prelates* under the Name of *Biſhops* hath made our Ears tender and ſtartling, we might call every good Miniſter a *Biſhop*, as every *Biſhop*, yea the *Apoſtles* themſelves are call'd Miniſters, and the *Angels miniſtring Spirits*, and the *Miniſters* again *Angels*. But wherein is this propounded Government ſo ſhrewd? Becauſe the Government of Aſſemblies will ſucceed. Did not the *Apoſtles* govern the Church by Aſſemblies, how ſhould it elſe be Catholic, how ſhould it have Communion? We count it Sacriledge to take from the rich *Prelates* their Lands and Revenues, which is Sacriledge in them to keep, uſing them as they do, and can we think it ſafe to defraud the living Church of GOD of that Right which GOD has given her in Aſſemblies! O but the Conſequence: Aſſemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. No ſurely, they draw no Supremacy, but that Authority which CHRIST and St. *Paul* in his Name confers upon them. The King may ſtill retain the ſame Supremacy in the Aſſemblies as in the *Parliament*, here he

he can do nothing alone againſt the Common Law, and there neither alone, nor with Conſent againſt the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy draws to it the Power to Excommunicate Kings, and then follows the worſt that can be imagin'd. Do they hope to avoid this by keeping *Prelates* that have ſo often done it? Not to exemplify the malepert Inſolence of our own *Biſhops* in this kind towards our Kings: I ſhall turn back to the *Primitive* and pure Times, which the Objecters would have the Rule of Reformation to us.

Not an Aſſembly, but one *Biſhop* alone, St. AMBROSE of *Millan*, held *Theodoſius* the moſt Chriſtian Emperour under Excommunication above eight Months together, drove him from the Church in the Preſence of his Nobles, which the good Emperour bore with Heroic *Humility*, and never ceas'd by Prayers and Tears till he was abſolv'd, for which coming to the Biſhop with *Supplication* into the *Salutatory*, ſome Out-porch of the Church, he was charged by him of Tyrannical Madneſs againſt GOD for coming into holy Ground. At laſt upon Conditions abſolv'd, and after great *Humiliation* approaching to the Altar to offer (as thoſe thrice pure Times then thought meet) he had ſcarce withdrawn his Hand, and ſtood a while, when a bold Arch deacon comes in the Biſhops Name, and chaces him from within the Rails, telling him peremptorily, that the Place wherein he ſtood was for none but the *Prieſts* to enter or to touch: And this is another Piece of pure *Primitive Divinity*. Think ye then our Biſhops will forego the Power of Excommunication on whomſoever? No certainly, unleſs to compaſs ſiniſter Ends, and then revoke when they ſee their Time. And yet this moſt mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable Prerogative of *Chriſt*'s Diadem, Excommunication, ſerves for nothing with them but to prog and pander for Fees, or to diſplay their Pride and ſharpen their Revenge, debarring Men the Protection of the Law, and I remember not whether in ſome Caſes it bereave not Men all Right to their worldly Goods and Inheritances, beſides the Denial of Chriſtian Burial. But in the Evangelical and Reformed Uſe of this ſacred Cenſure, no ſuch Proſtitution, no ſuch *Iſcariotical* Drifts are to be doubted, as that *ſpiritual* Doom and Sentence ſhould invade worldly Poſſeſſion, which is the rightful Lot and Portion even of the wickedeſt Men, as frankly beſtow'd upon them by the all-diſpenſing Bounty, as *Rain* and *Sun-ſhine*. No, no, it ſeeks not to bereave or deſtroy the Body, it ſeeks to ſave the Soul by humbling the Body, not by Impriſonment or Pecuniary Mulct, much leſs by Stripes or Bonds or Diſ-inheritance, but by Fatherly Admoniſhment and Chriſtian Rebuke to caſt into godly Sorrow, whoſe End is Joy, and ingenuous Baſhfulneſs to Sin: If that cannot be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the Pit with ſcarring Words, that it may learn to fear where Danger is, ſo doth Excommunication as dearly and as freely without Money uſe her wholeſom and ſaving Terrors, ſhe is inſtant, ſhe beſeeches by all the dear and ſweet Promiſes of SALVATION, ſhe entices and woes, by all the Threatnings and Thunders of the *Law*, and rejected *Goſpel* ſhe charges and adjures: This is all her Armory, her Munition, her Artillery, then ſhe awaits with Long-ſufferance and yet ardent Zeal. In brief, there is no Act in all the Errand of *Gods Miniſters* to Man-kind, wherein paſſes more lover-like Conteſtation between CHRIST and the Soul of a regenerate Man lapſing, then before, and in, and after, the Sentence of Excommunication. As for the fogging Proctorage of Money, with ſuch an Eye as ſtrook *Gehezi* with Leproſy, and *Simon Magus* with a Curſe, ſo does ſhe look and ſo threaten her fiery Whip againſt that banking Den of Theives that dare thus baffle and buy and ſell the awful and majeſtick Wrinkles of her Brow. He that is rightly and apoſtolically ſped with her inviſible Arrow, if he can be at Peace in his Soul, and not ſmell within him the Brimſtone of Hell, may have fair Leave to tell all his Bags over undiminiſh'd of the leaſt farthing,

farthing, may eat his Danties, drink this Wine, uſe his Delights, enjoy his Lands and Liberties, not the leaſt Skin rais'd, not the leaſt Hair miſplac'd for all that Excommunication has done: much more may a King enjoy his Rights and Prerogatives undeflour'd, untouch'd and be as abſolute and compleat a King, as all his Royalties and Revenues can make him. And therefore little did *Theodoſius* fear a Plot upon his Empire, when he ſtood Excommunicate by S. *Ambroſe*, though it were done either with much haughty Pride, or ignorant Zeal. But let us rather look upon the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, the *Grizons*, the *Suiſſes*, the *Hollanders*, the *French*, that have a Supremacy, to live under as well as we, where do the Churches in all theſe Places ſtrive for Supremacy, where do they claſh and juſtle Supremacies with the Civil *Magiſtrate*? In *France* a more ſevere Monarchy then ours, the *Proteſtants* under this Church-Government carry the Name of the beſt Subjects the King has; and yet *Presbytery*, if it muſt be ſo call'd, does there all that it deſires to do: How eaſie were it, if there be ſuch great Suſpicion, to give no more ſcope to it in *England*. But let us not for fear of a Scarr-Crow, or elſe through hatred to be reform'd ſtand Hankering and Politizing, when G O D with ſpread Hands teſtifies to us and points us out they way to our Peace.

Let us not be ſo overcredulous, unleſs G O D hath blinded us, as to truſt our dear Souls into the Hands of Men that beg ſo Devoutly for the Pride and Gluttony of their own Backs and Bellies, that ſue and ſollicite ſo eagerly, not for the ſaving of Souls, the Conſideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their Biſhopricks, Deaneries, Prebends and Chanonies; how can theſe Men not be corrupt, whoſe very Cauſe is the Bribe of their own Pleading; whoſe Mouths cannot open without the ſtrong Breath and loud Stench of Avarice, Simony and Sacrilege, embezling the Treaſury of the Church on painted and guilded Walls of Temples, wherein G O D hath Teſtified to have no Delight, warming their Palace Kitchins, and from thence their Unctuous and Epicurean Paunches, with the Alms of the Blind, the Lame, the Impotent, the Aged, the Orphan, the Widow, for with theſe the Treaſury of C H R I S T ought to be, here muſt be his Jewels beſtow'd, his Rich Cabinet muſt be emptied here; as the conſtant Martyr S. *Laurence* taught the *Roman Prætor*. Sir, would you know what the Remonſtrance, of theſe Men would have, what their Petition implies? They intreat us, that we would not be weary of thoſe inſupportable Grievances, that our Shoulders have hitherto crackt under, they beſeech us, that we would think 'em fit to be our Juſtices of Peace, our Lords, our higheſt Officers of State, though they come furniſh'd with no more Experience then they learnt between the *Cook* and the *Manciple*, or more profoundly at the College *Audit*, or the *Regent Houſe*, or to come to their deepeſt Inſight, at their *Patrons Table*; they would requeſt us to indure ſtill the ruſling of their ſilken Caſſocks, and that we would burſt our *Midriffs*, rather then laugh to ſee them under Sail in all their Lawn and Sarcenet, their Shrouds and Tackle, with a *Geometrical Rhombordes* upon their Heads: They would bear us in Hand that we muſt of Duty ſtill appear before them once a Year in *Jeruſalem* like Good Circumcized *Males* and *Females* to be Taxt by the Poll, to be Scons'd our Head Mony, our Twopences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of *Eaſter*. They pray us, that it would pleaſe us, to let them ſtill hale us and worry us with their Band-dogs and Purſivants; and that it would pleaſe the *Parliament*, that they may yet have the Whipping, Fleecing and Fleaing of us in their Diabolical Courts, to tear the Fleſh from our Bones and into our wide Wounds inſtead of Balm, to pour in the Oyl of Tartar, Vitriol and Mercury; ſurely a right reaſonable, innocent and ſoft-hearted Petition. O the relenting Bowels of the Fathers. Can this be granted them unleſs God have ſmitten us with Frenſie from above and with a dazling Giddineſs at

Noon

Noon Day? Should not thoſe Men rather be heard that come to plead againſt their own Preferments, their Worldly Advantages, their own Abundance; for Honour and Obedience to *Gods word*, the Converſion of Souls, the *Chriſtian Peace* of the Land and *Union* of the Reformed *Catholick Church*, the *Unappropriating* and *Unmonopolizing* the Rewards of *Learning* and *Induſtry*, from the greaſie Clutch of Ignorance and high Feeding. We have try'd already, and miſerably felt what *Ambition*, *worldly Glory* and *Immoderate Wealth* can do, what the boiſtrous and contradictional hand of a Temporal, Earthly and Corporeal Spiritualty can avail to the edifying of Chriſt's holy *Church*; were it ſuch a deſperate hazard to put to the venture the univerſal Votes of *Chriſts* Congregation, the Fellowly and Friendly Yoke of a Teaching and Laborious Miniſtery, the Paſtorlike and Apoſtolick Imitation of meek and unlordly Diſciplin, the gentle and benevolent Mediocrity of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Hucſterage of pidling *Tithes*? Were it ſuch an incurable Miſchief to make a little Trial, what all this would do to the flouriſhing and growing up of *Chriſts* myſtical Body? As rather to uſe every poor ſhift, and if that ſerve not, to threaten Uproar and Combuſtion and ſhake the Brand of Civil Diſcord?

O Sir, I do now feel my ſelf inwrapt on the ſudain into thoſe Mazes and *Labyrinths* of dreadful and hideous Thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unleſs I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my Hands to the Eternal and Propitious *Throne*, where nothing is readier then *Grace* and *Refuge* to the Diſtreſſes of Mortal Suppliants: And it were aſhame to leave theſe ſerious Thoughts leſs piouſly then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver Diſcourſes.

Thou therefore that ſits in Light and Glory unapproachable, *Parent* of *Angels* and *Men*! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that loſt Remnant whoſe Nature thou didſt aſſume, Ineffable and Everlaſting *Love*! And thou the Third Subſiſtence of Divine Infinitude, *Illumining Spirit*, the Joy and Solace of created *Things*! One *Tri-perſonal* GODHEAD! Look upon this thy poor and almoſt ſpent and expiring *Church*, leave her not thus a Prey to theſe importunate *Wolves*, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender *Flock*, theſe wild *Boars* that have broke into thy *Vineyard*, and left the Print of their polluting Hoofs on the Souls of thy Servants. O let them not bring about their damned *Deſigns*, that ſtand now at the Enterance of the Bottomleſs Pit, expecting the Watch-word to open and let out thoſe dreadful *Locuſts* and *Scorpions*, to *re-involve* us in that pitchy *Cloud* of infernal Darkneſs, where we ſhall never more ſee the *Sun* of thy *Truth* again, never hope for the chearful Dawn, never more hear the *Bird* of *Morning* ſing. Be mov'd with Pitty at the afflicted State of this our ſhaken *Monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her throws and ſtruggling againſt the grudges of more dreaded Calamities.

O thou that after the impetuous Rage of five Bloody Inundations and the ſucceeding Sword of inteſtine *War*, ſoaking the Land in her own Gore, didſt pitty the ſad and ceaſleſs Revolution of our ſwift and thick-comming Sorrows, when we were quite Breathleſs, of thy *free Grace*, didſt motion *Peace* and Terms of Cov'nant with us, and having firſt, well nigh free'd us from *Antichriſtian* Thraldom, didſt build up this *Britanick Empire* to a glorious and enviable height with all her Daughter Iſlands about her, ſtay us in this Felicity, let not the Obſtinacy of our half Obedience and Will-worſhip, bring forth that *Viper* of *Sedition*, that for theſe Fourſcore Years hath been breeding to eat through the Entrals of our *Peace*; but let her caſt her abortive Spawn without the danger of this Travelling and Throbbing *Kingdom*. That we may ſtill remember in our *Solemn Thankſgivings*, how for us the *Northren Ocean* even to the frozen *Thule* was ſcatter'd with the proud Ship-wraeks of the *Spaniſh Armado*

Armado and the very Maw of Hell ranſack'd and made to give up her conceal'd Deſtruction, 'ere ſhe could vent it in that Horrible and Damned Blaſt.

O how much more glorious will thoſe former Deliverances appear, when we ſhall know them not only to have ſaved us from greateſt Miſeries paſt, but to have reſerv'd us for greateſt Happineſs to come. Hitherto thou haſt but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjuſt and tyrannous Claim of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy ſelf, tye us everlaſtingly in willing Homage to the *Prerogative* of thy eternal *Throne*.

And now we know, O thou our moſt certain Hope and Defence, that thine Enemies have been conſulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*, and have joyn'd their Plots with that ſad Intelligencing Tyrant, that miſchiefs the World with his Mines of *Ophir*, and lies thirſting to Revenge his Naval Ruins, that have larded our Seas; but let them all take Counſel together, and let it come to naught, let them Decree, and do thou Cancel it, let them gather themſelves and be ſcatter'd, let them embattle themſelves and be broken, let them embattle and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidſt the *Hymns*, and *Hallelujahs* of *Saints*, ſome one may perhaps be heard offering at high *Strains*, in new and lofty *Meaſures*, to ſing and celebrate thy *divine Mercies* and *marvelous Judgments* in this Land, throughout all AGES; whereby this Great and Warlike Nation inſtructed and inur'd to the fervent and continual Practice of *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs*, and caſting far from her the *Rags* of her old *Vices*, may preſs on hard to that *high* and *happy* Emulation to be found the *Sobereſt*, *Wiſeſt* and moſt *Chriſtian People* at that day, when thou the Eternal and ſhortly-expected King ſhalt open the Clouds, to Judge the ſeveral Kingdoms of the World, and diſtributing *National Honours* and *Rewards* to Religious and juſt *Common-wealths*, ſhalt put an end to all Earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy Univerſal and Milde *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their *Labours*, *Counſels* and *Prayers*, have been earneſt for the *Common Good* of *Religion* and their *Country*, ſhall receive above the inferiour *Orders* of the *Bleſſed*, the *Regal* Addition of *Principalities*, *Legions* and *Thrones*, into their glorious Titles, and in Super-eminence of *Beatific Viſion*, progreſſing the *dateleſs* and *irrevoluble* Circle of *Eternity*, ſhall claſp inſeparable Hands with *Joy* and *Bliß*, in over-meaſure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true *Faith*, the Diſtreſſes and Servitude of their *Country*, aſpire to high *Dignity*, *Rule* and *Promotion* here, after a ſhamful End in this *Life* (which *God* grant them) ſhall be thrown down eternally into the *darkeſt* and *deepeſt Gulph* of HELL, where under the *deſpightful Controul*, the Trample and Spurne of all the other *Damned*, that in the Anguiſh of their *Torture* ſhall have no other Eaſe then to exerciſe a *Raving* and *Beſtial Tyranny* over them, as the *Slaves* and *Negroes*, they ſhall remain in that Plight for ever, the *Baſeſt*, the *Lowermoſt*, the moſt *Dejected*, moſt *Underfoot* and *Down-trodden Vaſſals* of *Perdition*.

The END.

THE REASON OF Church-Government URG'D AGAINST PRELACY.

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THE PREFACE.

IN the Publishing of human Laws, which for the most part aim not beyond the good of Civil Society, to set them barely forth to the People without Reason or Preface, like a Physical Prescript, or only with Threatnings, as it were a Lordly Command, in the Judgment of Plato was thought to be done neither Generously nor Wisely. His Advice was, seeing that Perswasion certainly is a more winning, and more Man like way to keep Men in Obedience then Fear, that to such Laws as were of principle Moment, there should be us'd as an Induction, some well-temper'd Discourse, shewing how good, how gainful, how happy it must needs be to live according to Honesty and Justice, which being utter'd with those native Colours and Graces of Speech, as true Eloquence the Daughter of Vertue can bestow upon her Mothers Praises, would so incite, and in a manner, charm the multitude into the Love of that which is really good, as to imbrace it ever after, not of Custom and Awe, which most Men do, but of Choice and Purpose, with true and constant Delight. But this Practice we may learn from a better and more ancient Authority, then any Heathen Writer hath to give us, and indeed being a point of so high Wisdom and Worth, how could it be but we should find it in that Book, within whose sacred context all Wisdom is infolded? Moses therefore the only Law giver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write Laws to Men whose Hearts were not first season'd with the knowledge of God and of his Works, began from the Book of Genesis as a Prologue to his Laws, which Josephus right well hath noted. That the Nation of the Jews, reading therein the universal Goodness of God to all Creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar Favour to them in his Election of Abraham their Ancestor, from whom they could derive so many Blessings upon themselves, might be mov'd to obey sincerely by knowing so good a reason of their Obedience. If then in the administration of Civil Justice, and under the Obscurity of Ceremonial Rites, such Care was had by the wisest of the Heathens, and by Moses among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general Reason of that Government to which their Subjection was requir'd, how much more ought the Members of the Church under the Gospel seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that Government which the Church claims to have over them: Especially for that the Church hath in her immediate Cure those inner Parts and Affections of the Mind where the Seat of Reason is, having Power to examine our Spiritual Knowledge, and to demand from us in God's behalf, a Service intirely reasonable. But because about the Manner and Order of this Government, whether it ought to be Presbyteral, or Prelatical, such endless question, or rather uproar is arisen in this Land, as may be justly term'd, what the Feaver is to the Physicians, the eternal reproach of our Divines; whilst other profound Clerks of late, greatly as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelacy, are so earnestly meeting out the Lydian proconsular Asia, to make good the prime Metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our Prelates in all haste meant to change their Soil, and become Neighbours to the English Bishop of Chalcedon; and whilst good Breerwood as busily bestirs himself in our vulgar Tongue to divide precisely the three Patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, and whether to any of these England doth belong, I shall in the mean while not cease to hope through the Mercy and Grace of Christ, the Head and Husband of his Church, that England shortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchal, nor See Prelatical, but to the faithful Feeding and Disciplining of that Ministerial Order, which the Blessed Apostles constituted throughout the Churches: And this I shall assay to prove can be no other then that of Presbyters and Deacons. And if any Man incline to think I undertake a Task too difficult for my Years, I trust through the Supreme inlightning assistance far otherwise; for my Years, be they few or many, what imports it? So they bring Reason, let that be look't on: And for the Task, from hence that the Question in Hand is so needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner Capacity, and contains in it the explication of many Admirable and Heavenly Privileges reach't out to us by the Gospel, I conclude the Task must be easie. God having to this end ordain'd his Gospel to be the Revelation of his Power and Wisdom in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his Wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross distorted Apprehension of decay'd Mankind. Let others therefore dread and shun the Scriptures for their Darkness, I shall wish I may deserve to be reckon'd among those who admire and dwell upon them for their Clearness. And this seems to be the cause why in those places of Holy Writ, wherein is treated of Church Government, the reasons thereof are not formally and professly set down, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of Christian Profession, they easily imploy themselves, which thing further to explain having now preface'd enough, I shall no longer defer.

CHAP.

THE REASON OF Church-Government URGED AGAINST PRELACY.

CHAP. I.

That Church-Government, *is preſcrib'd in the Goſpel, and that to ſay otherwiſe is unſound.*

THE firſt and greateſt Reaſon of Church-Govetnment, we may ſecurely with the Aſſent of many on the adverſe Part, affirm to be, becauſe we find it ſo ordain'd, and ſet out to us by the Appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Presbyterial, or Prelatical, it cannot be brought to the Scanning, until I have ſaid what is meet to ſome, who do not think it for the Eaſe of their inconſequent Opinions, to grant that Church Diſciplin is platformed in the Bible, but that it is left to the Diſcretion of Men. To this Conceit of theirs, I Anſwer, that it is both Unſound and Untrue. For there is not that thing in the World, of more grave and urgent Importance throughout the whole Life of Man, then is Diſcipline. What need I Inſtance? He that hath read with Judgment, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps, of Peace and War, Sea and Land, will readily agree, that the flouriſhing and decaying of all Civil Societies, all the Moments and Turnings of human Occaſions, are mov'd to and fro, as upon the *Axle* of Diſciplin. So that whatſoever Power or Sway in mortal Things, weaker Men have attributed to Fortune, I durſt with more confidence (the Honour of divine Providence ever ſav'd) aſcribe either to the Vigor, or the ſlackneſs of Diſciplin. Nor is there any ſociable Perfection in this Life Civil or Sacred, that can be above Diſciplin, but ſhe is that which with her muſical Cords, preſerves and holds all the Parts thereof together. Hence in thoſe perfect Armies of *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, and *Scipio* in the *Roman* Stories, the Excellence of military Skill was eſteem'd, not by the not needing, but by the readieſt ſubmitting to the Edicts of their Commander. And certainly Diſciplin is not only the removal of Diſorder, but if any viſible ſhape can be given to divine Things, the very viſible ſhape and image of Vertue, whereby ſhe is not only ſeen in the regular Geſtures and Motions of her heavenly Paces as ſhe walks, but alſo makes the Harmony of her voice audible to mortal Ears. Yea the Angels themſelves, in whom no diſorder is fear'd, as the Apoſtle that ſaw them in his Rapture deſcribes, are diſtinguiſht and quaternion'd into their celeſtial Princedoms and Satrapies, according as God himſelf hath writ his Imperial Decrees, through the great Provinces of Heav'n. The ſtate alſo of the bleſſed in Paradiſe, though never ſo Perfect, is not therefore left without Diſciplin, whoſe golden ſurveying Reed, marks out and meaſures every Quarter and Circuit of new *Jeruſalem*. Yet is it not to be conceiv'd, that thoſe eternal Effluences of Sanctity and Love in the glorified Saints,

ſhould by this means be confin'd and cloy'd with Repetition of that which is preſcrib'd, but that our happineſs may orbe it ſelf into a thouſand Vagancies of Glory andDelight, and with a kind of eccentrical Equation, be as it were an invariable Planet of joy and felicity,how much leſs can we believe, that God would leave his frail and feble, though not leſs beloved, Church here below, to the perpetual Stumble of Conjecture and Diſturbance in this our dark Voyage, without the Card and Compaſs of Diſciplin. Which is ſo hard to be of Mans making, that we may ſee even in the Guidance of a Civil State to worldly Happineſs, it is not for every Learned, or every Wiſe Man, though many of them conſult in Common, to invent or frame a Diſciplin, but if it be at all the Work of Man, it muſt be of ſuch a one as is a true Knower of himſelf, and himſelf in whom Contemplation and Practice, Wit, Prudence, Fortitude and Eloquence muſt be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden Cauſes of Things, and ſpan in his thoughts all the various Effects that Paſſion or Complexion can work in Mans Nature; and hereto muſt his Hand be at Defiance with Gain, and his Heart in all Vertues Heroick. So far is it from the Ken of theſe wretched Projecters of ours, that beſcraul their Pamphlets every day with new Forms of Government for our Church. And therefore all the ancient Lawgivers were either truly Inſpired as *Moſes*, or were ſuch Men as with Authority enough, might give it out to be ſo, as *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, becauſe they wiſely forethought, that Men would never quietly ſubmit to ſuch a Diſciplin, as had not more of Gods Hand in it then Mans. To come within the Narrowneſs of Houſhold Government, Obſervation will ſhew us many deep Councellers of State and Judges to demean themſelves incorruptly in the ſetled Courſe of Affairs, and many worthy Preachers upright in their Lives,powerful in their Audience; but look upon either of theſe Men where they are left to their own Diſciplining at home, and you ſhall ſoon perceive for all their ſingle Knowledge and Uprightneſs, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own Family; not only in what may concern the vertuous and decent Compoſure of their Minds in their ſeveral Places, but that which is of a lower and eaſier Performance, the right poſſeſſing of the outward Veſſel, their Body, in Health or Sickneſs, Reſt or Labour, Diet or Abſtinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the Soul, and uſeful to the Commonwealth: Which if Men were but as Good to Diſciplin themſelves, as ſome are toTutor their Horſes andHawks, it could not be ſo groſs in moſt Houſholds. If then it appear ſo hard and ſo little known, how to govern a Houſe well, which is thought of ſo eaſie Diſcharge, and for every Mans Undertaking, what Skill of Man, what Wiſdom, what Parts, can be ſufficient to give Laws and Ordinances to the Elect Houſhold of God? If we could imagin,that he had left it at Random without his provident and gracious Ordering, who is he ſo Arrogant ſo Preſumptuous, that durſt diſpoſe and guide the living Ark of the holy Ghoſt, though he ſhould find it wandring in the Field of *Bethſhemeſh*, without the conſcious Warrant of ſome high Calling. But no profane Inſolence can parallel that which our Prelates dare avouch, to drive outragiouſly and ſhatter the holy Ark of the Church, not born upon their ſhoulders with Pains and Labour in the Word, but drawn with rude Oxen their Officials,and their own brute Inventions. Let them make ſhews of Reforming while they will, ſo long as the Church is mounted upon the Prelatical Cart, and not as it ought between the Hands of the Miniſters, it will but ſhake and totter, and he that ſets to his Hand though with a good Intent to hinder the ſhogging of it, in this unlawful Waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him, as it was to *Uzza*. Certainly if God be the Father of his Family the Church, wherein could he expreſs that Name more, then in training it up under his own All-wiſe and Dear Oeconomy, not turning it looſe to theHavock of Strangers andWolves, that would

would ask no better Plea then this to do in the Church of Chriſt, what ever Humor, Faction, Policy or licentious Will would prompt them to. Again, if Chriſt be the Churches Husband expecting her to be preſented before him a pure unſpotted Virgin, in what could he ſhew his tender Love to her more, then in preſcribing his own ways which he beſt knew would be to the Improvement of her Health and Beauty, with much greater Care doubtleſs, then the *Perſian* King could appoint for his Queen *Eſther*, thoſe Maiden Dietings and ſet Preſcriptions of Baths and Odors, which may tender her at laſt the more aimable to his Eye. For of any Age or Sex, moſt unfitly may a Virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary Education. Yea though ſhe be well inſtructed, yet is ſhe ſtill under a more ſtrait Tuition, eſpecially if betroath'd. In like manner, the Church bearing the ſame Reſemblance, it were not Reaſon to think ſhe ſhould be left deſtitute of that Care, which is as neceſſary and proper to her, as Inſtruction. For publick Preaching indeed is the Gift of the Spirit working, as beſt ſeems to his ſecret Will, but Diſciplin is the practick Work of Preaching, directed and apply'd as is moſt requiſite to particular Duty, without which it were all one to the Benefit of Souls, as it would be to the Cure of Bodies, if all the Phyſicians in *London* ſhould get into the ſeveral Pulpits of the City, and aſſembling all the Diſeas'd in every Pariſh, ſhould begin a learned Lecture of Pleuriſies, Palſies, Lethargies, to which perhaps none there preſent were inclin'd, and ſo without ſo much as feeling one Pulſe, or giving the leaſt Order to any skilful *Apothecary*, ſhould diſmiſs 'em from time to time, ſome groaning, ſome languiſhing, ſome expiring, with this only Charge, to look well to themſelves, and do as they hear. Of what Excellence and Neceſſity then Church-diſciplin is, how beyond the Faculty of Man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to Mans Invention, who would be every foot turning it to ſiniſter Ends, how properly alſo it is the Work of God as Father, and of Chriſt as Husband of the Church; we have by thus much heard.

CHAP. II.

That Church-Government is ſet down in holy Scripture, and that to ſay otherwiſe is untrue.

AS therefore it is unſound to ſay, that God hath not appointed any ſet Government in his Church, ſo is it untrue. Of the Time of the Law there can be no Doubt: For to let paſs the firſt Inſtitution of Prieſts and *Levites*, which is too clear to be inſiſted upon, when the Temple came to be built, which in plain Judgment could breed no eſſential Change either in Religion or in the Prieſtly Government; yet God to ſhew how little he could endure, that Men ſhould be tampring and contriving in his Worſhip, though in things of leſs Regard, gave to *David* for *Solomon* not only a Pattern and Model of the Temple, but a Direction for the Courſes of the Prieſts and *Levites*, and for all the Work of their Service. At the Return from the Captivity things were only reſtor'd after the Ordinance of *Moſes* and *David*; or if the leaſt Alteration be to be found, they had with them inſpired Men, Prophets, and it were not ſober to ſay, they did ought of Moment without divine Intimation. In the Propheey of *Ezekiel*, from the 40. *Chap.* onward, after the Deſtruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet ſeeking to wean the Hearts of the *Jews* from their old Law to expect a new and more perfect Reformation under Chriſt, ſets out before their Eyes the ſtately Fabrick and Conſtitution of his Church, with all the Eccleſiaſtical Functions appertaining; indeed the Deſcription is as ſorted beſt to the Apprehenſions of thoſe Times, typical and ſhadowy, but in ſuch Manner as never yet came to paſs, nor never muſt literally, unleſs we mean to annihilate the Goſpel. But ſo exquiſite

exquiſite and lively the Deſcription is in portraying the new State of the Church, and eſpecially in thoſe Points where Government ſeems to be moſt active, that both *Jews* and *Gentiles* might have good Cauſe to be aſſur'd, that God when ever he meant to reform his Church, never intended to leave the Government thereof delineated here in ſuch curious Architecture, to be patch'd afterwards and varniſh'd over with the Devices and Imbelliſhings of Mans Imagination. Did God take ſuch Delight in meaſuring out the Pillars, Arches and Doors of a material Temple, was he ſo punctual and circumſpect in Lavers, Altars and Sacrifices, ſoon after to be abrogated, leaſt any of theſe ſhould have been made contrary to his Mind? Is it not a far more perfect Work, more agreeable to his Perfection in the moſt perfect State of the Church Militant, the new Alliance of God to Man? Should not he rather now by his own preſcribed Diſciplin, have caſt his Line and Level upon the Soul of Man, which is his rational Temple, and by the divine Square and Compaſs thereof form and regenerate in us the lovely Shapes of Vertues and Graces, the ſooner to edify and accompliſh that Immortal Stature of Chriſts Body, which is his Church, in all her glorious Lineaments and Proportions. And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Goſpel we ſhall ſee with open Eyes, not under a Veil. We may paſs over the Hiſtory of the *Acts* and other Places, turning only to thoſe Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*: Where the ſpiritual Eye may diſcern more goodly and gracefully erected then all the Magnificence of Temple or Tabernacle, ſuch a heavenly Structure of Evangelic Diſciplin, ſo diffuſive of Knowledge and Charity to the proſperous Increaſe and Growth of the Church, that it cannot be wonder'd if that elegant and artful Symmetry of the promiſed new Temple in *Ezekiel*, and all thoſe ſumptuous Things under the Law were made to ſignify the inward Beauty and Splendour of the Chriſtian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be commanded let it now be judg'd. St. *Paul* after his Preface to the *firſt* of *Timothy*, which he concludes in the 17. *ver.* with *Amen*, enters upon the Subject of his Epiſtle, which is to eſtabliſh the Church Government with a Command. This Charge I commit to thee, Son *Timothy*: According to the Prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them might'ſt war a good Warfare. Which is plain enough thus expounded. This Charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to inſtruct thee, how thou ſhalt ſet up Church-diſcipline, that thou might'ſt war a good Warfare, bearing thy ſelf conſtantly and faithfully in the Miniſtery, which in the 1. to the *Corinthians* is alſo call'd a Warfare: And ſo after a kind of *Parentheſis* concerning *Hymenæus*, he returns to his Command, though under the mild Word of exhorting, *Chap.* 2. *v.* 1. I exhort therefore. As if he had interrupted his former Command by the occaſional Mention of *Hymenæus*. More beneath in the 14. *v.* of the 3. *Chap.* when he hath deliver'd the Duties of Biſhops or Presbyters and Deacons, not once naming any other Order in the Church, he thus adds. Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly (ſuch Neceſſity it ſeems there was) but if I tarry long, that thou may'ſt know how thou ought'ſt to behave thy ſelf in the Houſe of God. From this Place it may be juſtly ask'd, whether *Timothy* by this here written might know what was to be known concerning the Orders of Church-Governours or no? If he might, then in ſuch a clear Text as this may we know too without further Jangle: If he might not, then did St. *Paul* write inſufficiently, and moreover ſaid not true, for he ſaith here he might know, and I perſwade my ſelf he did know 'ere this was written, but that the Apoſtle had more Regard to the Inſtruction of us, then to the informing of him. In the 5. *Chap.* after ſome other Church-Precepts concerning Diſciplin, mark what a dreadful Command follows, *v.* 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and the Elect Angels, that thou obſerve theſe things, and as if all were not yet ſure enough, he cloſes up the Epiſtle with an adjuring Charge thus. I

give

give thee Charge in the ſight of God who quickneth all things, and before Chriſt Jeſus, that thou keep this Commandment: That is the whole Commandment concerning Diſciplin, being the main Purpoſe of the Epiſtle: Although *Hooker* would feign have this Denouncement referr'd to the particular Precept going before, becauſe the Word Commandment is in the ſingular Number, not remembring that even in the 1. *Chap.* of this Epiſtle, the Word Commandment is us'd in a plural Senſe, *v.* 5. Now the End of the Commandment is Charity. And what more frequent then in like manner, to ſay the Law of *Moſes*. So that either to reſtrain the Significance too much, or too much to enlarge it, would make the Adjuration either not ſo weighty or not ſo pertinent. And thus we find here that the Rules of Church-diſciplin are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with ſuch a terrible Impalement of Commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the leaſt of them, muſt hazard the wounding of his Conſcience even to Death. Yet all this notwithſtanding we ſhall find them broken well-nigh all by the fair Pretenders even of the next Ages. No leſs to the Contempt of him whom they feign to be the Arch-founder of Prelacy, St. *Peter*, who by what he writes in the 5. *Chap.* of his 1. Epiſtle, ſhould ſeem to be far another Man then Tradition reports him: There he commits to the Presbyters only full Authority both of Feeding the Flock and Epiſcopating: And commands that Obedience be given to them as to the mighty Hand of God, which is his mighty Ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the ventrous boldneſs of Innovation that enſu'd, changing the Decrees of God that is immutable, as if they had been breath'd by Man. Nevertheleſs, when Chriſt by thoſe Viſions of S. *John*, fore-ſhews the Reformation of his Church, he bids him take his Reed and meet it out again after the firſt Pattern, for he preſcribes him no other. Ariſe, ſaid the Angel, and meaſure the Temple of God and the Altar, and them that worſhip therein. What is there in the World can meaſure Men but Diſciplin? Our word Ruling imports no leſs. Doctrin indeed is the Meaſure, or at leaſt the reaſon of the Meaſure, 'tis true, but unleſs the Meaſure be apply'd to that which it is to meaſure, how can it actually do its proper Work. Whether therefore Diſciplin be all one with Doctrin, or the particular Application thereof to this or that Perſon, we all agree, that Doctrin muſt be ſuch only as is commanded; or whether it be ſomething really differing from Doctrin, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the moſt adequant Meaſure of the Church and her Children, which is here the Office of a great Evangeliſt, and the Reed given him from Heaven. But that part of the Temple, which is not thus meaſur'd, ſo far is it from being in Gods Tuition or Delight, that in the following Verſe he rejects it, however in Shew and Viſibility, it may ſeem a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lies thus unmeaſur'd, he leaves it to be trampl'd by the *Gentiles*, that is to be polluted with Idolatrous and *Gentiliſh* Rites and Ceremonies. And that the principal Reformation here foretold, is already come to paſs, as well in Diſciplin as in Doctrin, the ſtate of our Neighbour Churches afford us to behold. Thus through all the Periods and Changes of the Church, it hath been prov'd that God hath ſtill reſerv'd to himſelf the right of enacting Church-Government.

CHAP. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Goſpel to hold that Church-Government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as B. Andrews *and the Primat of* Armagh *maintain.*

WE may return now from this interpoſing Difficulty thus remov'd, to affirm, that ſince Church-Government is ſo ſtrictly commanded in-

Gods

Gods Word, the firſt and greateſt Reaſon, why we ſhould ſubmit thereto, is, becauſe God hath ſo commanded. But whether of theſe two, Prelacy or Presbytery, can prove it ſelf to be ſupported by this firſt and greateſt Reaſon, muſt be the next Diſpute. Wherein this Poſition is to be firſt laid down as granted; that I may not follow a Chaſe rather then an Argument, that one of theſe two, and none other, is of Gods ordaining, and if it be, that Ordinance muſt be evident in the Goſpel. For the imperfect and obſcure Inſtitution of the Law, which the Apoſtles themſelves doubt not oft-times to vilifie, cannot give Rules to the compleat and glorious Miniſtration of the Goſpel, which looks on the Law as on a Child, not as on a Tutor. And that the Prelates have no ſure Foundation in the Goſpel, their own Guiltineſs doth manifeſt: They would not elſe run queſting up as high as *Adam* to fetch their Original, as 'tis ſaid one of them lately did in Publick. To which Aſſertion, had I heard it, becauſe I ſee they are ſo inſatiable of Antiquity, I ſhould have gladly aſſented and confeſt them yet more Ancient. For *Lucifer* before *Adam* was the firſt prelate Angel, and both he, as is commonly thought, and our Forefather *Adam*, as we all know, for aſpiring above their Orders, were miſerably degraded. But others better advis'd, are at content to receive their Beginning from *Aaron* and his Sons, among whom, *B. Andrews* of late Years, and in theſe times, the Primat of *Armagh* for their Learning are reputed the beſt able to ſay what may be ſaid in this Opinion. The Primat in his diſcourſe about the original of Epiſcopacy, newly revis'd begins thus. The Ground of Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the Pattern preſcribed by God in the Old Teſtament, and partly from the Imitation thereof brought in by the Apoſtles. Herein I muſt entreat to be excus'd of the deſire I have to be ſatisfi'd, how for example, the Ground of Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the example of the Old Teſtament, by whom next, and by whoſe Authority. *Secondly*, how the Church-Government under the Goſpel, can be rightly call'd an Imitation of that in the Old Teſtament? For that the Goſpel is the end and fulfilling of the Law, our Liberty alſo from the Bondage of the Law I plainly read. How then the ripe Age of the Goſpel ſhould be put to School again, and learn to govern her ſelf from the Infancy of the Law, the ſtronger to imitate the weaker, the Freeman to follow the Captive, the Learned to be leſſon'd by the Rude, will be a heard undertaking to evince from any of thoſe Principles, which either Art or Inſpiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apoſtles, may be drawn howſoever to a likeneſs of ſomething Moſaical, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpoſe in Imitation, as having the Right thereof grounded in Nature and not in Ceremony or Type, it will little avail the Matter. The whole Judaick Law is either Political, and to take Pattern by that no Chriſtian Nation ever thought it ſelf oblig'd in Conſcience; or Moral, which contains in it the Obſervation of whatſoever is ſubſtantially and perpetually true and good, either in Religion, or courſe of Life. That which is thus Moral, beſides what we fetch from thoſe unwritten Laws and Ideas which Nature hath ingraven in us, the Goſpel, as ſtands with her Dignity moſt, lectures to us from her own authentick Hand-writing and Command, not Copies out from the borrow'd Manuſcript of a ſubſervient Scroul, by way of imitating. As well might ſhe be ſaid in her Sacrament of Water to imitate the Baptiſm of *John*. What though ſhe retain Excommunication us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath, ſhe does not therefore imitate the Law her Underling, but perfect her. All that was morally delivered from the Law to the Goſpel in the Office of the Prieſts and Levites, was that there ſhould be a Miniſtery let a part to teach and diſciplin the Church, both which Duties the Apoſtles thought Good to commit to the Presbyters. And if any diſtinction of Honour were to be made among them, they directed it ſhould be to thoſe not that only rule well, but eſpecially to thoſe that

labour

labour in the Word and Doctrin. By which we are taught that laborious Teaching is the moſt honourable Prelacy that one Miniſter can have above another in the Goſpel: If therefore the Superiority of Biſhopſhip be grounded on the Prieſthood as a part of the Moral Law, it cannot be ſaid to be an Imitation; for it were ridiculous, that Morality ſhould imitate Morality, which ever was the ſame thing. This very Word of Patterning or Imitating excludes Epiſcopacy from the ſolid and grave Ethical Law, and betrays it to be a meer Child of Ceremony, or likelier ſome misbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay Feathers of her obſolete Bravery, to hide her own deformed Bareneſs, now vaunts and glories in her ſtolen Plumes. In the mean while what danger there is againſt the very Life of the Goſpel, to make in any thing the Typical Law her Pattern, and how impoſſible in that which touches the Prieſtly Government, I ſhall uſe ſuch Light as I have receiv'd, to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what Expreſſions the Holy Apoſtle *S. Paul* ſpares not to explain to us the Nature and Condition of the Law, calling thoſe Ordinances which were the chief and eſſential Offices of the Prieſts, the Elements and Rudiments of the World, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed and bring up the Children of the Promiſe, the Heirs of Liberty and Grace, under ſuch a kind of Government as is profeſt to be but an Imitation of that Miniſtery which engender'd to Bondage the Sons of *Agar*, how can this be but a foul Injury and Derogation, if not a Cancelling of that Birthright and Immunity which Chriſt hath purchas'd for us with his Blood. For the Miniſtration of the Law conſiſting of carnal Things, drew to it ſuch a Miniſtry as conſiſted of carnal Reſpects, Dignity, Precedence and the like. And ſuch a Miniſtery eſtabliſh'd in the Goſpel, as is founded upon the Points and Terms of Superiority, and neſts it ſelf in worldly Honours, will draw to it, and we ſee it doth, ſuch a Religion as runs back again to the old Pomp and Glory of the Fleſh. For doubtleſs, there is a certain Attraction and magnetick Force betwixt the Religion and the miniſterial Form thereof. If the Religion be Pure, Spiritual, Simple and Lowly, as the Goſpel moſt truly is, ſuch muſt the Face of the Miniſtery be. And in like manner, if the Form of the Miniſtery be grounded in the worldly Degrees of Authority, Honour, temporal Juriſdiction, we ſee it with our Eyes, it will turn the inward Power and Purity of the Goſpel into the outward Carnality of the Law; evaporating and exhaling the internal Worſhip into empty Conformities and gay Shews. And what remains then, but that we ſhould return into as dangerous and deadly Apoſtacy as our lamented Neighbours the Papiſts, who by this very Snare and Pitfall of Imitating the Ceremonial Law, fell into that irrecoverable Superſtition, as muſt needs make void the Cov'nant of Salvation, to them that perſiſt in this Blindneſs.

CHAP. IV.

That it is impoſſible to make the Prieſthood of Aaron *a Pattern wherein to ground Epiſcopacy.*

THat which was promis'd next, is to declare the Impoſſibility of grounding Evangelick Government in the Imitation of the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood: Which will be done by conſidering both the Quality of the Perſons, and the Office it ſelf. *Aaron* and his Sons were the Princes of their Tribe before they were ſanctified to the Prieſthood: That perſonal Eminence which they held above the other *Levites*, they receiv'd not only from their Office, but partly brought it into their Office: And ſo from that time forward, the Prieſts were not choſen out of the whole Number of the *Levites* as our Biſhops, but were born Inheritors of the Dignity. Therefore unleſs we ſhall chooſe our Prelates only out of the Nobility, and let them run in a Blood, there can be no poſſible Imitation of lording over their Brethren in

regard of their Perſons altogether unlike. As for the Office which was a repreſentation of Chriſts own Perſon more immediately in the high Prieſt, and of his whole Prieſtly Office in all the other; to the Performance of which the *Levites* were but as Servitors and Deacons, it was neceſſary there ſhould be a diſtinction of Dignity between two Functions of ſo great odds. But there being no ſuch difference among our Miniſters, unleſs it be in reference to the Deacons, it is impoſſible to found a Prelacy upon the Imitation of this Prieſthood. For wherein, or in what work, is the Office of a Prelate, excellent above that of a Paſtor? In Ordination you'l ſay; but flatly againſt Scripture, for there we know *Timothy* receiv'd Ordination by the hands of the *Presbytery*, notwithſtanding all the vain Deluſions that are us'd to evade that Teſtimony, and maintain an Unwarrantable Uſurpation. But wherefore ſhould Ordination be a Cauſe of ſetting up a ſuperiour Degree in the Church? Is not that whereby Chriſt became our Saviour, a higher and greater Work, then that whereby he did ordain Meſſengers to Preach and Publiſh him our Saviour? Every Miniſter ſuſtains the Perſon of Chriſt in his higheſt Work of Communicating to us the Myſteries of our Salvation, and hath the Power of Binding and Abſolving, how ſhould he need a higher Dignity to repreſent or execute that which is an inferior Work in Chriſt? Why ſhould the Performance of Ordination which is a lower Office exalt a Prelate and not the ſeldom diſcharge of a higher and more noble Office, which is Preaching and Adminiſtering much rather Depreſs him? Verily neither the Nature, nor the Example of Ordination doth any way require an Imparity between the Ordainer and the Ordained. For what more Natural then every like to produce his like, Man to beget Man, Fire to propagate Fire, and in Examples of higheſt Opinion, the Ordainer is inferior to the Ordained; for the Pope is not made by the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals, who Ordain and Conſecrate to a higher and greater Office then their own.

CHAP. V.

To the Argument of B. Andrews *and the* Primate.

IT follows here to attend to certain Objections in a little Treatiſe lately Printed among others of like ſort at *Oxford*, and in the Title ſaid to be out of the rude Draughts of Biſhop *Andrews*. And ſurely, they be rude Draughts indeed, in ſo much that it is Marvel to think what his Friends meant to let come abroad ſuch ſhallow Reaſonings with the Name of a Man ſo much bruited for Learning. In the 12 and 23 Pages he ſeems moſt notoriouſly inconſtant to himſelf; for in the former Place he tells us, he forbears to take any Argument of Prelacy from *Aaron*, as being the Type of Chriſt. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his raſh Gratuity, affirming, that to ſay, Chriſt being come in the Fleſh, his Figure in the high Prieſt ceaſeth, is the ſhift of an Anabaptiſt; and ſtifly argues that Chriſt being as well King as Prieſt, was as well fore-reſembled by the Kings then, as by the high Prieſt. So that if his coming take away the one Type, it muſt alſo the other. Marvellous Piece of Divinity! And well worth that the Land ſhould pay Six Thouſand Pounds a Year for in a Biſhoprick, although I read of no Sophiſter among the *Greeks* that was ſo dear, neither *Hippias* nor *Protagoras*, nor any whom the Socratick School famouſly refuted without Hire. Here we have the Type of the King ſow'd to the Typet of the Biſhop, ſuttly to caſt a Jealouſie upon the Crown, as if the Right of Kings, like *Meleager* in the *Metamorphoſis*, were no longer liv'd then the Fireband of Prelacy. But more likely the Prelates fearing (for their own guilty Carriage proteſts they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold Practice by poſſeſſing the King with this moſt falſe Doctrin, to ingage his Power

Power for them, as in his own Quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin, juſt as cruel *Tyberius* would wiſh,

When I dye, let the Earth be roul'd in Flames.

But where, O Biſhop, doth the purpoſe of the Law, ſet forth Chriſt to us as a King? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be aboliſh'd as Part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King: If before the Law, or under the Law, God by a ſpecial Type in any King, would forſignify the future Kingdom of Chriſt, which is not yet viſibly come, what was that to the Law? The whole Ceremonial Law, and Types can be in no Law elſe, comprehends nothing but the propitiatory Office of Chriſt's Prieſthood, which being in ſubſtance accompliſht, both Law and Prieſthood fades away of it ſelf, and paſſes into Air like a tranſitory Viſion, and the Right of Kings neither ſtands by any Type nor falls. We acknowledge that the Civil Magiſtrate wears an Authority of Gods giving, and ought to be obey'd as his Vicegerent. But to make a King a Type, we ſay is an abuſive and unskilful Speech, and of a Moral Solidity makes it ſeem a Ceremonial Shadow. Therefore your typical Chain of King and Prieſt muſt unlink. But is not the Type of Prieſt taken away by Chriſts coming? No ſaith this famous Proteſtant Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; it is not, and he that ſaith it is, is an Anabaptiſt. What think ye Readers, do ye not underſtand him? What can be gather'd hence but that the Prelate would ſtill Sacrifice? Conceive him Readers, he would Miſſificate. Their Altars indeed were in a fair forwardneſs; and by ſuch Arguments as theſe, they were ſetting up the molten Calf of their Maſs again, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For if the Type of Prieſt be not taken away, then neither of the high Prieſt, it were a ſtrange Beheading; and high Prieſt more then one there cannot be, and that one can be no leſs then a Pope. And this doubtleſs was the Bent of his Career, though never ſo covertly. Yea but there was ſomething elſe in the high Prieſt beſides the Figure, as is plain by St. *Paul's* acknowledging him. 'Tis true, that in the 17. of *Deut.* whence this Authority ariſes to the Prieſt in matters too hard for the ſecular Judges, as muſt needs be many in the occaſions of thoſe times involv'd ſo with ceremonial Niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to enquire at the Mouth of the Prieſts, who beſides the Magiſtrates, their Collegues, had the Oracle of Urim to conſult with. And whether the high Prieſt *Ananias*, had not incroach'd beyond the Limits of his Prieſtly Authority, or whether us'd it rightly, was no time then for St. *Paul* to conteſt about. But if this inſtance be able to aſſert any Right of Juriſdiction to the Clergy, it muſt impart it in common to all Miniſters, ſince it were a great Folly to ſeek for Counſel in a hard intricate Scruple from a Dunce Prelate, when there might be found a ſpeedier Solution from a grave and learned Miniſter, whom God hath gifted with the Judgment of Urim, more amply oft-times then all the Prelates together; and now in the Goſpel hath granted the Priviledge of this oraculous Ephod alike to all his Miniſters. The reaſon therefore of Imparity in the Prieſts, being now, as is aforeſaid, really annull'd both in their Perſon, and in their repreſentative Office, what Right of Juriſdiction ſoever can be from this Place Levitically bequeath'd, muſt deſcend upon the Miniſters of the Goſpel equally, as it finds them in all other Points equal. Well then, he is finally content to let *Aaron* go. *Eleazar* will ſerve his turn, as being a Superiour of Superiours, and yet no Type of Chriſt in *Aarons* life time. O thou that would'ſt wind into any Figment, or Phantaſm to ſave thy Miter! Yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpoliſht by ſome ſecond Hand, with Crooks and Emendations; Hear then, the Type of Chriſt in ſome one Particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of Holies and ſuch like, reſted upon the High Prieſt only as more immediately Perſonating our Saviour: But to reſemble his whole ſatisfactory Office, all the Lineage of *Aaron* was

no more then ſufficient. And all, or any of the Prieſts conſider'd ſeparately without relation to the higheſt, are but as a liveleſs Trunk and ſignifie nothing. And this ſhews the Excellence of Chriſt's Sacrifice, who at once and in one Perſon fulfill'd that which many hundreds of Prieſts many times repeating had enough to foreſhew. What other Imparity there was among themſelves, we may ſafely ſuppoſe it depended on the Dignity of their Birth and Family, together with the Circumſtances of a carnal Service, which might afford many Priorities. And this I take to be the Sum of what the Biſhop hath laid together to make Plea for Prelacy by Imitation of the Law. Though indeed, if it may ſtand, it will infer Popedom all as well. Many other Courſes he tries, enforcing himſelf with much Oſtentation of endleſs Geneologies, as if he were the Man that St. *Paul* forewarns us of in *Timothy*, but ſo unvigorouſly, that I do not fear his winning of many to his Cauſe, but ſuch as doting upon great Names are either over-weak, or over ſudden of Faith. I ſhall not refuſe therefore to learn ſo much Prudence as I find in the *Roman* Souldier that attended the Croſs, not to ſtand breaking of Legs, when the Breath is quite out of the Body, but paſs to that which follows. The Primate of *Armagh* at the beginning of his Tractat, ſeeks to avail himſelf of that Place in the 66 of *Eſajah*, I will take of them for Prieſts and Levites, ſaith the Lord; to uphold hereby ſuch a Form of Superiority among the Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſucceeding thoſe in the Law, as the Lords day did the Sabbath. But certain, if this method may be admitted of interpreting thoſe Prophetical Paſſages concerning Chriſtian Times in a punctual Correſpondence, it may with equal Probability be urg'd upon us, that we are bound to obſerve ſome monthly Solemnity anſwerable to the new Moons, as well as the Lord's day, which we keep in Lieu of the Sabbath: For in the 23 *v.* the Prophet joyns them in the ſame Manner together, as before he did the Prieſts and Levites, thus. And it ſhall come to paſs that from one new Moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another ſhall all Fleſh come to worſhip before me, ſaith the Lord. Undoubtedly with as good conſequence may it be alledg'd from hence, that we are to ſolemnize ſome religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any diſtinct Formality of Eccleſiaſtical Orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconſtrain'd Senſe of the Text, that God in taking of them for Prieſts and Levites, will not eſteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any Function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect Miniſtery, as was that of the Prieſts and Levites in their kind. And Biſhop *Andrews* himſelf to end the Controverſie, ſends us a candid Expoſition of this quoted Verſe from the 24 Page of his ſaid Book, plainly deciding that God by thoſe legal Names there of Prieſts and Levites means our Presbyters and Deacons, for which either ingenuous Confeſſion or Slip of his Pen we give him thanks, and withal to him that brought theſe Treatiſes into one Volum, who ſetting the Contradictions of two learned Men ſo near together, did not foreſee. What other Deducements or Analogies are cited out of St. *Paul* to prove a Likeneſs between the Miniſters of the Old and New Teſtament, having try'd their ſinews I judge they may paſs, without harm doing to our Cauſe. We may remember then that Prelacy neither had nor can have Foundation in the Law, nor yet in the Goſpel, which Aſſertion as being for the Plainneſs thereof a matter of Eye-ſight, rather then of Diſquiſition I voluntarily omit, not forgetting to ſpecifie this Note again, that the earneſt Deſire which the Prelates have to build their Hierarchy upon the ſandy Bottom of the Law, gives us to ſee abundantly the little Aſſurance which they find to rear up their high Roofs by the Authority of the Goſpel, repulſt as it were from the Writings of the Apoſtles, and driven to take Sanctuary among the *Jews*. Hence that open Confeſſion of the Primate before mention'd. Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the Pattern of the Old Teſta-

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ment, and partly from the New as an Imitation of the Old, though nothing can be more rotten in Divinity then ſuch a Poſition as this, and is all one as to ſay Epiſcopacy is partly of Divine Inſtitution, and partly of Mans own Carving. For who gave the Authority to fetch more from the Pattern of the Law then what the Apoſtles had already fetcht, if they fetch'd any thing at all, as hath been prov'd they did not. So was *Jeroboams* Epiſcopacy partly from the Pattern of the Law, and partly from the Pattern of his own Carnality; a party-colour'd and a party-member'd Epiſcopacy, and what can this be leſs then a Monſtrous? Others therefore among the Prelates perhaps not ſo well able to brook, or rather to juſtify this foul relapſing to the old Law, have condeſcended at laſt to a plain Confeſſing, that both the Names and Offices of Biſhops and Presbyters at firſt were the ſame, and in the Scriptures no where diſtinguiſht. This grants the Remonſtrant in the fifth Section of his Defence, and in the Preface to his laſt ſhort Anſwer. But what need Reſpect be had whether he grant, or grant it not, when as through all Antiquity, and even in the loftieſt Times of Prelacy we find it granted. *Jerom* the learned'ſt of the Fathers hides not his Opinion, that Cuſtom only, which the Proverb calls a Tyrant, was the Maker of Prelacy; before his audacious Workmanſhip, the Churches were rul'd in common by the Presbyters: And ſuch a certain Truth this was eſteem'd, that it became a Decree among the Papal Canons compil'd by *Gratian*. *Anſelm* alſo of *Canterbury*, who to uphold the Points of his Prelatiſm made himſelf a Traytor to his Country, yet commenting the Epiſtles to *Titus* and the *Philippians* acknowledges from the Clearneſs of the Text, what *Jerom* and the Church Rubrick hath before acknowledg'd. He little dream'd then that the weeding-hook of Reformation, would after two Ages, pluck up his glorious Poppy from inſulting over the good Corn. Though ſince ſome of our *Brittiſh* Prelates ſeeing themſelves preſt to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Teſtament will not help them, to frame of their own Heads as it were with Wax a kind of Mimick Biſhop, limned out to the Life of a dead Prieſt-hood. Or elſe they would ſtrain us out a certain figurative Prelate, by wringing the collective Allegory of thoſe ſeven Angels into ſeven ſingle Rochets. Howſoever ſince it thus appears that Cuſtom was the Creator of Prelacy, being leſs ancient then the Government of Presbyters, it is an extream Folly to give them the hearing, that tell us of Biſhops through ſo many Ages: And if againſt their tedious Muſter of Citations, Sees and Succeſſions, it be reply'd, that Wagers and Church Antiquities, ſuch as are repugnant to the plain Dictate of Scripture are both alike the Argument of Fools, they have their Anſwer. We rather are to cite all thoſe Ages to an Arraignment before the Word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how preſuming they durſt alter that divine Inſtitution of Presbyters, which the Apoſtles who were no various and inconſtant Men ſurely had ſet up in the Churches, and why they chooſe to live by Cuſtom and Catalogue, or as St. *Paul* ſaith by Sight and Viſibility, rather then by Faith? But firſt I conclude from their own Mouths, that Gods Command in Scripture, which doubtleſs ought to be the firſt and greateſt reaſon of Church-government, is wanting to Prelacy. And certainly, we have plenteous Warrant in the Doctrin of Chriſt, to determine that the want of this Reaſon is of it ſelf ſufficient to confute all other Pretences that may be brought in favour of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That Prelacy was not ſet up for Prevention of Schiſm, as is pretended, or if it were, that it performs not what it was firſt ſet up for, but quite the contrary.

YET becauſe it hath the Out-ſide of a ſpecious Reaſon, and ſpecious things we know are apteſt to work with human Lightneſs and Frailty, even againſt the ſolideſt Truth that ſounds not plauſibly, let us think it worth the examining for the Love of infirmer Chriſtians, of what Importance this their ſecond Reaſon may be. Tradition, they ſay, hath taught them, that for the Prevention of growing Schiſm the Biſhop was heav'd above the Presbyter. And muſt Tradition then ever thus to the Worlds End be the perpetual Cankerworm to eat out Gods Commandments? Are his Decrees ſo inconſiderate and ſo fickle, that when the Statutes of *Solon* or *Lycurgus* ſhall prove durably good to many Ages, his in 40 Years ſhall be found defective, ill contriv'd and for needful Cauſes to be alter'd? Our Saviour and his Apoſtles did not only foreſee, but foretel and forewarn us to look for Schiſm. Is it a thing to be imagin'd of Gods Wiſdom, or at leaſt of Apoſtolick Prudence to ſet up ſuch a Government in the Tenderneſs of the Church, as ſhould incline, or not be more able then any other to oppoſe it ſelf to Schiſm? It was well known, what a bold Lurker Schiſm was even in the Houſhold of Chriſt, between his own Diſciples and thoſe of *John* the *Baptiſt* about Faſting: And early in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, the Noiſe of Schiſm had almoſt drown'd the Proclaiming of the Goſpel; yet we read not in Scripture that any Thought was had of making Prelates, no not in thoſe Places where Diſſention was moſt riſe. If Prelacy had been then eſteem'd a Remedy againſt Schiſm, where was it more needful then in that great Variance among the *Corinthians*, which St. *Paul* ſo labour'd to reconcile? And whoſe Eye could have found the fitteſt Remedy ſooner then his? And what could have made the Remedy more available, then to have us'd it ſpeedily? And *laſtly*, what could have been more neceſſary then to have written it for our Inſtruction? Yet we ſee, he neither commended it to us, nor us'd it himſelf. For the ſame Diviſion remaining there, or elſe burſting forth again more then 20 Years after St. *Paul*'s Death, we find in *Clement*'s Epiſtle of venerable Authority, written to the yet factious *Corinthians*, that they were ſtill govern'd by Presbyters. And the ſame of other Churches out of *Hermas*, and diverſe other the Scholars of the Apoſtles, by the late Induſtry of the Learned *Salmatius* appears. Neither yet did this worthy *Clement* St. *Paul*'s Diſciple, though writing to them to lay aſide Schiſm, in the leaſt word adviſe them to change the Presbyterial Government into Prelacy. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this Inſurrection of Epiſcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his Wrath, as he gave the *Iſraelites* a King. With ſo good a Will doth he uſe to alter his own choſen Government once eſtabliſh'd. For mark whether this rare Device of Mans Brain, thus preferr'd before the Ordinance of God, had better Succeſs then fleſhly Wiſdom not counſelling with God is wont to have. So far was it from removing Schiſm, that if Schiſm parted the Congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd. Hereſy begat Hereſy with a certain monſtrous Haſte of Pregnancy in her Birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions before brotherly were now hoſtile. Men went to chooſe their Biſhop as they went to a pitcht Field, and the Day of his Election was like the Sacking of a City, ſometimes ended with the Blood of Thouſands. Nor this among Hereticks only, but Men of the ſame Belief, yea Confeſſors, and that with ſuch odious Ambition, that *Euſebius* in his eighth Book teſtifies, he abhorr'd to write. And the Reaſon is not obſcure, for the poor Dignity

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or rather Burthen of a Parochial Presbyter could not engage any great Party, nor that to any deadly Feud: But Prelacy was a Power of that Extent and Sway, that if her Election were popular, it was seldom not the Cause of some Faction or Broil in the Church. But if her Dignity came by Favour of some Prince, she was from that time his Creature, and obnoxious to comply with his Ends in State, were they right or wrong. So that instead of finding Prelacy an Impeacher of Schism or Faction, the more I search the more I grow into all Perswasion to think rather that Faction and she as with a spousal Ring are wedded together, never to be divorc'd. But here let every one behold the just and dreadful Judgment of God meeting with the audacious Pride of Man that durst offer to mend the Ordinances of Heaven. God, out of the Strife of Men, brought forth by his Apostles to the Church that beneficent and ever-distributing Office of Deacons, the Stewards and Ministers of holy Alms, Man, out of the pretended Care of Peace and Unity, being caught in the Snare of his impious Boldness to correct the Will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the Church that irreconcilable Schism of Perdition and Apostacy, the *Roman* Antichrist: For that the Exaltation of the Pope arose out of the Reason of Prelacy it cannot be deny'd. And as I noted before, that the Pattern of the High Priest pleaded for in the Gospel (for take away the Head-Priest, the rest are but a Carcase) sets up with better Reason a Pope then an Archbishop, for if Prelacy must still rise and rise till it come to a Primate, why should it stay there? When as the Catholick Government is not to follow the Division of Kingdoms, the Temple best representing the Universal Church, and the High Priest the Universal Head; so I observe here, that if to quiet Schism there must be one Head of Prelacy in a Land or Monarchy rising from a Provincial to a National Primacy, there may upon better Grounds of repressing Schism be set up one Catholick Head over the Catholick Church. For the Peace and Good of the Church is not terminated in the Schismless Estate of one or two Kingdoms, but should be provided for by the joynt Consultation of all reformed Christendom: That all Controversie may end in the final Pronounce or Canon of one Arch-primat, or Protestant Pope. Although by this means, for ought I see, all the Diameters of Schism may as well meet and be knit up in the Center of one grand Falshood. Now let all impartial Men arbitrate what goodly Inference these two main Reasons of the Prelates have, that by a natural League of Consequence make more for the Pope then for themselves. Yea to say more home, are the very Womb for a new Subantichrist to breed in; if it be not rather the old Force and Power of the same Man of Sin counterfeiting Protestant. It was not the Prevention of Schism, but it was Schism it self, and the hateful Thirst of Lording in the Church that first bestow'd a being upon Prelacy; this was the true Cause, but the Pretence is still the same. The Prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only Mawls of Schism. Forsooth if they be put down, a Deluge of innumerable Sects will follow; we shall be all *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Anabaptists*. For the word Puritan seems to be quasht and all that heretofore were counted such, are now *Brownists*. And thus do they raise an evil Report upon the expected reforming Grace that God hath bid us hope for, like those Faithless Spies, whose Carcasses shall perish in the Wilderness of their own confused Ignorance, and never taste the good of Reformation. Do they keep away Schism? If to bring a num and chill Stupidity of Soul, an unactive Blindness of Mind upon the People by their leaden Doctrin, or no Doctrin at all, if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the Violence of their Courts, be to keep away Schism, they keep away Schism indeed; and by this kind of Discipline all *Italy* and *Spain* is as Purely and Politickly kept from Schism as *England* hath been by them. With as Good a Plea might the dead Palsie boast to a Man, 'tis I that free you from Stitches

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and Pains, and the troubleſom Feeling of Cold and Heat, of Wounds and Strokes; if I were gone, all theſe would moleſt you. The Winter might as well vaunt it ſelf againſt the Spring, I deſtroy all noiſom and rank Weeds, I keep down all peſtilent Vapours. Yes, and all wholeſom Herbs, and all freſh Dews by your violent and hide-bound Froſt; but when the gentle *Weſt* Winds, ſhall open the fruitful Boſom of the Earth, thus over-girded by your Impriſonment, then the Flowers put forth and ſpring, and then the Sun ſhall ſcatter the Miſts, and the manuring Hand of the Tiller ſhall root up all that burdens the Soil without Thank to your Bondage. But far worſe then any frozen Captivity is the Bondage of Prelates, for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good within the Earth, ſo doth it likewiſe that which is Ill, but theſe let out freely the Ill, and keep down the Good, or elſe keep down the leſſer Ill, and let out the greateſt. Be aſham'd at laſt to tell the Parliament, ye curb Schiſmatics, when as they know ye cheriſh and ſide with Papiſts, and are now as it were one Party with them, and 'tis ſaid they help to petition for ye. Can we believe, that your Government ſtrains in good earneſt at the petty Gnats of Schiſm, when as we ſee it makes nothing to ſwallow the Camel Hereſie of *Rome*; but that indeed your Throats are of the right *Phariſaical* Strain. Where are thoſe Schiſmatics, with whom the Prelates hold ſuch hot skirmiſh? Shew us your Acts, thoſe glorious Annals which your Courts of loathed Memory lately deceas'd have left us? Thoſe Schiſmatics I doubt me will be found the moſt of them ſuch as whoſe only Shiſm was to have ſpoke the Truth againſt your high Abominations and Cruelties in the Church; this is the Schiſm ye hate moſt, the Removal of your criminous Hierarchy. A politick Government of yours, and of a pleaſant Conceit ſet up to remove thoſe as a pretended Schiſm, that would remove you as a palpable Hereſie in Government. If the Schiſm would pardon ye that ſhe might go jagg'd in as many Cuts and Slaſhes as ſhe pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have many Reaſons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent ſo much as their ending of your Pontifical Sleeves: That Schiſm would be the foreſt Schiſm to you, that would be *Browniſm* and *Anabaptiſm* indeed. If we go down, ſay you, as if *Adrians* Wall were broke, a flood of Sects will ruſh in. What Sects? What are their Opinions? Give us the Inventory; it will appear both by your former Proſecutions and your preſent Inſtances, that they are only ſuch to ſpeak of, as are offended with your lawleſs Government, your Ceremonies, your Liturgy, and Extract of the Maſs-Book tranſlated. But that they ſhould be Contemners of publick Prayer and Churches us'd without Superſtition, I truſt God will manifeſt it 'ere long to be as falſe a Slander, as your former Slanders againſt the *Scots*. Noiſe it till ye be hoarſe, that a Rabble of Sects will come in, it will be anſwer'd ye, no Rabble Sir, Prieſt, but a unanimous Multitude of good Proteſtants will then joyn to the Church, which now becauſe of you ſtand ſeparated. This will be the dreadful Conſequence of your Removal. As for thoſe terrible Names of Sectaries and Schiſmatics which ye have got together, we know your manner of Fight, when the Quiver of your Arguments which is ever thin and weakly ſtor'd, after the firſt Brunt is quite empty, your Courſe is to betake ye to your other Quiver of Slander, wherein lyes your beſt Archery. And whom ye could not move by Sophiſtical Arguing, them you think to confute by ſcandalous Miſnaming. Thereby inciting the blinder ſort of People to miſlike and deride ſound Doctrin and good Chriſtanity, under two or three vile and hateful Terms. But if we could eaſily indure and diſſolve your doubtieſt Reaſons in Argument, we ſhall more eaſily bear the worſt of your unreaſonableneſs in Calumny and falſe Report. Eſpecially being foretold by Chriſt, that if he our Maſter were by your Predeceſſors call'd *Samaritan* and *Belzebub*, we muſt not think it ſtrange if his beſt Diſciples in the Reformation,

nation, as at firſt by thoſe of your Tribe they were call'd *Lollards* and *Huſſites*, ſo now by you be term'd *Puritans* and *Browniſts*. But my hope is, that the People of *England* will not ſuffer themſelves to be juggl'd thus out of their Faith and Religion by a miſt of Names caſt before their Eyes, but will ſearch wiſely by the Scriptures and look quite through this fraudulent Aſperſion of a diſgraceful Name into the Things themſelves: Knowing that the Primitive Chriſtians in their times were accounted ſuch as are now call'd *Familiſts* and *Adamites*, or worſe. And many on the *Prelatick* ſide like the Church of *Sardis* have a Name to Live, and yet are Dead; to be Proteſtants, and are indeed Papiſts in moſt of their Principles. Thus perſwaded, this your old Fallacy we ſhall ſoon unmask and quickly apprehend how you prevent Schiſm and who are your Schiſmaticks. But what if ye prevent and hinder all good means of preventing Schiſm? That way which the Apoſtles us'd was to call a Councel; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the *Acts*, no faithful Chriſtian was debarr'd, to whom Knowledge and Piety might give Enterance. Of ſuch a Councel as this every Parochial Conſiſtory is a right Homogeneous and conſtituting Part being in it ſelf as it were a little Synod and towards a general Aſſembly moving upon her own Baſis in an even and firm Progreſſion, as thoſe ſmaller Squares in Battel unite in one great Cube, the main Phalanx, and Emblem of Truth and Stedfaſtneſs. Whereas on the other ſide, Prelacy aſcending by a gradual Monarchy from Biſhop to Arch-biſhop, from thence to Primate, and from thence, for there can be no reaſon yielded neither in Nature, nor in Religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it ſhould not be a Lordly Aſcendent in the Horoſcope of the Church, from Primate to Patriarch, and ſo to Pope. I ſay Prelacy thus aſcending in a continual Pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches Unity, if, notwithſtanding it be found moſt needful, yea the utmoſt help to dearn up the Rents of Schiſm by calling a Councel, what does it but teach us that Prelacy is of no force to effect this Work, which ſhe boaſts to be her Maſter-peice; and that her Pyramid aſpires and ſharpens to Ambition, not to Perfection, or Unity. This we know, that as often as any great Schiſm diſparts, the Church and Synods be proclaim'd, the Presbyters have as great Right there, and as free Vote of Old, as the Biſhops, which the Canon Law conceals not. So that Prelacy, if ſhe will ſeek to cloſe up Diviſions in the Church, muſt be forc'd to diſſolve and unmake her own Pyramid Figure, which ſhe affirms to be of ſuch uniting Power, when as indeed it is the moſt dividing and Schiſmatical Form that Geometricians know of, and muſt be feign to englobe, or incube her ſelf among the Presbyters; which ſhe hating to do, ſends her haughty Prelates from all Parts with their forked Miters, the badge of Schiſm or the ſtamp of his cloven Foot whom they ſerve I think, who according to their Hierarchies accuminating ſtill higher and higher in a Cone of Prelacy, inſtead of healing up the Gaſhes of the Church, as it happens in ſuch pointed Bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their ſharp Spires for upper Place and Precedence, till the Councel it ſelf prove the greateſt Schiſm of all. And thus they are ſo far from hindering Diſſention, that they have made unprofitable and even noyſom the chiefeſt Remedy we have to keep Chriſtendom at one, which is by Councels: And theſe, if we rightly conſider, Apoſtolic Examples, are nothing elſe but general Presbyteries. This ſeem'd ſo far from the Apoſtles to think much of, as if hereby their Dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by thoſe Epiſtles of *Peter* and *John*, which are likely to be lateſt written, when the Church grew to a ſetling, like thoſe Heroick Patricians of *Rome* (if we may uſe ſuch Compariſon) haſting to lay down their Dictatorſhip, they rejoyc'd to call themſelves and to be as Fellow Elders among their Brethren. Knowing that their high Office was but as the ſcaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a trouble-

ſom Diſfigurement, ſo ſoon as the Building was finiſht. But the loſty Minds of an Age or two after, ſuch was their ſmall diſcerning, thought it a poor Indignity, that the high rear'd Government of the Church ſhould ſo on a ſudden, as it ſeem'd to them ſquat into a Presbytery. Next or rather before Councels, the timelieſt prevention of Schiſm is to preach the Goſpel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the Land, to inſtruct the Youth Religiouſly, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be eaſieſt underſtood by all Men; to all which, the Proceedings of theſe Men have been on ſet purpoſe contrary. But how O Prelates ſhould you remove Schiſm, and how ſhould you not remove and oppoſe all the means of removing Schiſm? When Prelacy is a Schiſm it ſelf from the moſt reformed and moſt flouriſhing of our neighbour Churches abroad, and a ſad Subject and Diſcord Offence to the whole Nation at home. The Remedy which you alledge is the very Diſeaſe we groan under; and never can be to us a Remedy but by removing it ſelf. Your Predeceſſors were believ'd to aſſume Preeminence above their Brethren only that they might appeaſe Diſſention. Now God and the Church calls upon you, for the ſame Reaſon to lay it down, as being to thouſands of Good Men Offenſive, Burdenſome, Intolerable. Surrender that Pledge which unleſs you fouly uſurpt it the Church gave you, and now claims it again, for the Reaſon ſhe firſt lent it. Diſcharge the Truſt committed to you, prevent Schiſm, and that ye can never do, but by diſcharging your ſelves. That Government which ye hold, we confeſs prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? The Schiſms and Grievances of the Church? No, but all the Peace and Unity, all the Welfare not of the Church alone, but of whole Kingdom. And if it be ſtill permitted ye to hold, will cauſe the moſt ſad I know not whether Separation be enough to ſay, but ſuch a wide Gulph of Diſtraction in this Land as will never cloſe her diſmal Gap, until ye be forc't (for of your ſelves ye will never do as that *Roman Curtius* nobly did) for the Churches Peace and your Countries, to leap into the midſt, and be no more ſeen. By this we ſhall know whether yours be that ancient Prelacy, which you ſay was firſt conſtituted for the Reducement of Quiet and Unanimity into the Church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own Preferment. If otherwiſe we muſt be confident that your Prelacy is nothing elſe but your Ambition, an inſolent preferring of your ſelves above your Brethren, and all your Learned Scraping in Antiquity, even to diſturb the Bones of Old *Aaron* and his Sons in their Graves, is but to maintain and ſet upon our Necks a ſtately and ſevere Dignity, which you call Sacred, and is nothing in very deed, but a grave and reverent Gluttony, a Sanctimonious Avarice, in compariſon of which, all the Duties and Dearneſſes which ye owe to God or to his Church, to Law, Cuſtom, or Nature, ye have reſolv'd to ſet at Nought. I could put you in mind what Counſel *Clement* a Fellow Labourer with the Apoſtles gave to the Prebyters of *Corinth*, whom the People though unjuſtly ſought to remove. Who among you, ſaith he, is Noble minded, who is Pittiful, who is Charitable, let him ſay thus, if for me this Sedition, this Enmity, theſe Differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways, only let the flock of Chriſt be at Peace with the Presbyters that are ſet over it. He that ſhall do this, ſaith he, ſhall get him great Honour in the Lord, and all Places will receive him. This was *Clements* Councel to good and holy Men, that they ſhould depart rather from their juſt Office then by their Stay, to ravle out the ſeamleſs Garment of Concord in the Church. But I have better Councel to give the Prelates, and far more acceptable to their Ears, this Advice in my Opinion is fitter for them. Cling faſt to your Pontifical Sees, bate not, quit your ſelves like Barons, ſtand to the utmoſt for your haughty Courts and Votes in Parliament. Still tell us that you prevent Schiſm, though Schiſm and Combuſtion be the very Iſſue of your Bodies, your firſt Born;

and

and ſet your Country a bleeding in a Prelatical Mutiny, to fight for your Pomp and that ill favour'd Weed of Temporal Honours, that ſits diſhonourably upon your Laick Shoulders, that ye may be Fat and Fleſhy, ſwoln with high Thoughts and big with miſchievous Deſigns, when God comes to Viſit upon you all this fourſcore years Vexation of his Church under your *Egyptian* Tyranny. For certainly of all thoſe bleſſed Souls which you have perſecuted, and thoſe miſerable ones which you have loſt, the juſt Vengeance does not ſleep.

CHAP. VII.

That thoſe many Sects and Schiſms by ſome ſuppos'd to be among us, and that Rebellion in Ireland, *ought not to be a hindrance, but a haſtning of Reformation.*

AS for thoſe many Sects and Diviſions rumor'd abroad to be amongſt us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the meer Fictions and falſe Alarms of the Prelates, thereby to caſt Amazements and panick Terrors into the Hearts of weaker Chriſtians, that they ſhould not venture to change the preſent Deformity of the Church, for fear of I know not what worſe Inconveniences. With the ſame objected Fears and Suſpicions, we know that ſuttle Prelate *Gardiner* ſought to divert the firſt Reformation. It may ſuffice us to be Taught by St. *Paul*, that there muſt be Sects for the manifeſting of thoſe that are ſound Hearted. Theſe are but Winds and Flaws to try the floating Veſſel of our Faith, whether it be Stanch and Sayl well, whether our Ballaſt be juſt, our Anchorage and Cable ſtrong. By this is ſeen who Lives by Faith and certain Knowledge, and who by Credulity and the prevailing Opinion of the Age; whoſe Vertue is of an unchangable Grain, and whoſe of a ſlight Waſh. If God come to try our Conſtancy, we ought not to ſhrink or ſtand the leſs firmly for that, but paſs on with more ſtedfaſt Reſolution to eſtabliſh the Truth, though it were through a Lane of Sects and Hereſies on each ſide. Other things Men do to the Glory of God: But Sects and Errors it ſeems God ſuffers to be for the Glory of good Men, that the World may know and reverence their true Fortitude and undaunted Conſtancy in the Truth. Let us not therefore make theſe things an Incumbrance, or an excuſe of our delay in Reforming, which God ſends us as an Incitement to proceed with more Honour and Alacrity. For if there were no Oppoſition, where were the trial of an unfeigned Goodneſs and Magnanimity? Vertue that wavers is not Vertue, but Vice revolted from it ſelf, and after a while returning. The Actions of juſt and pious Men do not darken in their middle Courſe; but *Solomon* tells us they are as the ſhining Light that ſhineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we ſhall ſuffer the trifling Doubts and Jealouſies of future Sects to overcloud the fair beginnings of purpos'd Reformation, let us rather fear that another Proverb of the ſame Wiſeman be not upbraided to us, that the way of the Wicked is as Darkneſs, they ſtumble at they know not what. If Sects and Schiſms be turbulent in the unſetl'd Eſtate of a Church, while it lies under the amending Hand, it beſt beſeems our Chriſtian Courage to think they are but as the Throws and Pangs that go before the Birth of Reformation, and that the Work it ſelf is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixt Things, we know they cannot ſuffer any change of one kind or quality into another without the ſtruggle of Contrarieties. And in things Artificial, ſeldom any Elegance is wrought without a ſuperfluous waſt and refuſe in the Tranſaction. No Marble Statue can be politely Carv'd, no fair Edifice built without almoſt as much Rubbiſh and Sweeping. Inſomuch, that even in the ſpiritual Conflict of St. *Paul*'s Converſion, there fell Scales from his Eyes, that were not perceiv'd before. No wonder then in the Reforming of a Church which is never brought to effect, without the fierce Encounter of Truth and Falſhood together, if, as it were the ſplinters and ſhares of ſo Violent a Jouſting, there fall from

between the ſhock many fond Errors and fanatick Opinions, which when Truth has the upper Hand, and the Reformation ſhall be perfected, will eaſily be rid out of the way, or kept ſo low, as that they ſhall be only the exerciſe of our Knowledge, not the diſturbance or interruption of our Faith. As for that which *Barclay* in his Image of Minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous Conceits of *Engliſh-Men* in their Religion. I deem it ſpoken like what he was, a Fugitive Papiſt, traducing the Iſland whence he ſprung. It may be more judiciouſly gather'd from hence, that the *Engliſh-Man* of many other Nations is leaſt Atheiſtical, and bears a natural Diſpoſition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakneſs and want of better Inſtruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, eſpecially by the meaner Sort, turning the bent of his own wits with a ſcrupulous and ceaſeleſs Care, what he might do to inform himſelf aright of God and his Worſhip, he may fall not unlikely ſometimes as any other Land-Man into an uncouth Opinion. And verily if we look at his native Towardlineſs in the roughcaſt without breeding, ſome Nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a natural Civility and right Judgment then he. But if he get the Benefit once of a wiſe and well rectifi'd Nurture, which muſt firſt come in general from the Godly Vigilance of the Church, I ſuppoſe that where ever mention is made of Countries, Manners, or Men the *Engliſh* People among the firſt that ſhall be prais'd, may deſerve to be accounted a right pious, right honeſt and right hardy Nation. But thus while ſome ſtand dallying and deferring to Reform for fear of that which ſhould mainly haſten them forward, leſt Schiſm and Error ſhould encreaſe, we may now thank our ſelves and our delays if inſtead of Schiſm, a bloody and inhuman Rebellion be ſtrook in between our ſlow Movings. Indeed againſt violent and powerful Oppoſition, there can be no juſt blame of a lingring Diſpatch. But this I urge againſt thoſe that diſcourſe it for a Maxin, as if the ſwift Opportunities of Eſtabliſhing, or Reforming Religion, were to attend upon the Fleam of State Buſineſs. In State many things at firſt are crude and hard to digeſt, which only time and deliberation can ſupple and concoct. But in Religion wherein is no Immaturity, nothing out of Seaſon, it goes far otherwiſe. The door of Grace turns upon ſmoth Hinges wide opening to ſend out, but ſoon ſhutting to recal the precious Offers of Mercy to a Nation: Which unleſs Watchfulneſs and Zeal two quick-ſighted and ready-handed Virgins be there in our behalf to receive, we looſe: And ſtill the ofter we looſe, the ſtraiter the Door opens, and the leſs is offer'd. This is all we get by demurring in Gods Service. 'Tis not Rebellion that ought to be the Hindrance of Reformation, but it is the want of this which is the Cauſe of that. The Prelates which boaſt themſelves the only Bridlers of Schiſm, God knows, have been ſo Cold and Backward both there and with us to repreſs Hereſie and Idolatry, that either through their Careleſneſs or their Craft, all this Miſchief is befaln. What can the *Iriſh* Subject do leſs in God's juſt Diſpleaſure againſt us, then revenge upon *Engliſh* Bodies the little Care that our Prelates have had of their Souls. Nor hath their Negligence been new in that Iſland but ever Notorious in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days, as *Cambden* their known Friend forbears not to complain. Yet ſo little are they toucht with Remorſe of theſe their Cruelties, for theſe Cruelties are theirs, the bloody Revenge of thoſe Souls which they have famiſh'd, that when as againſt our Brethren the *Scots*, who by their Upright and Loyal Deeds, have now bought themſelves an honourable Name to Poſterity, whatſoever Malice by Slander could Invent, Rage in Hoſtility Attempt, they greedily attempted, towards theſe Murdrous *Iriſh*, the Enemies of God and Mankind, a curſed Off ſpring of their own Connivence, no Man takes Notice but that they ſeem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then ſhould we begin to extinguiſh a Rebellion that hath his Cauſe from the Miſ-government

of

of the Church, where? But at the Churches Reformation, and the Removal of that Government which perſues and wars with all good Chriſtians under the Name of Schiſmaticks, but maintains and foſters all Papiſts and Idolaters as tolerable Chriſtians. And if the Sacred Bible may be our Light, we are neither without Example, nor the Witneſs of God himſelf, that the corrupted Eſtate of the Church is both the cauſe of Tumult and Civil Wars, and that to ſtint them, the Peace of the Church muſt firſt be ſetl'd. *Now for a long Seaſon*, ſaith *Azariah* to King *Aſa*, Iſrael *hath been without the true God, and without a teaching Prieſt, and without Law: And in thoſe Times there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countries. And Nation was deſtroy'd of Nation, and City of City, for God did Vex them with all Adverſity, be ye ſtrong therefore* ſaith he to the Reformers of that Age, *and let not your Hands be weak, for your Work ſhall be rewarded.* And in thoſe Prophets that liv'd in the Times of Reformation after the Captivity, often doth God ſtir up the People to conſider, that while Eſtabliſhment of Church Matters was neglected and put off, there was *no Peace to him that went out or came in, for I*, ſaith God, *had ſet all Men every one againſt his Neighbour.* But from the very day forward that they went ſeriouſly and effectually about the Welfare of the Church, he tells them that they themſelves might perceive the ſudden Change of Things, into a Proſperous and Peaceful Condition. But it will here be ſaid, that the Reformation is a long Work, and the Miſeries of *Ireland* are urgent of a ſpeedy Redreſs. They be indeed; and how Speedy we are, the poor afflicted Remnant of our martyr'd Country-Men that ſit there on the Sea-ſhore, counting the Hours of our delay with their Sighs, and the Minuts with their falling Tears, perhaps with the diſtilling of their bloody Wounds, if they have not quite by this time caſt off, and almoſt curſt the the vain Hope of our founder'd Ships and Aids, can beſt judge how Speedy we are to their Relief. But let their Succors be haſted, as all Need and Reaſon is, and let not therefore the Reformation, which is the chiefeſt Cauſe of Succeſs and Victory be ſtill Procraſtinated. They of the Captivity in their greateſt Extremities could find both Counſel and Hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemies Aſſault. And we for our Parts a Populous and Mighty Nation, muſt needs be fal'n into a ſtrange Plight either of Effeminacy, or Confuſion, if *Ireland* that was once the Conqueſt of one ſingle Earl with his private Forces, and the ſmall Aſſiſtance of a petty Kerniſh Prince, ſhould now take up all the Wiſdom and Proweſs of this potent Monarchy to quell a barbarous Crew of Rebels, whom if we take but the right Courſe to ſubdue, that is beginning at the Reformation of our Church, their own horrid Murders and Rapes will ſo fight againſt them, that the very Sutlers and Horſe Boys of the Camp will be able to Rout and Chaſe them without the ſtaining of any Noble Sword. To proceed by other Method in this Enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never ſo expert, will be as great an Error in the Art of War, as any Novice in Soldierſhip ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared Truth, that neither the Fear of Sects, no nor Rebellion can be a fit Plea to ſtay Reformation, but rather to puſh it forward with all poſſible Diligence and Speed.

The

The Second Book.

HOW happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortal Life of Man, ſince all earthly Things which have the Name of Good and Convenient in our daily Uſe are withal ſo cumberſom and full of Trouble, if Knowledg yet which is the beſt and lightſomeſt Poſſeſſion of the Mind, were as the common Saying is, no Burthen, and that what it wanted of being a Load to any Part of the Body, it did not with a heavy Advantage over-lay upon the Spirit. For not to ſpeak of that Knowledge that reſts in the Contemplation of natural Cauſes and Dimenſions, which muſt needs be a lower Wiſdom as the Object is low; certain it is, that he who hath obtain'd in more then the ſcanteſt Meaſure to know any thing diſtinctly of God and of his true Worſhip, and what is infallibly good and happy in the State of Mans Life, what in it ſelf evil and miſerable, though vulgarly not ſo eſteem'd, he that hath obtain'd to know this the only high valuable Wiſdom indeed, remembring alſo that God even to a Strictneſs requires the Improvement of theſe his entruſted Gifts, cannot but ſuſtain a ſorer Burthen of Mind and more preſſing then any ſupportable Toil or Weight which the Body can labour under: How and in what Manner he ſhall diſpoſe and employ thoſe Sums of Knowledge and Illumination which God hath ſent him into this World to trade with. And that which aggravates the Burthen more, is, that having receiv'd amongſt his allotted Parcels certain precious Truths of ſuch an orient Luſtre as no Diamond can equal, which never the leſs he has in Charge to put off at any cheap Rate, yea for nothing to them that will, the great Merchants of this World fearing that this Courſe would ſoon diſcover and diſgrace the falſe Glitter of their deceitful Wares, wherewith they abuſe the People, like poor *Indians* with Beads and Glaſſes, practice by all Means how they may ſuppreſs the Venting of ſuch Rarities and ſuch a Cheapneſs as would undo them, and turn their Traſh upon their Hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt Deſires of Men in fleſhly Doctrines, they ſtir them up to perſecute with Hatred and Contempt all thoſe that ſeek to bear themſelves uprightly in this their ſpiritual Factory: Which they foreſeing, though they cannot but teſtify of Truth and the Excellence of that heavenly Traffick which they bring, againſt what Oppoſition or Danger ſoever, yet needs muſt it ſit heavily upon their Spirits, that being in Gods prime Intention and their own ſelected Heralds of Peace and Diſpenſers of Treaſures ineſtimable without Price to them that have no Pence, they find in the Diſcharge of their Commiſſion that they are made the greateſt Variance and Offence, a very Sword and Fire both in Houſe and City over the whole Earth. This is that which the ſad Prophet *Jeremiah* laments, *Wo is me, my Mother, that thou haſt born me a Man of Strife and Contention.* And although divine Inſpiration muſt certainly have been ſweet to thoſe ancient Prophets, yet the Irkſomneſs of that Truth which they brought was ſo unpleaſant to them that every where they call it a Burthen. Yea that myſterious Book of *Revelation* which the great Evangeliſt was bid to eat, as it had been ſome eye-brightning Electuary of Knowledge and Foreſight, though it were ſweet in his Mouth, and in the Learning, it was bitter in his Belly, bitter in the Denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wiſe Poet *Sophocles*, who in that Place of his Tragedy where *Tireſias* is call'd to reſolve King *Edipus* in a Matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his Lot, that he knew more then other Men. For ſurely to every good and peaceable Man it muſt in Nature needs be a hateful thing to be the Diſpleaſer and Moleſter of Thouſands: Much better would it like him doubtleſs to be the Meſſenger of Gladneſs and Contentment, which is his chief intended

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Buſineſs, to all Mankind, but that they reſiſt and oppoſe their own true Happineſs. But when God commands to take the Trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring Blaſt, it lies not in Mans Will what he ſhall ſay, or what he ſhall conceal. If he ſhall think to be ſilent, as *Jeremiah* did, becauſe of the Reproach and Deriſion he met with daily, and *all his familiar Friends watch'd for his Halting* to be reveng'd on him for ſpeaking the Truth, he would be forc'd to confeſs as he confeſs'd, *His Word was in my Heart as a burning Fire ſhut up in my Bones, I was weary with forbearing, and could not ſtay.* Which might teach theſe Times not ſuddenly to condemn all things that are ſharply ſpoken or vehemently written, as proceeding out of Stomach, Virulence and ill Nature, but to conſider rather, that if the Prelates have Leave to ſay the worſt that can be ſaid, and do the worſt that can be done, while they ſtrive to keep to themſelves to their great Pleaſure and Commodity thoſe things which they ought to render up, no Man can be juſtly offended with him that ſhall endeavour to impart and beſtow without any Gain to himſelf thoſe ſharp but ſaving Words, which would be a Terror and a Torment in him to keep back. For me I have determin'd to lay up as the beſt Treaſure and Solace of a good Old Age, if God vouchſafe it me, the honeſt Liberty of free Speech from my Youth, where I ſhall think it available in ſo dear a Concernment as the Churches Good. For if I be either by Diſpoſition or what other Cauſe too inquiſitive or ſuſpicious of my ſelf and mine own Doings, who can help it? But this I foreſee, that ſhould the Church be brought under heavy Oppreſſion, and God have given me Ability the while to reaſon againſt that Man that ſhould be the Author of ſo foul a Deed, or ſhould ſhe by Bleſſing from above on the Induſtry and Courage of faithful Men, change this her diſtracted Eſtate into better Days without the leaſt Furtherance or Contribution of thoſe few Talents which God at that preſent had lent me, I foreſee what Stories I ſhould hear within my ſelf, all my Life after, of Diſcourage and Reproach. Timorous and Ingrateful, the Church of God is now again at the Foot of her inſulting Enemies, and thou bewail'ſt, what matters it for thee or thy Bewailing: When Time was, thou couldſt not find a Syllable of all that thou haſt read or ſtudied to utter in her Behalf. Yet Eaſe and Leiſure was given thee for thy retired Thoughts out of the Sweat of other Men. Thou hadſt the Diligence, the Parts, the Language of a Man, if a vain Subject were to be adorn'd or beautifi'd, but when the Cauſe of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which Purpoſe that Tongue was given thee which thou haſt, God liſten'd if he could hear thy Voice among his zealous Servants, but thou wert dumb as a Beaſt, from hence forward be that which thine own bruitiſh Silence hath made thee. Or elſe I ſhould have heard on the other Ear, ſloathful and ever to be ſet light by, the Church hath now overcome her late Diſtreſſes after the unwearied Labours of many her true Servants that ſtood up in her Defence, thou alſo wouldſt take upon thee to ſhare amongſt them of their Joy: But wherefore thou? Where canſt thou ſhew any Word or Deed of thine which might have haſten'd her Peace? What ever thou doſt now talk, or write, or look is the Alms of other Mens active Prudence and Zeal. Dare not how to ſay or do any thing better then thy former Sloath or Infancy, or if thou dar'ſt, thou doſt impudently to make a thrifty Purchaſe of Boldneſs to thy ſelf out of the painful Merits of other Men: What before was thy Sin, is now thy Duty to be abject and worthleſs. Theſe, and ſuch like Leſſons as theſe, I know would have been my Mattins duly and my Even-Song. But now by this little Diligence mark what a Priviledge I have gain'd with good Men and Saints to claim my Right of lamenting the Tribulations of the Church, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer when others that have ventur'd nothing for her Sake, have not the Honour to be admitted Mourners. But if ſhe lift up her drooping Head, and proſper among thoſe that have ſomething more then wiſh'd her Welfare, I have my Charter and

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Freehold of rejoycing to me and my Heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward Subject againſt Prelacy, the touching whereof is ſo diſtaſtful and diſquietous to a number of Men, as by what hath been ſaid, I may deſerve of charitable Readers to be credited, that neither Envy nor Gall hath entred me upon this Controverſie, but the Enforcement of Conſcience only, and a preventive Fear leaſt the omitting of this Duty ſhould be againſt me when I would ſtore up to my ſelf the good Proviſion of peaceful Hours, ſo leaſt it ſhould be ſtill imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that ſome ſelf-pleaſing Humor of Vain Glory hath incited me to conteſt with Men of high Eſtimation, now while green Years are upon my Head, from this needleſs Surmiſal I ſhall hope to diſſwade the intelligent and equal Auditor, if I can but ſay ſucceſsfully that which in this exigent behoves me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned Reader, to whom principally for a while I ſhall beg leave I may addreſs my ſelf. To him it will be no new thing though I tell him that if I hunted after Praiſe by the Oſtentation of Wit and Learning, I ſhould not write thus out of mine own Seaſon, when I have neither yet compleated to my Mind, the full Circle of my private Studies, although I complain not of any Inſufficiency to the matter in Hand, or were I ready to my wiſhes, it were a Folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd to the careleſs and interrupted liſtening of theſe tumultuous Times. Next, if I were wiſe only to mine own ends, I would certainly take ſuch a Subject as of it ſelf might catch Applauſe, whereas this hath all diſadvantages on the contrary, and ſuch a Subject as the publiſhing whereof might be delay'd at Pleaſure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious Touches of Art, even to the Perfection of a faultleſs Picture, when as in this Argument the not deferring is of great Moment to the good Speeding, that if Solidity have leiſure to do her Office, Art cannot have much. *Laſtly*, I ſhould not chooſe this manner of Writing, wherein knowing my ſelf Inferior to my ſelf, lead by the genial Power of Nature to another Task, I have the uſe, as I may account it, but of my left Hand. And though I ſhall be fooliſh in ſaying more to this Purpoſe, yet ſince it will be ſuch a Folly, as wiſeſt Men going about to commit, have only confeſt and ſo committed, I may truſt with more Reaſon, becauſe with more Folly to have a courteous Pardon. For although a Poet ſoaring in the high Region of his Fancies, with his Garland and ſinging Robes about him might without Apology ſpeak more of himſelf then I mean to do, yet for me ſitting here below in the cool Element of Proſe, a mortal thing among many Readers of no Emperial Conceit, to venture and divulge unuſual things of my ſelf, I ſhall petition to the gentler Sort, it may not be Envy to me. I muſt ſay therefore, that after I had from my firſt Years, by the ceaſeleſs Diligence and Care of my Father, whom God recompence, been exercis'd to the Tongues and ſome Sciences, as my Age would ſuffer, by ſundry Maſters and Teachers both at Home and at the Schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choice in *Engliſh*, or other Tongue, Proſing or Verſing, but chiefly this latter, the Stile by certain vital Signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private Academies of *Italy*, whither I was favor'd to reſort, perceiving that ſome Trifles which I had in Memory, compos'd at under Twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one muſt give ſome Proof of his Wit and Reading there) met with Acceptance above what was lookt for and other things, which I had ſhifted in ſcarſity of Books and Conveniences, to patch up amongſt them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the *Italian* is not forward to beſtow on Men of this ſide the *Alps*, I began thus far to aſſent, both to them and divers of my Friends here at home, and not leſs to an inward Pompting which now grew daily upon me, that by Labour and Intent to Study (which I take to be my Portion

Portion in this Life) joyn'd with the ſtrong Propenſity of Nature, I might perhaps leave ſomething ſo written to aftertimes, as they ſhould not willingly let it die. Theſe Thoughts at once poſſeſt me and theſe other. That if I were certain to write as Men buy Leaſes, for three Lives and downward, there ought no regard be ſooner had then to Gods Glory by the Honour and Inſtruction of my Country. For which Cauſe, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the ſecond Rank among the *Latins*, I apply'd my ſelf to that Reſolution which *Arioſto* follow'd againſt the Perſwaſions of *Bembo*, to fix all the Induſtry and Art I could unite to the adorning of my native Tongue; not to make verbal Curioſities the end, that were a toyliſome Vanity, but to be an Interpreter an Relater of the beſt and ſageſt things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iſland in the Mother Dialect. That what the greateſt and choiceſt Wits of *Athens*, *Rome* or Modren *Italy*, and thoſe *Hebrews* of old did for their Country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Chriſtian, might do for mine: Not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with theſe *Britiſh* Iſlands as my World, whoſe Fortune hath hitherto been, that if the *Athenians*, as ſome ſay, made their ſmall Deeds great and renowned by their Eloquent Writers, *England* hath had her noble Atchievments made ſmall by the unskilful Handling of Monks and Mechanicks.

Time ſerves not now and perhaps I might ſeem too profuſe to give any certain Account of what the mind at home in the ſpacious Circuits of her muſing hath Liberty to propoſe to her ſelf, though of higheſt hope and hardeſt attempting, whether that Epick Form whereof the two Poems of *Homer* and thoſe other two of *Virgil* and *Taſſo* are a diffuſe, and the Book of *Job* a brief Model: Or whether the Rules of *Ariſtotle* herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or Nature to be follow'd, which in them that know Art and uſe Judgment is no Tranſgreſſion, but an inriching of Art. And laſtly, what King or Knight before the Conqueſt might be choſen in whom to lay the Pattern of a Chriſtian *Heroe*. And as *Taſſo* gave to a Prince of *Italy* his choice, whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* Expedition againſt the Infidels, or *Beliſarius* againſt the *Gothes*, or *Charlemain* againſt the *Lombards*; if to the Inſtinct of Nature and the imboldning of Art ought may be truſted, and that there be nothing adverſe in our Climate, or the Fate of this Age, it haply would be no raſhneſs from an equal Diligence and Inclination, to preſent the like Offer in our own ancient Stories. Or whether thoſe Dramatick Conſtitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides*'s Reign ſhall be found more Doctrinal and Exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture alſo affords us a divine paſtoral *Drama* in the Song of *Solomon* conſiſting of two Perſons and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the *Apocalypſe* of S. *John* is the majeſtick Image of a high and ſtately Tragedy, ſhutting up and intermingling her ſolemn Scenes and Acts with a ſevenfold *Chorus* of Halleluja's and harping Symphonies: And this my Opinion the grave Authority of *Paræus* commenting that Book is ſufficient to confirm. Or if occaſion ſhall lead to imitate thoſe magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in moſt things worthy, ſome others in their Frame judicious, in their Matter moſt an end faulty: But thoſe frequent Songs throughout the Law and Prophets beyond all theſe, not in their Divine Argument alone, but in the very critical Art of Compoſition may be eaſily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick Poeſy, to be incomparable. Theſe Abilities, whereſoever they be found, are the inſpired Gift of God rarely beſtow'd, but yet to ſome (though moſt abuſe) in every Nation: And are of Power beſide the Office of a Pulpit, to inbreed and cheriſh in a great People the Seeds of Vertue and publick Civility, to allay the Perturbations of the Mind, and ſet the Affections in right Tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns, the Throne and Equipage of Gods Almightineſs and what he Works and what he Suffers to be

wrought with high Providence in his Church, to ſing the victorious Agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the Deeds and Triumphs of juſt and pious Nations doing valiantly through Faith againſt the Enemies of Chriſt, to deplore the general Relapſes of Kingdoms and States from Juſtice and Gods true Worſhip. *Laſtly*, whatſoever in Religion is Holy and Sublime, in Vertue Amiable, or Grave, whatſoever hath Paſſion or Admiration in all the Changes of that which is call'd Fortune from without, or the wilely Suttleties and Refluxes of Mans Thoughts from within, all theſe things with a ſolid and treatable Smoothneſs to paint out and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole Book of Sanctity and Vertue through all the Inſtances of Example with ſuch Delight to thoſe eſpecially of ſoft and delicious Temper, who will not ſo much as look upon Truth her ſelf, unleſs they ſee her elegantly dreſt, that whereas the Paths of Honeſty and good Life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant, they would then appear to all Men both eaſy and pleaſant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a Benefit this would be to our Youth and Gentry, may be ſoon gueſt by what we know of the Corruption and Bane which they ſuck in daily from the Writings and Interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetaſters, who having ſcarce ever heard of that which is the main Conſiſtence of a true Poem, the Choice of ſuch Perſons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one, do for the moſt part lap up vitious Principles in ſweet Pills to be ſwallow'd down, and make the Taſte of vertuous Documents harſh and ſoure. But becauſe the Spirit of Man cannot demean it ſelf lively in this Body without ſome recreating Intermiſſion of Labour and ſerious things, it were happy for the Common Wealth, if our Magiſtrate, as in thoſe famous Governments of old, would take into their Care, not only the Deciding of our contentious Law-Caſes and Brauls, but the managing of our publick Sports and feſtival Paſtimes, that they might be, not ſuch as were Authoriz'd a while ſince, the Provocations of Drunkenneſs and Luſt, but ſuch as may inure and harden our Bodies by Martial Exerciſes to all Warlike Skill and Performance, and may civilize, adorn and make diſcreet our Minds by the Learned and Affable Meeting of frequent Academies, and the Procurement of wiſe and artful Recitations ſweetned with eloquent and graceful Inticements to the love and practice of Juſtice, Temperance and Fortitude, inſtructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of Wiſdom and Vertue may be heard every where, as *Solomon* ſaith, *She crieth without, ſhe uttereth her Voice in the Streets, in the top of high Places, in the chief Concourſe and in the openings of the Gates.* Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another perſuaſive Method, at ſet and ſolemn Paneguries, in Theatres, Porches, or what other Place, or Way may win moſt upon the People to receive at once both Recreation and Inſtruction, let them in Authority conſult. The thing which I had to ſay, and thoſe Intentions which have liv'd within me ever ſince I could conceive my ſelf any thing worth to my Country, I return to crave Excuſe that urgent Reaſon hath pluckt from me, by an abortive and foredated Diſcovery. And the Accompliſhment of them lies not but in a Power above Mans to promiſe; but that none hath by more ſtudious Ways endeavour'd and with more unwearied Spirit that none ſhall, that I dare almoſt aver of my ſelf, as far as Life and free Leiſure will extend, and that the Land had once infranchis'd her ſelf from this impertinent Yoke of Prelacy, under whoſe inquiſitorious and tyrannical Duncery no free and ſplendid Wit can flouriſh. Neither do I think it ſhame to covenant with any knowing Reader, that for ſome few Years yet I may go on truſt with him toward the Payment of what I am now indebted, as being a Work not to be rais'd from the Heat of Youth, or the Vapours of Wine, like that which flows at waſt from the Pen of ſome vulgar Amoriſt, or the Trencher-fury of a rhiming Paraſite, nor to be obtain'd by the Invocation of Dame Memory and her *Siren* Daughters, but by devout

vout Prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all Utterance and Knowledge, and ſends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd Fire of his Altar to touch and purify the Lips of whom he pleaſes: To this muſt be added induſtrious and ſelect Reading, ſteady Obſervation, Inſight into all ſeemly and generous Arts and Affairs, till which in ſome meaſure be compaſt at mine own Peril and Coſt, I refuſe not to ſuſtain this Expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard ſo much Credulity upon the beſt Pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have diſclos'd thus much before Hand, but that I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs Hopes then theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing Solitarineſs fed with chearful and confident Thoughts, to imbark in a troubl'd Sea of Noiſes and hoarſe Diſputes, put from beholding the bright Countenance of Truth, in the quiet and ſtill Air of delightful Studies to come into the dimn Reflection of hollow Antiquities ſold by the ſeeming bulk, and there be feign to club Quotations with Men whoſe Learning and Belief lies in Marginal Stuffings, who when they have like good Sumpters laid ye down their Horſe-load of Citations and Fathers at your Door, with a Rapſody of who and who were Biſhops here or there, ye may take off their Pack-ſaddles, their Days work is done, and Epiſcopacy as they think ſtoutly Vindicated. Let any gentle Apprehenſion that can diſtinguiſh learned Pains from unlearned Drudgery, imagin what Pleaſure or Profoundneſs can be in this, or what Honour to deal againſt ſuch Adverſaries. But were it the meaneſt under-Service, if God by his Secretary Conſcience injoyn it, it were ſad for me if I ſhould draw back, for me eſpecially, now when all Men offer their Aid to help Eaſe and enlighten the difficult Labours of the Church, to whoſe Service by the Intentions of my Parents and Friends I was deſtin'd of a Child, and in mine own Reſolutions, till coming to ſome maturity of Years, and perceiving what Tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders muſt ſubſcribe Slave, and take an Oath withal, which unleſs he took with a Conſcience that would reach, he muſt either ſtreight Perjure, or ſplit his Faith, I thought it better to preſer a blamleſs Silence before the ſacred Office of ſpeaking bought and begun with Servitude and Forſwearing. Howſoever thus Church-outed by the Prelates, hence may appear the Right I have to meddle in theſe Matters, as before the Neceſſity and Conſtraint appear'd.

CHAP. I.

That Prelacy *oppoſeth the Reaſon and End of the Goſpel three ways, and firſt in her outward Form.*

AFter this Digreſſion it would remain that I ſhould ſingle out ſome other Reaſon, which might undertake for Prelacy to be a fit and lawful Church-government; but finding none of like Validity, with theſe that have already ſped according to their Fortune, I ſhall add one Reaſon why it is not to be thought a Church-government at all, but a Church-tyranny, and is at hoſtile Terms with the End and Reaſon of Chriſt's Evangelick Miniſtery. Albeit, I muſt confeſs to be half in doubt, whether I ſhould bring it forth or no, it being ſo contrary to the Eye of the World, and the World ſo Potent in moſt Mens Hearts, that I ſhall endanger either not to be Regarded or not to be Underſtood. For who is there almoſt that meaſures Wiſdom by Simplicity, Strength by Suffering, Dignity by Lowlineſs, who is there that counts it Firſt, to be Laſt, Something to be Nothing, and reckons himſelf of great Command in that he his a Servant? Yet God when he meant to ſubdue the World and Hell at once, part of that to Salvation, and this wholy to Perdition, made choice of no other Weapons or Auxiliaries, then theſe whether to Save or to Deſtroy. It had been a ſmall My-

ſtery for him, to have drawn out his Legions into Array and flankt them with his Thunder; therefore he ſent Fooliſhneſs to confute Wiſdom, Weakneſs to bind Srength, Deſpiſedneſs to vanquiſh Pride. And this is the great Miſtery of the Goſpel made good in Chriſt himſelf, who as he teſtifies came not to be Miniſter'd too, but to Miniſter; and muſt be fulfil'd in all his Miniſters till his ſecond coming. To go againſt theſe Principles St. *Paul* ſo fear'd, that if he ſhould but affect the Wiſdom of Words in his Preaching, he thought it would be laid to his Charge, that he had made the Croſs of Chriſt to be of none Effect. Whether then Prelacy do not make of none Effect the Croſs of Chriſt by the Principles it hath ſo contrary to theſe, nullifying the Power and End of the Goſpel, it ſhall not want due Proof, if it want not due Belief. Neither ſhall I ſtand to trifle with one that will tell me of Quiddities and Formalities, whether Prelacy or Prelaticy in abſtract Notion be this or that, it ſuffices me that I find it in his Skin, ſo I find it inſeparable, or not oftner otherwiſe then a *Phœnix* hath been ſeen; although I perſwade me that whatever Faultineſs was but Superficial to Prelacy at the beginning, is now by the juſt Judgment of God long ſince branded and inworn into the very Eſſence thereof. *Firſt* therefore, if to do the Work of the Goſpel, Chriſt our Lord took upon him the Form of a Servant, how can his Servant in this Miniſtery take upon him the Form of a Lord? I know *Bilſon* hath decipher'd us all the Galanteries of *Signore* and *Monſignore* and *Monſieur*, as circumſtantially as any punctualiſt of *Caſteel*, *Naples* or *Fountain Bleau* could have done, but this muſt not ſo complement us out of our right Minds, as to be to Learn that the Form of a Servant was a mean laborious and vulgar Life apteſt to teach; which Form Chriſt thought fitteſt, that he might bring about his Will according to his own Principles, chooſing the meaner Things of this World, that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous Garb, the lordly Life, the Wealth, the haughty Diſtance of Prelacy be thoſe meaner Things of the World, whereby God in them would manage the Myſtery of his Goſpel, be it the Verdict of common Senſe. For Chriſt ſaith in St. *John*, *The Servant is not greater then his Lord, nor he that is ſent greater then he that ſent him.* And adds, *If ye know theſe things, happy are ye if ye do them.* Then let the Prelates well adviſe, if they neither know, nor do theſe things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their Happineſs conſiſts. And thus is the Goſpel fruſtrated by the lordly Form of Prelacy.

CHAP. II.

That the ceremonious Doctrin of Prelacy oppoſeth the Reaſon and End of the Goſpel.

THAT which next declares the Heavenly Power, and reveals the deep Myſtery of the Goſpel, is the pure Simplicity of Doctrin, accounted the Fooliſhneſs of this World, yet croſſing and confounding the Pride and Wiſdom of the Fleſh. And wherein conſiſts this fleſhly Wiſdom and Pride? In being altogether Ignorant of God and his Worſhip? No ſurely, for Men are naturally aſham'd of that. Where then? It conſiſts in a bold Preſumption of ordering the Worſhip and Service of God after Mans own Will in Traditions and Ceremonies. Now if the Pride and Wiſdom of the Fleſh were to be Defeated and Confounded, no doubt, but in that very Point wherein it was Proudeſt and thought it ſelf Wiſeſt, that ſo the Victory of the Goſpel might be more Illuſtrious. But our Prelates inſtead of expreſſing the ſpiritual Power of their Miniſtery by warring againſt this chief Bulwark and ſtrong Hold of the Fleſh, have enter'd into faſt League with the principal Enemy againſt whom they were ſent, and turn'd the ſtrength of fleſhly Pride and Wiſdom againſt the pure Simplicity of ſaving Truth. *Firſt*, miſtruſting

truſting to find the Authority of their Order in the immediate Inſtitution of Chriſt or his Apoſtles, by the clear Evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal Supportment of Tradition? When we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy Volums of Tradition. And do not ſhame to reject the Ordinance of him that is Eternal for the perverſe Iniquity of ſixteen hundred Years; chooſing rather to think Truth it ſelf a Lyar, then that ſixteen Ages ſhould be taxt with an Error; not conſidering the general Apoſtaſie that was foretold, and the Churches flight into the Wilderneſs. Nor is this enough, inſtead of ſhewing the Reaſon of their lowly Condition from divine Example and Command, they ſeek to prove their high Pre-eminence from human Conſent and Authority. But let them chant while they will of Prerogatives, we ſhall tell them of Scripture; of Cuſtom, we of Scripture; of Acts and Statutes, ſtill of Scripture, till the quick and piercing Word enter to the dividing of their Souls, and the mighty Weakneſs of the Goſpel throw down the weak Mightineſs of Mans Reaſoning. Now for their Demeanour within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and defac'd that more then angelick Brightneſs, the unclouded Serenity of Chriſtian Religion, with the dark overcaſting of ſuperſtitious Copes and flaminical Veſtures, wearing on their Backs; and I abhor to think, perhaps in ſome worſe Place the unexpreſſible Image of God the Father. Tell me ye Prieſts, wherefore this Gold, wherefore theſe Robes and Surplices over the Goſpel? Is our Religion guilty of the firſt Treſpaſs, and hath need of Cloathing to cover her Nakedneſs? What does this elſe but caſt an Ignominy upon the Perfection of Chriſt's Miniſtery, by ſeeking to adorn it with that which was the poor Remedy of our ſhame. Beleive it, wondrous Doctors, all corporeal Reſemblances of inward Holineſs and Beauty are now paſt; he that will cloath the Goſpel now, intimates plainly, that the Goſpel is Naked, Uncomely, that I may not ſay Reproachful. Do not ye Church Maskers, while Chriſt is cloathing upon our bareneſs with his righteous Garment to make us acceptable in his Fathers Sight, do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous Verity with the polluted Cloathing of your Ceremonies to make it ſeem more decent in your own Eyes. *How beautiful*, ſaith *Iſaiah, are the Feet of him that bringeth good Tidings, that publiſheth Salvation*! Are the Feet ſo Beautiful, and is the very bringing of theſe Tidings ſo Decent of it ſelf? What new Decency then can be added to this by your Spinſtry? Ye think by theſe gaudy Gliſterings to ſtir up the Devotion of the rude Multitude; ye think ſo, becauſe ye forſake the Heavenly Teaching of S. *Paul* for the Helliſh Sophiſtry of Papiſm. If the Multitude be Rude, the Lips of the Preacher muſt give Knowledge and not Ceremonies. And although ſome Chriſtians be new born Babes comparatively to ſome that are Stronger, yet in reſpect of Ceremony, which is but a Rudiment of the Law, the weakeſt Chriſtian hath thrown off the Robes of his Minority, and is a perfect Man as to legal Rites. What Childrens Food there is in the Goſpel we know to be no other then the *Sincerity of the Word that they may grow thereby*. But is here the utmoſt of your outbraving the Service of God? No. Ye have been bold, not to ſet your Threſhold by his Threſhold, or your Poſts by his Poſts, but your Sacrament, your Sign, call it what you will, by his Sacrament, baptizing the Chriſtian Infant with a ſolemn Sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own Part with a prophane and impious Fore-finger: As if when ye had laid the purifying Element upon his Forehead, ye meant to Cancel and Croſs it out again with a Character not of Gods bidding. O but the Innocence of theſe Ceremonies! O rather the ſottiſh Abſurdity of this Excuſe! What could be more Innocent then the waſhing of a Cup, a Glaſs, or Hands before Meat, and that under the Law when ſo many waſhings were commanded, and by long Tradition, yet our Saviour deteſted their Cuſtoms, though never ſo ſeeming Harmleſs, and charges them ſeverely that they had Tranſgreſt the Commandments of God

God by their Traditions and worſhip'd him in vain. How much more then muſt theſe, and much groſſer Ceremonies now in Force, delude the End of Chriſt's Coming in the Fleſh againſt the Fleſh, and ſtifle the Sincerity of our new Covenant, which hath bound us to forſake all carnal Pride and Wiſdom, eſpecially in Matters of Religion. Thus we ſee again how Prelacy ſailing in Oppoſition to the main End and Power of the Goſpel doth not joyn in that myſterious Work of Chriſt, by Lowlineſs to confound Height, by Simplicity of Doctrin, the Wiſdom of the World, but contrariwiſe hath made it ſelf High in the World, and the Fleſh to vanquiſh things by the World accounted Low, and made it ſelf Wiſe in Tradition and fleſhly Ceremony to confound the Purity of Doctrin which is the Wiſdom of God.

CHAP. III.

That Prelatical Juriſdiction oppoſeth the Reaſon and End of the Goſpel and of State.

THE *third* and *laſt* Conſideration remains, whether the Prelates in their Function do work according to the Goſpel, practiſing to ſubdue the mighty things of this World by things weak: Which St. *Paul* hath ſet forth to be the Power and Excellence of the Goſpel, or whether in more Likelyhood they band themſelves with the prevalent things of this World to over-run the weak things which Chriſt hath made choice to work by: And this will ſooneſt be diſcern'd by the Courſe of their Juriſdiction. But here again I find my Thoughts almoſt in Suſpence betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine Eye which Way I may beſt retire, and not proceed in this Subject, blaming the Ardency of my Mind that fix'd me too attentively to come thus far. For Truth, I know not how, hath this Unhappineſs fatal to her 'ere ſhe can come to the Trial and Inſpection of the Underſtanding, being to paſs through many little Wards and Limits of the ſeveral Affections and Deſires, ſhe cannot ſhift it, but muſt put on ſuch Colours and Attire as thoſe pathetick Hand-maids of the Soul pleaſe to lead her in to their Queen. And if ſhe find ſo much Favour with them they let her paſs in her own Likeneſs; if not, they bring her into the Preſence habited and colour'd like a notorious Falſhood. And contrary, when any Falſhood comes that way, if they like the Errand ſhe brings, they are ſo artful to counterfeit the very Shape and Viſage of Truth, that the Underſtanding not being able to diſcern the *Fucus* which theſe Enchantreſſes with ſuch Cunning have laid upon the Feature ſometimes of Truth ſometimes of Falſhood interchangeably, Sentences for the moſt part one for the other at the firſt Bluſh, according to the ſubtle Impoſture of theſe ſenſual Miſtreſſes that keep the Ports and Paſſages between her and the Object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already ſaid, I ſhould go near to relinquiſh that which is to follow. And becauſe I ſee that moſt Men, as it happens in this World, either weakly or falſly princip'd, what through Ignorance and what through Cuſtom of Licence, both in Diſcourſe and Writing by what hath been of late written in vulgar have not ſeem'd to attain the Deciſion of this Point, I ſhall likewiſe aſſay thoſe wilely Arbitreſſes who in moſt Men have, as was heard, the ſole Uſhering of Truth and Falſhood between the Senſe and the Soul, with what Loyalty they will uſe me in conveying this Truth to my Underſtanding; the rather for that by as much Acquaintance as I can obtain with them I do not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning therefore Eccleſial Juriſdiction, I find ſtill more Controverſy who ſhould adminiſter it then diligent Enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the Pains been taken to ſearch out that, it had been long ago enroll'd to be nothing elſe but a pure Tyrannical Forgery of the Prelates; and that Juriſdictive Power in the Church there

there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd, that what Men now call Juriſdiction in the Church ſhould be other thing then a Chriſtian Cenſorſhip; and therefore is it moſt commonly and truly nam'd Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. Now if the *Roman* Cenſor a civil Function, to that ſevere Aſſize of ſurveying and controuling the privateſt and ſlieſt Manners of all Men and all Degrees had no Juriſdiction, no Courts of Plea or Indictment, no punitive Force annex'd, whether it were that to this Manner of Correction the Intanglement of Suits was improper, or that the Notice of thoſe upright Inquiſitors extended to ſuch the moſt covert and ſpiritous Vices as would ſlip eaſily between the wider and more material Graſp of Law: Or that it ſtood more with the Majeſty of that Office to have no other Serjeants or Maces about them, but thoſe inviſible ones of Terror and Shame: Or *laſtly*, were it their Fear leaſt the Greatneſs of this Authority and Honour arm'd with Juriſdiction might ſtep with Eaſe into a Tyranny. In all theſe Reſpects with much more Reaſon undoubtedly ought the Cenſure of the Church be quite diveſted and diſintail'd of all Juriſdiction whatſoever. For if the Courſe of Judicature to a political Cenſorſhip ſeem either too tedious or too contentious, much more may it to the Diſciplin of Church, whoſe definitive Decrees are to be ſpeedy but the Execution of Rigour ſlow, contrary to what in legal Proceedings is moſt uſual, and by how much the leſs Contentious it is, by ſo much will it be the more Chriſtian. And if the Cenſor in his Moral Epiſcopacy being to judge moſt in Matters not anſwerable by Writ or Action, could not uſe an Inſtrument ſo groſs and bodily as Juriſdiction is, how can the Miniſter of Goſpel manage the corpulent and ſecular Trial of Bill and Proceſs in things meerly ſpiritual. Or could that *Roman* Office without this juridical Sword or Saw ſtrike ſuch a Reverence of it ſelf into the moſt undaunted Hearts, as with one ſingle Daſh of Ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of *Rome* into a Tremble, ſurely much rather might the Heavenly Miniſtery of the Evangel bind her ſelf about with far more piercing Beams of Majeſty and Awe by wanting the beggarly Help of Halings and Amercements in the Uſe of her powerful Keys. For when the Church without temporal Support is able to do her great Works upon the unforc'd Obedience of Men, it argues a Divinity about her. But when ſhe thinks to credit and better her ſpiritual Efficacy, and to win her ſelf Reſpect and Dread by ſtrutting in the falſe Vizard of worldly Authority 'tis evident that God is not there; but that her Apoſtolick Vertue is departed from her and hath left her *Key-cold*. Which ſhe perceiving as in a decay'd Nature ſeeks to the outward Fomentations and Chafings of worldly Help and external Flouriſhes to fetch, if it be poſſible, ſome Motion into her extream Parts, or to hatch a counterfeit Life with the crafty and artificial Heat of Juriſdiction. But it is obſervable, that ſo long as the Church in true Imitation of Chriſt can be content to ride upon an Aſs carrying her ſelf and her Government along in a mean and ſimple Guiſe, ſhe may be, as he is, a Lion of the Tribe of *Juda*, and in her Humility all Men with loud *Hoſanna*'s will confeſs her Greatneſs. But when deſpiſing the mighty Operation of the Spirit by the weak Things of this World ſhe thinks to make her ſelf bigger and more conſiderable by uſing the way of civil Force and Juriſdiction, as ſhe ſits upon this Lion ſhe changes into an Aſs, and inſtead of *Hoſanna*'s every Man pelts her with Stones and Dirt. *Laſtly*, if the Wiſdom of the *Romans* fear'd to commit Juriſdiction to an Office of ſo high Eſteem and Dread as was the Cenſors, we may ſee what a *Soleciſm* in the Art of Policy it hath been all this while through *Chriſtendom* to give Juriſdiction to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. For that Strength joyn'd with Religion abus'd and pretended to ambitious Ends muſt of Neceſſity breed the heavieſt and moſt quelling Tyranny, not only upon the Necks but even to the Souls of Men: Which if Chriſtian *Rome* had been ſo cautelous to prevent in her Church, as Pagan *Rome* was in her State, we had not had ſuch a lamentable Experience

thereof

thereof as now we have from thence upon all *Chriſtendom*. For although I ſaid before, that the Church coveting to ride upon the Lionly Form of Juriſdiction makes a Transformation of her ſelf into an Aſs, and becomes deſpicable, that is to thoſe whom God hath enlightned with true Knowledge; but where they remain yet in the Relicks of Superſtition, this is the Extremity of their Bondage and Blindneſs, that while they think they do Obeiſance to to the lordly Viſage of a Lion, they do it to an Aſs, that through the juſt Judgment of God is permitted to play the Dragon among them becauſe of their wilful Stupidity. And let *England* here well rub her Eyes, leaſt by leaving Juriſdiction and Church-Cenſure to the ſame Perſons, now that God hath been ſo long medicining her Eye-ſight, ſhe do not with her over-politic Fetches mar all, and bring her ſelf back again to worſhip this Aſs beſtriding a Lion. Having hitherto explain'd, that to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure no Juriſdictive Power can be added without a childiſh and dangerous Overſight in Policy, and a pernicious Contradiction in Evangelic Diſciplin, as anon more fully: It will be next to declare wherein the true Reaſon and Force of Church-Cenſure conſiſts, which by then it ſhall be laid open to the Root, ſo little is it that I fear leaſt any Crookedneſs, any Wrinkle or Spot ſhould be found in Presbyterial Government, that if *Bodin* the famous *French* Writer, though a Papiſt, yet affirms, that the Common-wealth which maintains this Diſciplin will certainly flouriſh in Vertue and Piety, I dare aſſure my ſelf, that every true Proteſtant will admire the Integrity, the Uprightneſs, the divine and gracious Purpoſes thereof, and even for the Reaſon of it ſo coherent with the Doctrin of the Goſpel, beſides the Evidence of Command in Scripture will confeſs it to be the only true Church-Government, and that contrary to the whole end and myſtery of Chriſt's coming in the Fleſh, a falſe Appearance of the ſame is exercis'd by Prelacy. But becauſe ſome count it Rigorous, and that hereby Men ſhall be liable to a double Puniſhment, I will begin ſomewhat higher and ſpeak of Puniſhment. Which, as it is an Evil, I eſteem to be of two ſorts, or rather two Degrees only, a Reprobate Conſcience in this Life, and Hell in the other World. Whatever elſe Men call Puniſhment or Cenſure, is not properly an Evil, ſo it be not an illegal Violence, but a ſaving Medicine ordain'd of God both for the publick and private Good of Man, who conſiſting of two Parts, the inward and the outward, was by the Eternal Providence left under two Sorts of Cure, the Church and the Magiſtrate. The Magiſtrate hath only to deal with the outward Part, I mean not of the Body alone, but of the Mind, in all her outward Acts which in Scripture is call'd the outward Man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow ſuch Authority as the *Rhetoricians* by Patent may give us, with a kind of *Promethean* Skill to ſhape and faſhion this outward Man into the Similitude of a Body, and ſet him viſible before us; imagining the inner Man only as the Soul. Thus then the Civil Magiſtrate looking only upon the outward Man (I ſay as a Magiſtrate, for what he doth further he doth it as a Member of the Church) if he find in his Complection, Skin or outward Temperature the Signs and Marks, or in his Doings the Effects of Injuſtice, Rapine, Luſt, Cruelty or the like, ſometimes he ſhuts up as in frenetick or infectious Diſeaſes, or confines within doors as in every ſickly Eſtate. Sometimes he ſhaves by Penalty or Mulct, or elſe to cool and take down thoſe luxuriant Humors which Wealth and Exceſs have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he ſeres, he cauterizes, he ſcarifies, lets Bood, and finally for utmoſt Remedy cuts off. The Patients which moſt an end are brought into his Hoſpital are ſuch as are far gone, and beſide themſelves (unleſs they be faſly accus'd) ſo that Force is neceſſary to tame and quiet them in their unruly Fits, before they can be made capable of a more human Cure. His general End is the outward Peace and Welfare of the Common-wealth and Civil Happineſs in this Life. His particu-

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lar End in every Man, is by the Infliction of Pain, Damage and Diſgrace, that the Senſes and common Perceivance might carry this Meſſage to the Soul within, that it is neither eaſeful, profitable, nor praiſworthy in this Life to do Evil. Which muſt needs tend to the Good of Man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the firſt means to a Natural Man, eſpecially an Offender, which might open his eyes to a higher conſideration of Good and Evil, as it is taught in Religion. This is ſeen in the often Penitence of thoſe that ſuffer, who, had they ſcapt, had gon on Sinning to an immeaſurable Heap, which is one of the extreameſt Puniſhments. And this is all that the Civil Magiſtrate, as ſo being, confers to the healing of Mans Mind, working only by terrifying Plaiſters upon the Rind and Orifice of the Sore, and by all outward Appliances, as the Logicians ſay, *à Poſteriori*, at the Effect, and not from the Cauſe: not once touching the inward Bed of Corruption and that hectick Diſpoſition to Evil, the Source of all Vice and Obliquity againſt the Rule of Law. Which how inſufficient it is to cure the Soul of Man, we cannot better gueſs then by the Art of Bodily Phyſick. Therefore God to the Intent of further healing Mans deprav'd Mind, to this Power of the Magiſtrate, which contents it ſelf with the reſtraint of Evil doing in the external Man, added that which we call Cenſure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmoſt Soul. In the beginning this Authority ſeems to have been plac'd, as all both civil and religious Rites once were, only in each Father of Family. Afterwards among the Heathen, in the wiſe Men and Philoſophers of the Age; but ſo as it was a thing voluntary and no ſet Government. More diſtinctly among the *Jews*, as being Gods Peculiar, where the Prieſts, Levites, Prophets and at laſt the Scribes and Phariſees took charge of inſtructing and overſeeing the Lives of the People. But in the Goſpel, which is the ſtraiteſt and the deareſt Covenant can be made between God and Man, we being now his adopted Sons and nothing fitter for us to think on, then to be like him, united to him, and as he pleaſes to expreſs it, to have Fellowſhip with him, it is all neceſſity that we ſhould expect this bleſt Efficacy of healing our inward Man to be Miniſter'd to us in a more familiar and effectual Method then ever before. God being now no more a Judge after the Sentence of the Law, nor as it were a Schoolmaſter of periſhable Rights, but a moſt indulgent Father, governing his Church as a Family of Sons in their diſcreet Age; and therefore in the ſweeteſt and mildeſt Manner of paternal Diſciplin he hath committed this other Office of preſerving in healthful Conſtitution the Inner-man, which may be term'd the Spirit of the Soul, to his Spiritual Deputy the Miniſter of each Congregation; who being beſt acquainted with his own Flock, hath beſt Reaſon to know all the ſecreteſt Diſeaſes likely to be there. And look by how much the Internal Man is more excellent and noble then the External, by ſo much is his Cure more exactly, more throughly and more particularly to be perform'd. For which Cauſe the Holy Ghoſt by the Apoſtles joyn'd to the Miniſter, As aſſiſtant in this great Office ſometimes a certain number of grave and faithful Brethren (for neither doth the Phyſician do all in reſtoring his Patient, he preſcribes, another prepares the Medicine, ſome tend, ſome watch, ſome viſit) much more may a Miniſter partly not ſee all, partly err as a Man: Beſides that nothing can be more for the mutual Honour and Love of the People to their Paſtor and his to them, then when in ſelect Numbers and Courſes, they are ſeen partaking and doing Reverence to the Holy Duties of Diſciplin by their ſerviceable and ſolemn Preſence and receiving Honour again from their Imployment, not now any more to be ſeperated in the Church by Veils and Partitions as Laicks and Unclean, but admitted to wait upon the Tabernacle as the rightful Clergy of Chriſt, a choſen Generation, a Royal Prieſthood to offer up Spiritual Sacrifice in that meet Place to which God and the Congregation ſhall call and aſſign them. And this all Chriſtians ought to

know, that the Title of Clergy S. *Peter* gave to all Gods People, till Pope *Higinus* and the ſucceeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that Name to themſelves and their Prieſts only; and condemning the reſt of Gods Inheritance to an injurious and alienate Condition of Laity, they ſeperated from them by Local Partitions in Churches, through their groſs Ignorance and Pride, imitating the old Temple: And excluded the Members of Chriſt from the Property of being Members, the bearing of orderly and fit Offices in the Eccleſiaſtical Body, as if they had meant to ſow up that Jewiſh Veil which Chriſt by his Death on the Croſs rent in ſunder. Although theſe Uſurpers could not ſo preſently over-maſter the Liberties and Lawful Titles of Gods freeborn Church, but that *Origen*, being yet a Lay-Man, expounded the Scriptures publickly, and was therein defended by *Alexander* of *Jeruſalem* and *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*, producing in his behalf divers Examples, that the Priviledge of Teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy Laymen: And *Cyprian* in his Epiſtles profeſſes he will do nothing without the Advice and Aſſent of his Aſſiſtant Laicks. Neither did the firſt *Nicene* Councel, as great and learned as it was, think it any Robbery to receive in, and require the help and preſence of many Learned Lay-brethren, as they were then call'd. Many other Authorites to confirm this Aſſention both out of Scripture and the Writings of next Antiquity *Golartius* hath collected in his Notes upon *Cyprian*; whereby it will be evident, that the Laity, not only by Apoſtolick Permiſſion, but by Conſent of many the ancienteſt Prelates did participate in Church Offices as much as is deſir'd any Lay-elders ſhould now do. Sometimes alſo not the Elders alone, but the whole Body of the Church is intereſted in the Work of Diſciplin, as oft as publick Satisfaction is given by thoſe that have given publick Scandal. Not to ſpeak now of her Right in Elections. But another reaſon there is in it, which though Religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil Prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philoſophy, that ſhame, or to call it better, the reverence of our Elders, our Brethren and Friends was the greateſt Incitement to vertuous Deeds and the greateſt Diſſuaſion from unworthy Attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the *Iliad* where *Hector* being wiſht to retire from the Battel, many of his Forces being routed, makes Anſwer that he durſt not for ſhame, leſt the *Trojan* Knights and Dames ſhould think he did Ignobly. And certain it is, that whereas Terror is thought ſuch a great ſtickler in a Common-wealth, honourable Shame is a far greater, and has more Reaſon. For where Shame is, there is Fear, but where Fear is, there is not preſently Shame. And if any thing may be done to inbreed in us this Generous and Chriſtianly Reverence one of another the very Nurſe and Guardian of Piety and Vertue, it cannot ſooner be then by ſuch a Diſciplin in the Church, as may uſe us to have in awe the Aſſemblies of the Faithful, and to count it a thing moſt grievous, next to the grieving of Gods Spirit, to offend thoſe whom he hath put in Authority, as a healing Superintendance over our Lives and Behaviours, both to our own Happineſs and that we may not give Offence to Good Men, who without amends by us made, dare not againſt Gods Command hold Communion with us in Holy Things. And this will be accompanied with a religious Dread of being outcaſt from the Company of Saints, and from the Fatherly Protection of God in his Church, to conſort with the Devil and his Angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble Degree of honeſt Shame, or call it, if you will, an Eſteem, whereby Men bear an inward reverence toward their own Perſons. And if the Love of God as a fire ſent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the Altar of our Hearts, be the firſt Principle of all Godly and Vertuous Actions in Men, this pious and juſt honouring of our ſelves is the Second, and may be thought as the radical Moiſture and Fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy Enterprize iſſues forth. And although I have giv'n it the Name of a liquid Thing, yet is it not incontinent

continent to bound it ſelf, as humid Things are, but hath in it a moſt reſtraining and powerful Abſtinence to ſtart back, and glob it ſelf upward from the Mixture of any ungenerous and unbeſeeming Motion, or any Soil wherewith it may peril to ſtain it ſelf. Something I confeſs it is to be aſhamed of evil Doing in the Preſence of any, and to reverence the Opinion and the Countenance of a good Man rather then a bad, fearing moſt in his Sight to offend, goes ſo far as almoſt to be vertuous; yet this is but ſtill the Feat of Infamy, and many ſuch, when they find themſelves alone, ſaving their Reputation will compound with other Scruples and come to a cloſe Treaty with their dearer Vices in ſecret. But he that holds himſelf in Reverence and due Eſteem, both for the Dignity of Gods Image upon him, and for the Price of his Redemption, which he thinks is viſibly mark'd upon his Forehead, accounts himſelf both a fit Perſon to do the nobleſt and godlieſt Deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile, with ſuch a Debaſement and ſuch a Pollution as Sin is, himſelf ſo highly ranſom'd and enobl'd to a new Friendſhip and filial Relation with God. Nor can he fear ſo much the Offence and Reproach of others, as he dreads and would bluſh at the Reflection of his own ſevere and modeſt Eye upon himſelf, if it ſhould ſee him doing or imagining that which is ſinful, though in the deepeſt Secreſy. How ſhall a Man know to do himſelf this Right, how to perform this honourable Duty of Eſtimation and Reſpect towards his own Soul and Body? Which way will lead him beſt to this Hill-top of Sanctity and Goodneſs above which there is no higher Aſcent but to the Love of God which from this ſelf-pious Regard cannot be aſunder? No better way doubtleſs then to let him duly underſtand, that as he is call'd by the High Calling of God to be holy and pure, ſo is he by the ſame Appointment ordain'd and by the Churches Call admitted to ſuch Offices of Diſciplin in the Church to which his own ſpiritual Gifts by the Example of Apoſtolick Inſtitution have authoriz'd him. For we have learn'd, that the ſcornful Term of Laick, the Conſecrating of Temples, Carpets and Table-Cloths, the Railing in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount *Sinai* in the Goſpel, as if the Touch of a Lay-Chriſtian who is never the leſs Gods living Temple could prophane dead *Judaiſms*, the Excluſion of Chriſts People from the Offices of holy Diſciplin through the Pride of a uſurping Clergy, cauſes the reſt to have an unworthy and abject Opinion of themſelves, to approach to holy Duties with a ſlaviſh Fear, and to unholy Doings with a familiar Boldneſs. For ſeeing ſuch a wide and terrible Diſtance between religious things and themſelves, and that in reſpect of a wooden Table and the Perimeter of holy Ground about it, a flagon Pot, and a linnen Corporal, the Prieſt eſteems their Lay-ſhips unhallow'd and unclean, they fear Religion with ſuch a Fear as loves not, and think the Purity of the Goſpel too pure for them, and that any Uncleanneſs is more ſuitable to their unconſecrated Eſtate. But when every good Chriſtian throughly acquainted with all thoſe glorious Priviledges of Sanctification and Adoption which render him more ſacred then any dedicated Altar or Element, ſhall be reſtor'd to his Right in the Church and not excluded from ſuch Place of ſpiritual Government as his Chriſtian Abilities and his approv'd good Life in the Eye and Teſtimony of the Church ſhall prefer him to, this, and nothing ſooner will open his Eyes to a wiſe and true Valuation of himſelf, which is ſo requiſite and high a Point of Chriſtianity, and will ſtir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave Employment, wherewith God and the Church hath dignifi'd him: Not fearing leaſt he ſhould meet with ſome outward holy thing in Religion which his Lay Touch or Preſence might prophane, but leaſt ſomething unholy from within his own Heart ſhould diſhonour and prophane in himſelf that Prieſtly Unction and Clergy-Right whereto Chriſt hath entitl'd him. Then would the Congregation of the Lord ſoon recover the true Likeneſs and Viſage of what ſhe is indeed, a holy Generation, a royal Prieſthood,

a Saintly Communion, the Houſhold and City of God. And this I hold to be another conſiderable Reaſon why the Functions of Church-Government ought to be free and open to any Chriſtian Man though never ſo laick, if his Capacity, his Faith and prudent Demeanour commend him. And this the Apoſtles warrant us to do. But the Prelates object, that this will bring Prophaneneſs into the Church, to whom may be reply'd, that none have brought that in more then their own irreligious Courſes, nor more driven Holineſs out of living into lifeleſs things. For whereas God who hath cleans'd every Beaſt and creeping Worm, would not ſuffer St. *Peter* to call them common or unclean, the Prelate-Biſhops in their printed Orders hung up in Churches have proclaim'd the beſt of Creatures, Mankind, ſo unpuriſi'd and contagious, that for him to lay his Hat or Garment upon the Chancel-table, they have defin'd it no leſs heinous in expreſs Words then to prophane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their *Canaanitiſh* Doctrin (for that which was to the *Jew* but *Jewiſh* is to the Chriſtian no better then *Canaanitiſh*) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made prophane that Nature which God hath not only cleans'd, but Chriſt alſo hath aſſum'd. And now that the Equity and juſt Reaſon is ſo Perſpicuous, why in Eccleſiaſtick Cenſure the Aſſiſtance ſhould be added of ſuch, as whom not the vile Odour of Gain and Fees (forbid it God and blow it with a Whirlwind out of our Land) but Charity, Neighbourhood, and Duty to Church-government hath call'd together, where could a wiſe Man wiſh a more equal gratuitous and meek Examination of any Offence that he might happen to commit againſt Chriſtianity then here? Would he prefer thoſe Proud Simoniacal Courts? Thus therefore the Miniſter aſſiſted attends his heavenly and ſpiritual Cure. Where we ſhall ſee him both in the Courſe of his Proceeding, and *firſt* in the Excellence of his End from the Magiſtrate far Different, and not more Different then Excelling. His End is to recover all that is of Man both Soul and Body to an Everlaſting Health: And yet as for worldly Happineſs, which is the proper Sphere wherein the Magiſtrate cannot but confine his Motion without a hideous Exorbitancy from Law, ſo little aims the Miniſter, as his intended Scope, to procure the much Proſperity of this Life, that oft-times he may have Cauſe to wiſh much of it away, as a Diet puffing up the Soul with a ſlimy Fleſhineſs, and weakning her Principal Organick Parts. Two heads of Evil he has to cope with, Ignorance and Malice. Againſt the Former he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible Doctrin, not at thoſe ſet Meals only in Publick, but as oft as he ſhall know that each Infirmity or Conſtitution requires. Againſt the Latter with all the Branches thereof, not medling with that reſtraining and ſtyptic Surgery which the Law uſes, not indeed againſt the Malady but againſt the Eruptions, and outermoſt Effects thereof. He on the contrary beginning at the prime Cauſes and Roots of the Diſeaſe, ſends in thoſe two divine Ingredients of moſt cleanſing Power to the Soul, Admonition and Reproof, beſides which two there is no Drug or Antidote that can reach to purge the Mind, and without which all other Experiments are but Vain, unleſs by Accident. And he that will not let theſe paſs into him, though he be the greateſt King, as *Plato* affirms, muſt be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of thoſe things wherein his Pureneſs and his Knowledge ſhould moſt appear. As ſoon therefore as it may be diſcern'd, that the Chriſtian Patient by feeding otherwhere on Meats not allowable, but of evil Juice, hath diſordered his Diet, and ſpread an ill Humour through his Veins immediately diſpoſing to a Sickneſs, the Miniſter as being much nearer both in Eye and Duty, then the Magiſtrate, ſpeeds him betimes to overtake that diffus'd Malignance with ſome gentle Potion of Admoniſhment; or if ought be obſtructed, puts in his opening and diſcuſſive Confections. This not ſucceeding after once, or twice, or oftner, in the preſence of two or three his faithful Brethren appointed thereto, he

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adviſes him to be more careful of his deareſt Health, and what it is that he ſo raſhly hath let down into the divine Veſſel of his Soul Gods Temple. If this obtain not, he then with the Councel of more Aſſiſtants who are inform'd of what Diligence hath been already us'd, with more ſpeedy Remedies, lays nearer Siege to the entrenched Cauſes of his Diſtemper, not ſparing ſuch fervent and well aim'd Reproofs, as may beſt give him to ſee the dangerous Eſtate wherein he is. To this alſo his Brethren and Friends intreat, exhort, adjure, and all theſe Endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or leſs repeated. But if, neither the Regard of Himſelf, nor the Reverence of his Elders and Friends prevail with him, to leave his vitious Appetite, then as the time urges, ſuch Engines of Terror God hath given into the Hand of his Miniſter, as to ſearch the tendereſt Angles of the Heart: One while he ſhakes his Stubornneſs with racking Convulſions nigh Deſpair, other whiles with deadly Corroſives he gripes the very Roots of his faulty Liver to bring him to Life through the Entry of Death. Hereto the whole Church beſeech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this perform'd with what Patience and Attendance is Poſſible, and no relenting on his Part, having done the utmoſt of their Cure, in the Name of God and of the Church, they diſſolve their Fellowſhip with him, and holding forth the dreadful Spong of Excommunion, pronounce him wip'd out of the Liſt of God's Inheritance, and in the Cuſtody of Satan till he Repent. Which horrid Sentence though it touch neither Life, nor Limb, nor any worldly Poſſeſſion, yet has it ſuch a penetrating Force, that ſwifter then any Chimical Sulpher, or that Lightning which harms not the Skin, and rifles the Entrals, it ſcorches the inmoſt Soul. Yet even this terrible Denouncement, is left to the Church for no other Cauſe but to be as a rough and vehement cleanſing Medicine, where the Malady is obdurate; a mortifying to Life, a kind of Saving by Undoing. And it may be truly ſaid, that as the Mercies of wicked Men are Cruelties, ſo the Cruelties of the Church are Mercies. For if Repentance ſent from Heaven meet this loſt Wanderer, and draw him out of that ſteep Journey, wherein he was haſting towards Deſtruction, to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his Bill of Health, and that he is now clear of Infection and of no danger to the other Sheep, then with incredible Expreſſions of Joy all his Brethren receive him, and ſet before him thoſe perfumed Bankets of Chriſtian Conſolation; with pretious Ointments, bathing and fomenting the Old, and now to be forgotten, Stripes which Terror and Shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly Solaces they chear up his humble Remorſe, till he regain his firſt Health and Felicity. This is the approved Way which the Goſpel preſcribes, theſe are the *ſpiritual Weapons of holy Cenſure,* Cor. 2. 10. and Miniſterial *Warfare, not Carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong Holds, caſting down Imaginations, and every high Thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the Knowledge of God and bringing into Captivity every thought to the Obedience of Chriſt.* What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine Particle of Gods Breathing, the Soul, and what could be done leſs? He that would hide his Faults from ſuch a wholſom Curing as this, and count it a two-fold Puniſhment, as ſome do, is like a Man that having foul Diſeaſes about him, periſhes for ſhame, and the fear he has of a rigorous Inciſion to come upon his Fleſh. We ſhall be able by this time to diſcern whether Prelatical Juriſdiction be contrary to the Goſpel or no. *Firſt* therefore, the Government of the Goſpel being Oeconomical and Paternal, that is, of ſuch a Family where there be no Servants, but all Sons in Obedience, not in Servility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the ſound of Scripture, how can the Prelates juſtifie to have turn'd the fatherly Orders of Chriſt Houſhold, the bleſſed Meekneſs of his lowly Roof, thoſe ever open and inviting Doors of his dwelling Houſe, which delight to be frequented with only filial Acceſſes, how can they juſtifie to have

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turn'd theſe domeſtick Priviledges into the Barr of a Proud Judicial Court, where Fees and Clamours keep Shop and drive a Trade, where Bribery and Corruption ſolicits, paltring the free and monyleſs Power of Diſciplin with a Carnal Satisfaction by the Purſe. Contrition, Humiliation, Confeſſion, the very Sights of a repentant Spirit are there ſold by the Penny. That undeflour'd and unblemiſhable Simplicity of the Goſpel, not ſhe her ſelf, for that could never be, but a falſe-whited, a lawny Reſemblance of her, like that Air-born *Helena* in the Fables, made by the Sorcery of Prelates, inſtead of calling her Diſciples from the Receit of Cuſtom, is now turn'd Publican her ſelf; and gives up her Body to a Mercenary Whordom under thoſe fornicated Cheſs which ſhe calls Gods Houſe, and in the ſight of thoſe her Altars which ſhe hath ſet up to be ador'd makes Merchandize of the Bodies and Souls of Men. Rejecting Purgatory for no other Reaſon, as it ſeems, then becauſe her Greedineſs cannot defer, but had rather uſe, the utmoſt Extortion of redeemed Penances in this Life. But becauſe theſe Matters could not be thus carry'd without a begg'd and borrow'd Force from worldly Authority, therefore Prelacy ſlighting the deliberate and choſen Councel of Chriſt in his ſpiritual Government, whoſe Glory is in the weakneſs of fleſhly Things to tread upon the Creſt of the Worlds Pride and Violence by the Power of ſpiritual Ordinances, hath on the contrary made theſe her Friends and Champions, which are Chriſt's Enemies in this his high Deſign, ſmothering and extinguiſhing the ſpiritual Force of his bodily Weakneſs in the Diſciplin of his Church, with the boiſtrous and carnal Tyranny of an undue, unlawful and ungoſpel-like Juriſdiction. And thus Prelacy both in her fleſhly Supportments, in her carnal Doctrin of Ceremony and Tradition, in her violent and ſecular Power going quite Counter to the Prime End of Chriſt's coming in the Fleſh, that is to reveal his Truth, his Glory and his Might, in a clean contrary Manner then Prelacy ſeeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great Myſtery of God, I do not conclude that Prelacy is Antichriſtian, for what need I? The things themſelves conclude it. Yet if ſuch like Practiſes, and not many worſe then theſe of our Prelates, in that great Darkneſs of the *Roman* Church, have not exempted both her and her preſent Members from being judg'd to be Antichriſtian in all orthodoxal Eſteem, I cannot think, but that it is the abſolute Voice of Truth and all her Children to pronounce this Prelacy, and theſe her dark Deeds in the midſt of this great Light, wherein we live, to be more Antichriſtian then Antichriſt himſelf.

The Concluſion.

The Miſchief that Prelacy does in the State.

I Add one thing more to theſe great ones that are ſo fond of Prelacy, this is certain that the Goſpel being the hidden Might of Chriſt, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious Power joyn'd with it, like him in the Revelation *that went forth on the white Horſe with his Bow and his Crown Conquering, and to Conquer. If we let the Angel of the Goſpel ride on his own way, he does his proper Buſineſs conquering the high Thoughts, and the proud Reaſonings of the Fleſh, and brings them under to give Obedience to Chriſt with the Salvation of many Souls. But if ye turn him out of his Road, and in a manner force him to expreſs his irreſiſtible Power by a Doctrine of carnal Might, as Prelacy is, he will uſe that Fleſhly Strength which ye put into his Hands to ſubdue your Spirits by a ſervile and blind Superſtition, and that again ſhall hold ſuch Dominion over your captive Minds, as returning with an inſatiate Greedineſs and Force upon your worldly Wealth and Power wherewith to Deck and Magnifie her Self, and her falſe Worſhipt, ſhe ſhall ſpoil and havock your Eſtates, diſturb your Eaſe, diminiſh your Honour, inthral your Liberty under the ſwelling Mood of a proud Clergy, who will not ſerve or feed your Souls with Spiritual Food, look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpoſe. But when they have glutted their ingrateful Bodies, at leaſt if it be poſſible that thoſe open Sepulchres ſhould ever be glutted, and when they have ſtuff'd their idoliſh Temples with the waſtful pillage of your Eſtates, will they yet have any Compaſſion upon you, and that poor Pittiance which they have left you, will they be but ſo good*

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to you as that Raviſher was to his Siſter, when he had us'd her at his Pleaſure, will they but only hate ye, and ſo turn ye looſe? No, they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not favour ye ſo much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will theſe Man-haters yet with more Deſpight and Miſchief do? I'le tell ye, or at leaſt remember ye, for moſt of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true Merchants of Babylon, *as they have done to your Souls, they will ſell your Bodies, your Wives, your Children, your Liberties, your Parliaments, all theſe things, and if there be ought elſe dearer then theſe, they will ſet an out-cry in their Pulpits, to the arbitrary and illegal diſpoſe of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King, whoſe Mind ſhall ſerve him to liſten to their Bargain. And by their corrupt and ſervile Doctrines, boring our Ears to an everlaſting Slavery, as they have done hitherto, ſo will they yet do their beſt to repeal and eraſe every Line and Clauſe of both our great Charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main Reaſon and Myſtery of their Advancement that they muſt do; be the Prince never ſo juſt and equal to his Subjects; yet ſuch are their malicious and depraved Eyes, that they ſo look on him, and ſo underſtand him, as if he requir'd no other Gratitude or piece of Service from them then this. And indeed, they ſtand ſo opportunely for the diſturbing or the deſtroying of a State, being a Knot of Creatures, whoſe Dignities, Means and Preferments, have no Foundation in the Goſpel, as they themſelves acknowledge, but only in the Princes Favour, and to continue ſo long to them, as by pleaſing him they ſhall deſerve, whence it muſt needs be they ſhould bend all their Intentions and Services to no other ends but to his, that if it ſhould happen that a Tyrant (God turn ſuch a Scourge from us to our Enemies) ſhould come to graſp the Scepter, here were his Spear Men and his Launces, here were his Fire-Locks ready, he ſhould need no other Pretorian Band nor Penſionary then theſe, if they could once with their perfidious Preachments awe the People. For although the Prelates in time of Popery were ſometimes friendly enough to Magna-Charta it was becauſe they ſtood upon their own Bottom, without their main Dependance on the Royal Nod: But now being well acquainted with the Proteſtant Religion, if ſhe will reform her Self rightly by the Scriptures, muſt undreſs them of all their gilded Vanities, and reduce them as they were at firſt, to the lowly and equal Order of Preſbyters; they know it concerns them nearly to ſtudy the Times more then the Text, and to lift up their Eyes to the hills of the Court, from whence only comes their Help; but if their Pride grow weary of this crouching and obſervance, as e're long it would, and that yet their Minds climb ſtill to a higher Aſcent of Worldly Honour, this only Refuge can remain to them; that they muſt of neceſſity contrive to bring themſelves and us back again to the Popes Supremacy, and this we ſee they had by fair Degrees of late been doing. Theſe be the two fair Supporters, between which the ſtrength of Prelacy is born up, either of inducing Tyranny, or of reducing Popery. Hence alſo we may judge that Prelacy is meer Falſhood. For the Property of Truth is, where ſhe is publickly taught to unyoke and ſet free the Minds and Spirits of a Nation firſt from the Thraldom of Sin and Superſtition, after which all honeſt and legal Freedom of Civil Life cannot be long abſent, but Prelacy whom the Tyrant Cuſtom begot a natural Tyrant in Religion, and in State the Agent and Miniſter of Tyranny, ſeems to have had this fatal Gift in her Nativity, like another* Midas, *that whatſoever ſhe ſhould touch or come near either in Eccleſial or Political Government, it ſhould turn, not to Gold, though ſhe for her part could wiſh it, but to the Droſs and Scum of Slavery, breeding and ſettling both in the Bodies and the Souls of all ſuch as do not in time with the ſoveraign Treacle of ſound Doctrin provide to fortifie their Hearts againſt her Hierarchy. The Service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confeſſes to be perfect Freedom, but her Works and her Opinions declare, that the Service of Prelacy is perfect Slavery, and by Conſequence perfect Falſhood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, ſtudious Men, as I hear ſhould engage themſelves to write, and ſpeak publickly in her Defence, but that I believe their honeſt and ingenuous Natures coming to the Univerſities to ſtore themſelves with good and ſolid Learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing elſe, but the ſcragged and thorny Lectures of monkiſh and miſerable Sophiſtry, were ſent home again with ſuch a ſcholaſtical Burr in their Throats, as hath ſtopt and hindered all true and generous Philoſophy from entring, crackt their Voices for ever with Metaphyſical Gargariſms, and hath made them admire a ſort of formal outſide Men prelatically addicted, whoſe unchaſtn'd and unwrought Minds never yet initiated or ſubdu'd under the true Lore of Religion or moral Vertue, which two are the beſt and greateſt Points of Learning; but either ſlightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackny courſe of Literature to get their Living by, and dazle the ignorant, or elſe fondly over-ſtudied in uſeleſs Controverſies, except thoſe which they uſe with all the ſpecious and deluſive ſubtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta, having a Goſpel and Church Government ſet before their Eyes, as a fair Field wherein they might exerciſe the greateſt Vertues and the greateſt Deeds of Chriſtian Authority in mean Fortunes and little Furniture of this World, which even the ſage Heathen Writers, and thoſe old* Fabritii *and* Curii *well knew to be a manner of Working, then which nothing could liken a mortal Man more to God, who delights moſt to work from within himſelf, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal Inſtruments, they underſtand it not, and think no ſuch Matter, but admire and dote upon worldly Riches and Honours, with an eaſie and intemperate Life, to the bane of Chriſtianity: Yea, they and their Seminaries ſhame not to profeſs, to petition and never leave pealing our Ears that unleſs we fat them like Boars, and cram them as they liſt with Wealth, with Deaneries and Pluralities, with Baronies and ſtately*

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Preferments, all Learning and Religion will go underfoot. Which is ſuch a ſhameleſs, ſuch a beſtial Plea, and of that odious Impudence in Church-Men, who ſhould be to us a pattern of Temperance and Frugal Mediocrity, who ſhould teach us to contemn this World, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the Promiſe which they themſelves require from us in Baptiſm; that ſhou'd the Scripture ſtand by, and be mute, there is not that Sect of Philoſophers among the Heathen ſo diſſolute, no not Epicurus *nor* Ariſtippus *with all his Cyrenaick Rout, but would ſhut his School Doors againſt ſuch greaſie Sophiſters: Not any College of Mountebanks, but would think ſcorn to diſcover in themſelves with ſuch a Brazen Fore-head, the outragious deſire of filthy Lucre. Which the Prelates make ſo little Conſcience of, that they are ready to fight; and if it lay in their Power to maſſacre all good Chriſtians under the names of horrible Schiſmaticks, for only finding fault with their Temporal Dignities, their unconſcionable Wealth and Revenues, their cruel Authority over their Brethren that labour in the Word, while they ſnore in their luxurious Exceſs. Openly proclaiming themſelves now in the ſight of all Men, to be thoſe which for a while they ſought to cover under Sheeps Cloathing, ravenous and ſavage Wolves, threatning Inrodes and bloody Incurſions upon the flock of Chriſt, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their Prey. More like that huge Dragon of Ægypt, breathing out waſte and deſolation to the Land, unleſs he were daily ſatin'd with Virgins Blood. Him our old Patron St.* George, *by his matchleſs Valour ſlew, as the Prelate of the Garter that reads his Collect can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the Fame of that old Champion as by their Order of Knighthood ſolemnly taken, they vow, far be it that they ſhould uphold and ſide with this* Engliſh *Dragon; but rather to do as indeed their Oath binds them, they ſhould make it their Knightly Adventure to purſue and vanquiſh this mighty ſail wing'd Monſter that menaces to ſwallow up the Land, unleſs her bottomleſs Gorge may be ſatisfi'd with the Blood of the Kings Daughter the Church; and may, as ſhe was wont, fill her dark and infamous Den with the Bones of the Saints; Nor will any one have Reaſon to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be ſpoken of Prelacy, if we conſider well from what a Maſs of Slime and Mud, the ſlothful, the covetuous and ambitious Hopes of Church-Promotion and fat Biſhopricks ſhe is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great Python from her Youth to prove the general Poiſon both of Doctrin and good Diſciplin in the Land. For certainly ſuch Hopes and ſuch Principles of Earth as theſe wherein ſhe welters from a young one, are the immediate Generation both of a ſlaviſh and tyrannous Life to follow, and a peſtiferous Contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that fenborn Serpent ſhe be ſhot to Death with the Darts of the Sun, the pure and powerful Beams of Gods Word. and this may ſerve to deſcribe to us in Part what Prelacy hath been, and what, if ſhe ſtand, ſhe is like to be toward the whole Body of People in* England. *Now that it may appear how ſhe is not ſuch a kind of Evil, as hath any Good or Uſe in it, which many Evils have, but a diſtill'd Quinteſſence, a pure Elyxir of Miſchief, peſtilent alike to all; I ſhall ſhew briefly e're I conclude, that the Prelates, as they are to the Subjects a Calamity, ſo are they the greateſt underminers and betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they ſeem to be moſt favourable. I cannot better liken the ſtate and perſon of a King then to that mighty Nazarite* Sampſon; *who being diſciplin'd from his Birth in the Precepts and the Practice of Temperance and Sobriety, without the ſtrong Drink of injurious and exceſſive Diſhes grows up to a noble Strength and Perfection with thoſe his illuſtrious and ſunny Locks, the Laws waving and curling about his God like Shoulders. And whi'e he keeps them about him undiminiſh'd and unſhorn, he may with the Jaw bone of an Aſs, that is, with the word of his meaneſt Officer ſuppreſs, and put to Confuſion Thouſands of thoſe that riſe againſt his juſt Power. But laying down his Head among the ſtrumpet flatteries of Prelates, whilſt he ſleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly ſhaving off all thoſe bright and weighty Treſſes of his Laws, and juſt Prerogatives which were his Ornament and Strength, deliver him over to indirect and violeat Counſels, which as thoſe Philiſtins put out the fair and far ſighted Eyes of his natural diſcerning, and make him grind in the Priſon Houſe of their ſiniſter Ends and Practices upon him. Till he knowing this prelatical Raſor to have bereft him of his wonted Might, nouriſh again his puiſſant Hair, the golden Beams of Law and Right; and they ſternly ſhook Thunder with ruin upon the Heads of thoſe his Evil Councellors, but not without great Affliction to himſelf. This is the ſum of their loyal Service to Kings; yet theſe are the Men that ſtill cry the King, the King, the Lord's Anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing ſo true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lord's Anointed, how they dare thus oyle over and beſmear ſo holy an Unction with the corrupt and putrid Ointment of their baſe flatteries, which while they ſmooth the Skin, ſtrike inward and envenom the Life Blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats both Examples paſt, and our preſent Experience of their doings at this Day, whereon is grounded all that hath been ſaid, may ſuffice to inform us. And if they be ſuch Clippers of regal Power and ſhavers of the Laws, how they ſtand affected to the Law giving Parliament, your Selves, worthy Peers and Commons, can beſt teſtifie; the current of whoſe glorious and immortal Actions hath been only oppos'd by the obſcure and pernicious Deſigns of the Prelats, until their Inſolence broke out to ſuch a bold Affront, as hath juſtly immur'd their haughty locks within ſtrong Walls. Nor have they done any thing of late with more Diligence, then to hinder or break the happy aſſembling of Parliaments, however needful to repair the ſhatter'd and diſjoynted frame of the Common-wealth, or if they cannot do this, to croſs, to diſinable, and traduce all Parliamentary Proceedings. And this, if nothing*

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else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful Members of the House, if they thus perpetually mutiny against their own Body. And though they pretend like Solomons *Harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same Judgment that* Solomon *gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not only their Assent, but their Endeavour continually to divide Parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all Posterity. For the which, and for all their former Misdeeds, whereof this Book and many Volumes more cannot contain the Moiety, I shall move ye Lords in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your Justice and speedy Sentence pass against this great Malefactor* Prelacy. *And yet in the midst of Rigour, I would beseech ye to think of Mercy; and such a Mercy I fear I shall overshoot with a Desire to save this falling* Prelacy, *such Mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous Persons would have sav'd* Sodom. *Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God whether he or you shall be more merciful, but in your wise Esteems to ballance the Offences of those peccant Cities, with these enormous Riots of ungodly Mis-rule that* Prelacy *hath wrought both in the Church of Christ and in the State of this Kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious Presumption strive to go beyond God in Mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for less then ten just Persons would not spare* Sodom, *yet if you can find after due search but only one good thing in* Prelacy, *either to Religion or Civil Government, to King or Parliament, to Prince or People, to Law, Liberty, Wealth or Learning; spare her, let her Live, let her spread among ye, till with her Shadow, all your Dignities and Honours, and all the Glory of the Land be darkn'd and obscur'd. But on the contrary, if she be found to be Malignant, Hostile, Destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial Doom imitate the divine Vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this Godless and Oppressing Government, and bring such a dead Sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this Land rise more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect People of God.*

A TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER IN Ecclesiastical Causes:

SHEWING,

That it is not *Lawful* for any *Power* on *Earth* to compel in *Matters* of

RELIGION.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

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TO THE PARLIAMENT Of the Common-Wealth of ENGLAND, With the Dominions thereof.

I Have prepar'd, ſupream Councel, againſt the much expected time of your Sitting, this Treatiſe; which, though to all Chriſtian Magiſtrates equally belonging, and therefore to have been written in the common Language of Chriſtendom, natural Duty and Affection hath confin'd and dedicated firſt to my own Nation; and in a ſeaſon wherein the timely Reading thereof, to the eaſier Accompliſhment of your great Work, may ſave you much Labour and Interruption: Of two parts uſually propos'd, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, recommending Civil only to your proper Care, Eccleſiaſtical to them only from whom it takes both that Name and Nature. Yet not for this Cauſe only do I require or truſt to find Acceptance, but in a two-fold reſpect beſides: firſt, as bringing clear evidence of Scripture and Proteſtant Maxims to the Parliament of England, *who in all their late Acts, upon occaſion, have profeſs'd to aſſert only the true Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, as it is contain'd in the Holy Scriptures. Next, in regard that your Power being but for a time, and having in your ſelves a Chriſtian Liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppreſs'd, thereof truly ſenſible, it will concern you while you are in Power, ſo to regard other Mens Conſciences, as you would your own ſhould be regarded in the Power of others; and to conſider that any Law againſt Conſcience is alike in Force againſt any Conſcience, and ſo may one way or other juſtly redound upon your ſelves. One Advantage I make no doubt of, that I ſhall write to many eminent Perſons of your Number already perfect and reſolv'd in this important Article of Chriſtianity. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for ſeveral Years, at a Councel next in Authority to your own, ſo well joyning Religion with Civil Prudence, and yet ſo well diſtinguiſhing the different Power of either, and this not only Voting, but frequently reaſoning why it ſhould be ſo, that if any there preſent had been before of an Opinion contrary, he might doubtleſs have departed thence a Convert in that Point, and have confeſs'd that then both Common-wealth and Religion will at length, if ever flouriſh in Chriſtendom, when either they who govern diſcern between Civil and Religious, or they only who ſo diſcern ſhall be admitted to govern. Till then nothing but Troubles, Perſecutions, Commotions can be expected; the inward Decay of true Religion among our Selves, and the utter Overthrow at laſt by a common Enemy. Of Civil Liberty I have written heretofore by the Appointment, and not without the Approbation, of Civil Power: Of Chriſtian Liberty I write now, which others long ſince having done with all Freedom under Heathen Emperours, I ſhould do wrong to ſuſpect, that I now ſhall with leſs under Chriſtian Governors, and ſuch eſpecially as profeſs openly their Defence of Chriſtian Liberty; although I write this not otherwiſe appointed or induc'd then by an inward Perſwaſion of the Chriſtian Duty which I may uſefully diſcharge herein to the common Lord and Maſter of us all, and the certain Hope of his Approbation firſt and chiefeſt to be ſought: In the Hand of whoſe Providence I remain, praying all Succeſs and good Event on your publick Councels to the Defence of true Religion and our Civil Rights.*

JOHN MILTON.

A TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER IN *ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES, &c.*

TWO Things there be which have been ever found working much Miſchief to the Church of God, and the Advancement of Truth; Force on the one ſide reſtraining, and Hire on the other ſide corrupting the Teachers thereof. Few Ages have been ſince the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, wherein the one of theſe two, or both together have not prevail'd. It can be at no time therefore unſeaſonable to ſpeak of theſe things; ſince by them the Church is either in continual Detriment and Oppreſſion, or in continual Danger. The former ſhall be at this time my Argument; the latter as I ſhall find God diſpoſing me, and Opportunity inviting. What I argue, ſhall be drawn from the Scripture only; and therein from true Fundamental Principles of the Goſpel; to all knowing Chriſtians undeniable. And if the Governors of this Common-wealth ſince the rooting out of Prelates have made leaſt uſe of Force in Religion and moſt have favour'd Chriſtian Liberty of any in this Iſland before them, ſince the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, for which we are not to forget our Thanks to God, and their due Praiſe, they may, I doubt not, in this Treatiſe, finde that which not only will confirm them to defend ſtill the Chriſtian Liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them alſo to enlarge it, if in ought they yet ſtraiten it. To them who perhaps hereafter, leſs experienc'd in Religion, may come to Govern or give us Laws, this or other ſuch, if they pleaſe, may be a timely Inſtruction: However to the Truth it will be at all times no unneedful Teſtimony; at leaſt ſome Diſcharge of that general Duty which no Chriſtian but according to what he hath receiv'd, knows is requir'd of him if he have ought more conducing to the Advancement of Religion then what is uſually endeavourd, freely to impart it.

It will require no great Labour of Expoſition to unfold what is here meant by Matters of Religion; being as ſoon apprehended as defin'd, ſuch things as belong chiefly to the Knowledge and Service of God: and are either above the Reach and Light of Nature, without Revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variouſly underſtood by human Reaſon, or ſuch things as are enjoyn'd or forbidden by Divine Precept, which elſe by the Light of Reaſon, would ſeem indifferent to be done or not done; and ſo likewiſe muſt needs appear to every Man as the Precept is underſtood. Whence I here mean by Conſcience or Religion, that full Perſwaſion whereby we are aſſur'd that our Belief and Practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the Will of God and his Holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather then any Law of Man,

as not only his Word every where bids us, but the very Dictate of Reaſon tells us. *Act.* 4. 19. *whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken to you more then to God, judge ye.* That for Belief or Practice in Religion according to this Conſcientious Perſwaſion no Man ought be puniſh'd or Moleſted by any outward Force on Earth whatſoever, I diſtruſt not, through Gods implor'd Aſſiſtance, to make plain by theſe following Arguments.

Firſt, it cannot be deny'd, being the main Foundation of our Proteſtant Religion, that we of theſe Ages, having no other Divine Rule or Authority from without us warrantable to one another as a common Ground but the Holy Scripture, and no other within us but the Illumination of the Holy Spirit ſo Interpreting that Scripture as Warrantable only to our Selves and to ſuch whoſe Conſciences we can ſo perſwade, can have no other Ground in Matters of Religion but only from the Scriptures. And theſe being not poſſible to be underſtood without this Divine Illumination, which no Man can know at all times to be in himſelf, much leſs to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows clearly, that no Man or Body of Men in theſe times can be the Infallible Judges or Determiners in Matters of Religion to any other Mens Conſciences but their own. And therefore thoſe *Beroeans* are commended, *Act.* 17. 11. who after the Preaching even of S. *Paul, ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo.* Nor did they more then what God himſelf in many Places commands us by the ſame Apoſtle, to ſearch, to try, to judge of theſe things our ſelves: And gives us Reaſon alſo, *Gal.* 6. 4, 5. *let every Man prove his own work, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelf alone, and not in another: For every Man ſhall bear his own burthen.* If then we count it ſo Ignorant and Irreligious in the Papiſt to think himſelf diſcharg'd in Gods account, believing only as the Church believes, how much greater Condemnation will it be to the Proteſtant his Condemner, to think himſelf Juſtified, believing only as the State believes? With good Cauſe therefore it is the general Conſent of all ſound Proteſtant Writers, that neither Traditions, Councels nor Canons of any viſible Church, much leſs Edicts of any Magiſtrate or Civil Seſſion, but the Scripture only can be the final Judge or Rule in Matters of Religion, and that only in the Conſcience of every Chriſtian to himſelf. Which Proteſtation made by the firſt publick Reformers of our Religion againſt the Imperial Edicts of *Charles* the fifth, impoſing Church-traditions without Scripture, gave firſt Beginning to the Name of *Proteſtant*; and with that Name hath ever been receiv'd this Doctrine, which prefers the Scripture before the Church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture ſole Interpreter of it ſelf to the Conſcience. For if the Church be not ſufficient to be implicitly believed, as we hold it is not, what can there elſe be Nam'd of more Authority then the Church but the Conſcience; then which God only is greater, 1 *Joh.* 3. 20? But if any Man ſhall pretend, that the Scripture judges to his Conſcience for other Men, he makes himſelf greater not only then the Church, but alſo then the Scripture, then the Conſciences of other Men; a Preſumption too high for any Mortal; ſince every true Chriſtian, able to give a Reaſon of his Faith, hath the Word of God before him, the promiſed Holy Spirit and the Mind of Chriſt within him, 1 *Cor.* 2. 16; a much better and ſafer Guide of Conſcience, which as far as concerns himſelf he may far more certainly know then any outward Rule impos'd upon him by others whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at leaſt knows nothing of them more ſure then this one thing, that they cannot be his Judges in Religion. 1 *Cor.* 2. 15. *the ſpiritual Man judgeth all things, but he himſelf is judg'd of no Man.* Chiefly for this cauſe do all true Proteſtants account the Pope Antichriſt, for that he aſſumes to himſelf this Infallibility over both the Conſcience and the Scripture; *ſitting in the Temple of God*, as it were oppoſite to God, *and exalting himſelf above all that is called God, or is worſhip'd*, 2 Theſſ. 2. 4. That is to ſay, not only above all Judges and Magiſtrates, who though

though they be call'd Gods, are far beneath Infallible, but alſo above God himſelf, by giving Law both to the Scripture, to the Conſcience, and to the Spirit it ſelf of God within us. When as we find, *James* 4. 12. *there is one Lawgiver, who is able to Save and to Deſtroy: Who art thou that judgeſt another?* That Chriſt is the only Lawgiver of his Church and that it is here meant in religious Matters, no well grounded Chriſtian will deny. Thus alſo *St.* Paul, Rom. 14. 4. *who art thou that judgeſt the Servant of another? to his own Lord he ſtandeth or falleth: But he ſhall ſtand; for God is able to make him ſtand.* As therefore of one beyond expreſſion Bold and Preſumptuous, both theſe Apoſtles demand, *who art thou* that preſum'ſt to impoſe other Law or Judgment in Religion then the only Lawgiver and Judge Chriſt, who only can Save and can Deſtroy, gives to the Conſcience? And the forecited Place to the *Theſſalonians* by compar'd Effects reſolves us, that be he or they who or whereever they be or can be, they are of far leſs Authority then the Church, whom in theſe things as Proteſtants they receive not and yet no leſs Antichriſt in this main Point of Antichriſtianiſm, no leſs a Pope or Popedom then he at *Rome*, if not much more; by ſetting up ſupream Interpreters of Scripture either thoſe Doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worſe themſelves, as a Civil Papacy aſſuming unaccountable Supremacy to themſelves, not in Civil only but Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. Seeing then that in Matters of Religion, as hath been prov'd, none can judge or determin here on Earth, no not Church-governours themſelves againſt the Conſciences of other Believers, my Inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviours own, that in thoſe Matters they neither can Command nor uſe Conſtraint; leaſt they run raſhly on a pernicious Conſequence, forewarn'd in that Parable *Mat.* 13. from the 26. to the 31 *verſe: Leaſt while ye gather up the Tares, ye root up alſo the Wheat with them. Let both grow together until the Harveſt: And in the time of Harveſt I will ſay to the Reapers, Gather ye together firſt the Tares,* &c. Whereby he declares, that this Work neither his own Miniſters nor any elſe can diſcerningly enough or judgingly perform, without his own immediate Direction, in his own fit Seaſon; and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirm'd 2 *Cor.* 1. 24. *not that we have Dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your Joy.* If Apoſtles had no Dominion or conſtraining Power over Faith or Conſcience, much leſs have ordinary Miniſters, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2, 3. *Feed the Flock of God not by Conſtraint,* &c. *Neither as being Lords over God's Heritage.* But ſome will object, that this overthrows all Church Diſciplin, all Cenſure of Errors, if no Man can determin. My Anſwer is, that what they hear is plain Scripture; which forbids not Church-Sentence or Determining, but as it ends in Violence upon the Conſcience unconvinc'd. Let who ſo will Interpret or Determin, ſo it be according to true Church-Diſciplin; which is exercis'd on them only who have willingly join'd themſelves in that Covenant of Union, and proceeds only to a Separation from the reſt, proceeds never to any corporal Inforcement or Forfeiture of Mony; which in ſpiritual things are the two Arms of Antichriſt, not of the true Church; the one being an Inquiſition, the other no better then a temporal Indulgence of Sin for Mony, whether by the Church exacted or by the Magiſtrate; both the one and the other a temporal Satisfaction for what Chriſt hath ſatisfied eternally; a Popiſh Commuting of Penalty, Corporal for Spiritual; a Satisfaction to Man eſpecially to the Magiſtrate, for what and to whom we owe none: Theſe and more are the Injuſtices of Force and Fining in Religion, beſides what I moſt inſiſt on, the Violation of Gods expreſs Commandment in the Goſpel, as hath been ſhewn. Thus then if Church-governors cannot uſe Force in Religion, though but for this Reaſon, becauſe they cannot infallibly determin to the Conſcience without Convincement, much leſs have Civil Magiſtrates Authority to uſe Force where they can much leſs judge; unleſs they mean only

to be the Civil Executioners of them who have no Civil Power to give them ſuch Commiſſion, no nor yet Eccleſiaſtical to any Force of Violence in Religion. To ſum up all in brief, if we muſt believe as the Magiſtrate appoints, why not rather as the Church? If not as either without Convincement, how can Force be Lawful? But ſome are ready to cry out, what ſhall then be done to Blaſphemy? Them I would firſt Exhort not thus to Terrify and Poſe the People with a *Greek* Word: But to teach them better what it is; being a moſt uſual and common Word in that Language to ſignify any Slander, any Malicious or Evil Speaking, whether againſt God or Man or any thing to good belonging: Blaſphemy or Evil Speaking againſt God malitiouſly, is far from Conſcience in Religion; according to that of *Mar.* 9. 39. *There is none who doth a powerful work in my Name, and can likely ſpeak Evil of me.* If this ſuffice not, I refer them to that Prudent and well deliberated Act *Auguſt* 9. 1650; where the Parliament defines Blaſphemy againſt God, as far as it is a Crime belonging to Civil Judicature, *plenius ac melius Chryſippo & Crantore*; in plain *Engliſh* more warily, more judiciouſly, more orthodoxally then twice their Number of Divines have done in many a Prolix Volum: Although in all Likelihood they whoſe whole Study and Profeſſion theſe things are or ſhould be moſt Intelligent and Authentic therein, as they are for the moſt Part, yet neither they nor theſe Unerring always or Infallible. But we ſhall not carry it thus; another *Greek* Apparition ſtands in our way, *Hereſy* and *Heretic*, in like manner alſo rail'd at to the People as in a Tongue Unknown. They ſhould firſt Interpret to them, that Hereſy, by what it Signifies in that Language, is no Word of evil Note; meaning only the Choice or Following of any Opinion good or bad in Religion, or any other Learning: And thus not only in Heathen Authors, but in the New-Teſtament it ſelf without Cenſure or Blame. *Act.* 15. 5. *Certain of the Hereſy of the Phariſees which believ'd.* And 26. 5. *After the exacteſt Hereſy of our Religion I liv'd a* Phariſee. In which Senſe Presbyterian or Independent may without Reproach be call'd a Hereſy. Where it is mention'd with Blame, it ſeems to differ little from Schiſm 1 *Cor.* 11. 18, 19. *I hear that there be Schiſms among you,* &c. *for there muſt alſo Hereſies be among you,* &c. Though ſome who write of Hereſy after their own Heads, would make it far worſe then Schiſm; when as on the contrary, Schiſm ſignifies Diviſion, and in the worſt Senſe; Hereſy, Choice only of one Opinion before another, which may be without Diſcord. In Apoſtolic Times therefore e're the Scripture was written, Hereſy was a Doctrin maintain'd againſt the Doctrin by them deliver'd: which in theſe Times can be no otherwiſe defin'd then a Doctrin maintain'd againſt the Light, which we now only have of the Scripture. Seeing therefore, that no Man, no Synod, no Seſſion of Men, though call'd the Church, can judge definitively the Senſe of Scripture to another Mans Conſcience, which is well known to be a general Maxim of the Proteſtant Religion, it follows plainly, that he who holds in Religion in that Belief or thoſe Opinions which to his Conſcience and utmoſt Underſtanding appear with moſt Evidence or Probability in the Scripture, though to others he ſeem Erroneous, can no more be juſtly cenſur'd for a Heretic then his Cenſurers; who do but the ſame thing themſelves while they Cenſure him for ſo doing. For ask them, or any Proteſtant, which hath moſt Authority, the Church or the Scripture? they will Anſwer, doubtleſs, that the Scripture: And what hath moſt Authority, that no doubt but they will confeſs is to be follow'd. He then who to his beſt Apprehenſion follows the Scripture, though againſt any Point of Doctrin by the whole Church receiv'd, is not the Heretic; but he who follows the Church againſt his Conſcience and Perſwaſion grounded on the Scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I ſhall only borrow a plain Simily, the ſame which our own Writers, when they would demonſtrate plaineſt, that we rightly Prefer the Scripture before the Church, uſe

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frequently againſt the Papiſt in this manner. As the *Samaritans* believ'd Chriſt, *firſt* for the Womans Word, but *next* and much rather for his own, ſo we the Scripture; *firſt* on the Churches Word, but afterwards and much more for it's own, as the Word of God; yea the Church it ſelf we believe then for the Scripture. The Inference of it ſelf follows: If by the Proteſtant Doctrin we believe the Scripture not for the Churches ſaying, but for it's own as the Word of God, then ought we to believe what in our Conſcience we apprehend the Scripture to ſay, though the viſible Church with all her Doctors gainſay; and being taught to believe them only for the Scripture, they who ſo do are not Heretics, but the beſt Proteſtants: And by their Opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no Proteſtant, whoſe Rule is not to receive them but from the Scripture: Which to interpret convincingly to his own Conſcience, none is able but himſelf guided by the Holy Spirit; and not ſo guided, none then he to himſelf can be a worſe Deceiver. To Proteſtants therefore whoſe common Rule and Touchſtone is the Scripture, nothing can with more Conſcience, more Equity, nothing more Proteſtantly can be permitted then a free and lawful Debate at all times by Writing, Conference or Diſputation of what Opinion ſoever, Diſputable by Scripture: Concluding, that no Man in Religion is properly a Heretic at this day, but he who maintains Traditions or Opinions not Probable by Scripture; who for ought I know, is the Papiſt only; he the only Heretic, who counts all Heretics but himſelf. Such as theſe, indeed, were capitally puniſh'd by the Law of *Moſes*, as the only true Heretics, Idolaters, plain and open Deſerters of God and his known Law: But in the Goſpel ſuch are puniſh'd by Excommunion only. *Tit.* 3. 10. *an Heretic, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition reject.* But they who think not this heavy enough and underſtand not that dreadful Aw and ſpiritual Efficacy, which the Apoſtle hath expreſs'd ſo highly to be in Church-Diſciplin, 2 *Cor.* 10. of which anon, and think weakly, that the Church of God cannot long ſubſiſt but in a Bodily Fear, for want of other Proof will needs wreſt that Place of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. to ſet up Civil Inquiſition, and give Power to the Magiſtrate, both of Civil Judgment and Puniſhment in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. But let us ſee what Strength of Argument. *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers. Firſt*, how prove they that the Apoſtle means other Powers, then ſuch as they to whom he writes were then under; who medled not at all in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, unleſs as Tyrants and Perſecuters; and from them, I hope, they will not derive either the Right of Magiſtrates to Judge in ſpiritual Things, or the Duty of ſuch our Obedience. How Prove they next, that he entitles them here to Spiritual Cauſes, from whom he witheld, as much as in him lay, the Judging of Civil; 1 *Cor.* 6. 1, &c. If he himſelf appeal'd to *Cæſar*, it was to judge his Innocence, not his Religion. *For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil.* Then are they not a Terror to Conſcience, which is the Rule or Judge of good Works grounded on the Scripture. But Hereſy, they ſay, is reckn'd among Evil Works, *Gal* 5. 20. as if all Evil Works were to be puniſhed by the Magiſtrate; whereof this Place, their own Citation, reck'ns up beſides Hereſy a ſufficient number to Confute them; *Uncleanneſs*, *Wantonneſs*, *Enmity*, *Strife*, *Emulations*, *Animoſities*, *Contentions*, *Envyings*; all which are far more *Manifeſt* to be judg'd by him then Hereſy, as they define it; and yet I ſuppoſe they will not ſubject theſe Evil Works nor many more ſuch like to his Cogniſance and Puniſhment. *Wilt thou then not be Affraid of the Power? Do that which is Good and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame.* This ſhews, that Religious Matters are not here meant; wherein from the Power here ſpoken off they could have no Praiſe. *For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for Good.* True; but in that Office, and to that End and by thoſe Means which in this Place muſt be clearly found, if from this Place they intend to argue. And how for thy good by Forcing, Oppreſſing and Inſnaring thy Conſcience? Ma-

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ny are the Miniſters of God, and their Offices no leſs different then many; none more different then State and Church-government. Who ſeeks to Govern both muſt needs be worſe then any Lord, Prelate or Church-pluraliſt: For he in his own Faculty and Profeſſion, the other not in his own and for the moſt part not throughly underſtood, makes himſelf Supream Lord, or Pope of the Church as far his Civil Juriſdiction ſtretches, and all the Miniſters of God therein, his Miniſters, or his Curates rather in the Function only, not in the Government: While he himſelf aſſumes to rule by Civil Power things to be rul'd only by Spiritual: When as this very Chapter *v.* 6. appointing him his peculiar Office, which requires utmoſt Attendance, forbids him this worſe then Church-plurality from that full and weighty Charge, wherein alone he is *the Miniſter of God, attending continually on this very Thing.* To little Purpoſe will they here inſtance *Moſes*, who did all by immediate divine Direction, no nor yet *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat* or *Joſiah*, who both might when they pleas'd receive Anſwer from God, and had a Common-wealth by him deliver'd them, incorporated with a National Church exercis'd more in bodily then in ſpiritual Worſhip, ſo as that the Church might be call'd a Common-wealth, and the whole Common-wealth a Church: Nothing of which can be ſaid of Chriſtianity, deliver'd without the Help of Magiſtrates, yea in the Midſt of their Oppoſition; how little then with any Reference to them or Mention of them, ſave only of our Obedience to their Civil Laws, as they count'nance Good and deter Evil: Which is the proper Work of the Magiſtrate, following in the ſame Verſe, and ſhews diſtinctly wherein he is the Miniſter of God, *a Revenger to execute Wrath on him that doth Evil.* But we muſt firſt know who it is that doth Evil: The Heretic they ſay among the firſt. Let it be known then certainly who is a Heretic: And that he who holds Opinions in Religion profeſſedly from Tradition or his own Inventions and not from Scripture but rather againſt it, is the only Heretic; and yet though ſuch, not always puniſhable by the Magiſtrate, unleſs he do Evil againſt a Civil Law, properly ſo call'd, hath been already prov'd without need of Repetition. *But if thou do that which is Evil, be affraid.* To do by Scripture and the Goſpel according to Conſcience is not to do Evil; if we thereof ought not to be affraid, he ought not by his judging to give Cauſe. Cauſes therefore of Religion are not here meant. *For he beareth not the Sword in vain.* Yes altogether in vain, if it ſmite he knows not what; if that for Hereſy which not the Church it ſelf, much leſs he, can determine abſolutely to be ſo; if Truth for Error, being himſelf ſo often Fallible, he bears the Sword not in vain only, but unjuſtly and to Evil. *Be ſubject not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake*: How for Conſcience ſake againſt Conſcience? By all theſe Reaſons it appears plainly that the Apoſtle in this Place gives no Judgment or coercive Power to Magiſtrates, neither to thoſe then nor theſe now in Matters of Religion; and Exhorts us no otherwiſe then he Exhorted thoſe *Romans.* It hath now twice befal'n me to Aſſert, through Gods Aſſiſtance, this moſt wreſted and vex'd Place of Scripture; heretofore againſt *Salmaſius* and regal Tyranny over the State; now againſt *Eraſtus* and State-Tyranny over the Church. If from ſuch uncertain or rather ſuch improbable Grounds as theſe they endue Magiſtracy with Spiritual Judgment, they may as well inveſt him in the ſame Spiritual kind with Power of utmoſt Puniſhment, Excommunication; and then turn Spiritual into Corporal, as no worſe Authors did then *Chryſoſtom*, *Jerom* and *Auſtin*, whom *Eraſmus* and others in their Notes on the New Teſtament have cited to Interpret that *cutting off* which St. *Paul* wiſh'd to them who had brought back the *Galatians* to Circumciſion, no leſs than the Amercement of their whole Virility and *Grotius* adds that this conciſing Puniſhment of Circumciſers became a Penal Law thereupon among the *Viſigothes*: A dangerous Example of beginning in the Spirit to end ſo in the Fleſh: Whereas that cutting off much likelier ſeems meant a cutting off from the Church, not unuſually ſo term'd

term'd in Scripture, and a zealous Imprecation not a Command. But I have mention'd this Paſſage to ſhew how abſurd they often prove who have not learn'd to diſtinguiſh rightly between Civil Power and Eccleſiaſtical. How many Perſecutions, then Impriſonments, Baniſhments, Penalties and Stripes; How much Bloodſhed have the Forcers of Conſcience to anſwer for, and Proteſtants rather then Papiſts! For the Papiſt, judging by his Principles, puniſhes them who believe not as the Church believes, though againſt the Scripture: But the Proteſtant, teaching every one to believe the Scripture though againſt the Church; counts heretical and perſecutes, againſt his own Principles, them, who in any Particular ſo believe as he in general teaches them; them who moſt honour and believe divine Scripture, but not againſt it any human Interpretation though univerſal; them who interpret Scripture only to themſelves, which by his own Poſition none but they to themſelves can interpret; them who uſe the Scripture no otherwiſe by his own Doctrin to their Edification, then he himſelf uſes it to their Puniſhing: And ſo whom his Doctrin acknowledges a true Believer, his Diſciplin perſecutes as a Heretic. The Papiſt exacts our Belief as to the Church due above Scripture; and by the Church, which is the whole People of God, underſtands the Pope, the general Councels Prelatical only and the ſirnam'd Fathers: But the forcing Proteſtant, though he deny ſuch Belief to any Church whatſoever, yet takes it to himſelf and his Teachers, of far leſs Authority then to be call'd the Church, and above Scripture believ'd: Which renders his Practice both contrary to his Belief and far worſe then that Belief which he condemns in the Papiſt. By all which well conſider'd, the more he profeſſes to be a true Proteſtant, the more he hath to anſwer for his Perſecuting then a Papiſt. No Proteſtant therefore of what Sect ſoever following Scripture only, which is the common Sect wherein they all agree, and the granted Rule of every Mans Conſcience to himſelf, ought, by the common Doctrin of Proteſtants, to be forc'd or moleſted for Religion. But as for Popery and Idolatry, why they alſo may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much leſs to ſay. Their Religion the more conſider'd the leſs can be acknowledg'd a Religion; but a *Roman* Principality rather, endeavouring to keep up her old Univerſal Dominion under a new Name and meer Shadow of a Catholic Religion; being indeed more rightly nam'd a Catholic Hereſy againſt the Scripture, ſupported mainly by a Civil, and except in *Rome*, by a Forcign Power: Juſtly therefore to be ſuſpected, not tolerated, by the Magiſtrate of another Country. Beſides, of an implicit Faith, which they profeſs, the Conſcience alſo becomes implicit; And ſo by voluntary Servitude to Mans Law forfeits her Chriſtian Liberty. Who then can plead for ſuch a Conſcience, as being implicitly enthrall'd to Man inſtead of God, almoſt becomes no Conſcience, as the Will, not free, becomes no Will. Nevertheleſs, if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for juſt Reaſon of State more then of Religion, which they who force, though profeſſing to be Proteſtants, deſerve as little to be tolerated themſelves, being no leſs guilty of Popery in the moſt Popiſh Point. *Laſtly*, for Idolatry, who knows it not to be evidently againſt all Scripture, both of the Old and New Teſtament, and therefore a true Hereſy, or rather an Impiety; wherein a right Conſcience can have Nought to do; and the Works thereof ſo manifeſt, that a Magiſtrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at leaſt the public and ſcandalous Uſe thereof.

From the Riddance of theſe Objections, I proceed yet to another Reaſon why it is unlawful for the Civil Magiſtrate to uſe Force in Matters of Religion; which is, becauſe to judge in thoſe things, though we ſhould grant him able, which is prov'd he is not, yet as a Civil Magiſtrate he hath no Right. Chriſt hath a Government of his own, ſufficient of it ſelf to all his Ends and Purpoſes in governing his Church; but much different from that of the Civil Magiſtrate; and the Difference in this very thing principally

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conſiſts, that it governs not by outward Force, and that for two Reaſons. *Firſt*, becauſe it deals only with the inward Man and his Actions, which are all ſpiritual and to outward Force not liable. *Secondly*, to ſhew us the Divine Excellence of his ſpiritual Kingdom, able without worldly Force to ſubdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only. That the inward Man is nothing elſe but the inward Part of Man, his Underſtanding and his Will, and that his Actions thence proceeding, yet not ſimply thence but from the Work of Divine Grace upon them, are the whole Matter of Religion under the Goſpel, will appear plainly by conſidering what that Religion is; whence we ſhall perceive yet more plainly that it cannot be forc'd. What Evangelic Religion is, is told in two Words, Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice. That both theſe flow either the one from the Underſtanding, the other from the Will, or both jointly from both, once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate and wrought on by divine Grace, is in part evident to common Senſe and Principles unqueſtion'd, the reſt by Scripture: Concerning our Belief, *Mat.* 16. 17. *Fleſh and Blood hath not reveal'd it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.* Concerning our Practice, as it is religious and not meerly civil, *Gal.* 5. 22, 23. and other Places declare it to be the Fruit of the Spirit only. Nay our whole Practical Duty in Religion is contain'd in Charity, or the Love of God and our Neighbour, no way to be forc'd, yet the Fulfilling of the whole Law, that is to ſay, our whole Practice in Religion. If then both our Belief and Practice, which comprehend our whole Religion, flow from Faculties of the inward Man, free and unconſtrainable of themſelves by Nature, and our Practice not only from Faculties endu'd with Freedom, but from Love and Charity beſides, incapable of Force, and all theſe things by Tranſgreſſion loſt, but renewed and regenerated in us by the Power and Gift of God alone, how can ſuch Religion as this admit of Force from Man, or Force be any way appli'd to ſuch Religion, eſpecially under the free Offer of Grace in the Goſpel, but it muſt forthwith fruſtrate and make of no Effect both the Religion and the Goſpel? And that to compel outward Profeſſion, which they will ſay perhaps ought to be compell'd, though inward Religion cannot, is to compel Hypocriſy not to advance Religion, ſhall yet, though of it ſelf clear enough, be 'ere the Concluſion, further manifeſt. The other Reaſon why Chriſt rejects outward Force in the Government of his Church, is, as I ſaid before, to ſhew us the divine Excellence of his ſpiritual Kingdom, able without worldly Force to ſubdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only: By which to uphold Religion otherwiſe then to defend the Religious from outward Violence is no Service to Chriſt or his Kingdom, but rather a Diſparagement, and degrades it from a divine and ſpiritual Kingdom to a Kingdom of this World: Which he denies it to be, becauſe it needs not Force to confirm it: *Joh.* 18. 36. *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I ſhould not be deliver'd to the* Jews. This proves the Kingdom of Chriſt not govern'd by outward Force; as being none of this World, whoſe Kingdoms are maintain'd all by Force only. And yet diſproves not that a Chriſtian Common-wealth may defend it ſelf againſt outward Force in the Cauſe of Religion as well as in any other; though Chriſt himſelf, coming purpoſely to dye for us, would not be ſo defended. 1 *Cor.* 1. 27. *God hath choſen the weak things of the World to confound the things which are mighty.* Then ſurely, he hath not choſen the Force of this World to ſubdue Conſcience and conſcientious Men, who in this World are counted weakeſt; but rather Conſcience, as being weakeſt, to ſubdue and regulate Force, his Adverſary, not his Aid or Inſtrument in Governing the Church. 2 *Cor.* 10. 3, 4, 5, 6. *For though we walk in the Fleſh, we do not war after the Fleſh: For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong Holds, caſting down Imaginations,*

ginations and every high thing that exalts it ſelf againſt the Knowledge of God; and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Chriſt: And having in a readineſs to avenge all Diſobedience. It is evident by the firſt and ſecond Verſes of this Chapter, that the Apoſtle here ſpeaks of that Spiritual Power by which Chriſt governs his Church, how all ſufficient it is, how powerful to reach the Conſcience and the inward Man with whom it chiefly deals and whom no Power elſe can deal with. In compariſon of which as it is here thus magnificently deſcrib'd, how uneffectual and weak is outward Force with all her boiſtrous Tools, to the ſhame of thoſe Chriſtians, and eſpecially thoſe Church-men, who to the exerciſing of Church Diſciplin never ceaſe Calling on the Civil Magiſtrate to interpoſe his Fleſhly Force; an Argument that all true Miniſterial and Spiritual Power is Dead within them: Who think the Goſpel, which both began and ſpread over the whole World for above Three Hundred Years under Heathen and Perſecuting Emperors, cannot ſtand or continue, ſupported by the ſame Divine Preſence and Protection to the Worlds End; much eaſier under the defenſive Favor only of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, unleſs it be enacted and ſettled, as they call it, by the State, a Statute or a State Religion: And underſtand not that the Church it ſelf cannot, much leſs the State, ſettle or impoſe one Tittle of Religion upon our Obedience Implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conſcientious Examination: Unleſs they mean to ſet the State higher then the Church in Religion, and with a groſs Contradiction give to the State in their ſettling Petition that Command of our implicit Belief, which they deny in their ſetled Confeſſion both to the State and to the Church. Let them ceaſe then to importune and interrupt the Magiſtrate from attending to his own Charge in civil and moral Things, the ſettling of Things juſt, Things honeſt, the Defence of Things Religious ſettled by the Churches within themſelves; and the repreſſing of their Contraries determinable by the common Light of Nature; which is, not to conſtrain or to repreſs Religion, probable by Scripture, but the Violaters and Perſecuters thereof: Of all which things he hath enough and more then enough to do, leſt yet undone; for which the Land groans and Juſtice goes to wrack the while: Let him alſo forbear Force where he hath no Right to judge; for the Conſcience is not his Province: Leaſt a worſe *Woe* arrive him, for worſe offending, then was denounc'd by our *Saviour Matt.* 23. 23. againſt the Phariſees: Ye have forc'd the Conſcience, which was not to be forc'd; but Judgment and Mercy ye have not executed: This ye ſhould have done and the other let alone. And ſince it is the Councel and ſet Purpoſe of God in the Goſpel by Spiritual Means which are counted weak, to overcome all Power which reſiſts him; let them not go about to do that by worldly *Strength* which he hath decreed to do by thoſe Means which the World counts Weakneſs, leaſt they be again obnoxious to that Saying, which in another Place is alſo written of the Phariſees, *Luke* 7. 30. *that they fruſtrated the Councel of God.* The main Plea is and urged with much Vehemence to their Imitation, that the Kings of *Juda*, as I touched before and eſpecially *Joſia* both judg'd and us'd Force in Religion. 2 *Chr.* 34. 33. *he made all that were preſent in* Iſrael *to ſerve the Lord their God*: An Argument, if it be well weighed, worſe then that us'd by the falſe Prophet *Shemaia* to the High Prieſt, that in Imitation of *Jehojada* he ought to put *Jeremia* in the Stocks, *Jer.* 29. 24, 26, &c. for which he received his due Denouncement from God. But to this beſides I return a threefold Anſwer: *Firſt*, that the State of Religion under the Goſpel is far differing from what it was under the Law: Then was the State of Rigor, Childhood, Bondage and Works, to all which Force was not unbefitting; now is the State of Grace, Manhood, Freedom and Faith; to all which belongs Willingneſs and Reaſon, not Force: The Law was then written on Tables of Stone, and to be performed according to the Letter, wil-

lingly or unwillingly; the Goſpel, our new Covenant, upon the heart of every Believer, to be interpreted only by the Senſe of Charity and inward Perſwaſion: The Law had no diſtinct Government or Governors of Church and Commonwealth, but the Prieſts and Levites judg'd in all Cauſes not Eccleſiaſtical only but Civil, *Deut.* 17. 8, &c. which under the Goſpel is forbidden to all Church-miniſters, as a thing which Chriſt their Maſter in his Miniſtery diſclaim'd *Luke* 12. 14. as a thing beneath them, 1 *Cor.* 6. 4. and by many of our Statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far differing Government of their own. If not, why different the Governors? Why not Church-miniſters in State-affairs, as well as State-miniſters in Church-affairs? If Church and State ſhall be made one Fleſh again as under the Law, let it be withal conſider'd, that God who then joyn'd them hath now ſevered them; that which, he ſo ordaining, was then a Lawful Conjunction, to ſuch on either ſide as joyn again what he hath ſever'd, would be nothing now but their own Preſumptuous Fornication. *Secondly*, the Kings of *Juda* and thoſe Magiſtrates under the Law might have Recourſe, as I ſaid before, to divine Inſpiration; which our Magiſtrates under the Goſpel have not, more then to the ſame Spirit, which thoſe whom they force have oft-times in greater meaſure then themſelves: And ſo, inſtead of forcing the Chriſtian, they force the Holy Ghoſt; and, againſt that wiſe forewarning of *Gamaliel*, fight againſt God. *Thirdly*, thoſe Kings and Magiſtrates us'd force in ſuch Things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the Law of *Moſes*, Idolatry and direct Apoſtacy from that national and ſtrict enjoin'd Worſhip of God; whereof the corporal Puniſhment was by himſelf expreſly ſet down: But Magiſtrates under the Goſpel, our free, elective and rational Worſhip, are moſt commonly buſieſt to force thoſe things which in the Goſpel are either left free, nay ſometimes aboliſh'd, when by them compell'd, or elſe controverted equally by Writers on both ſides, and ſometimes with odds on that ſide which is againſt them. By which means they either puniſh that which they ought to favour and protect, or that with corporal Puniſhment and of their own inventing, which not they but the Church hath receiv'd Command to chaſtiſe with a ſpiritual Rod only. Yet ſome are ſo eager in in their Zeal of forcing, that they refuſe not to deſcend at length to the utmoſt ſhift of that Parabolical Proof, *Luke* 14. 16, &c. *compel them to come in.* Therefore Magiſtrates may compel in Religion. As if a Parable were to be ſtrain'd through every Word or Phraſe, and not expounded by the general Scope thereof: Which is no other here then the earneſt Expreſſion of Gods diſpleaſure on thoſe recuſant *Jews*, and his purpoſe to prefer the Gentiles on any terms before them; expreſs'd here by the word *Compel.* But how compels he? Doubtleſs no otherwiſe then he draws, without which no Man can come to him, *Joh.* 6. 44. and that is by the inward perſwaſive Motions of his Spirit and by his Miniſters; not by the outward Compulſions of a Magiſtrate or his Officers. The true People of Chriſt, as is foretold, *Pſal.* 110. 3. *are a willing People in the day of his Power*, then much more now when he rules all things by outward Weakneſs, that both his inward Power and and their ſincerity may the more appear. *God loveth a chearful Giver*: Then certainly is not pleas'd with an unchearful Worſhipper; as the very Words declare of his Evangelical Invitations. *Eſa.* 55. 1. *ho, every one that Thirſteth come.* Joh. 7. 37. *if any Man Thirſt.* Rev. 3. 18. *I Councel thee*, and 22. 17. *whoſoever will, let him take the Water of Life freely.* And in that grand Commiſſion of Preaching to invite all Nations *Marc.* 16. 16. as the Reward of them who come, ſo the Penalty of them who come not is only Spiritual. But they bring now ſome Reaſon with their Force, which muſt not paſs unanſwer'd; that the Church of *Thyatria* was blam'd *Rev.* 2. 22. for ſuffering the falſe *Prophetſeſs to teach and to ſeduce.* I anſwer, that Seducement is to be hinder'd by fit and proper Means ordain'd in Church-diſciplin; by inſtant

ſtant and powerful Demonſtration to the contrary; by oppoſing Truth to Error, no unequal Match; Truth the ſtrong to Error the weak though ſlie and ſhifting. Force is no honeſt Confutation; but uneffectual, and for the moſt Part unſucceſsful, oft-times fatal to them who uſe it: Sound Doctrin diligently and duly Taught, is of her ſelf both Sufficient, and of her ſelf (if ſome ſecret Judgment of God hinder not) always Prevalent againſt Seducers. This the *Thyatirians* had neglected ſuffering againſt Church-diſciplin, that Woman to teach and ſeduce among them: Civil Force they had not then in their Power; being the Chriſtian part only of that City, and then eſpecially under one of thoſe ten great Perſecutions, whereof this the Second was rais'd by *Domitian*: Force therefore in theſe Matters could not be requir'd of them, who were then under Force themſelves.

I have ſhewn that the Civil Power hath neither Right nor can do Right by forcing Religious Things: I will now ſhew the Wrong it doth; by violating the Fundamental Privilege of the Goſpel, the New Birth-right of every true Believer Chriſtian Liberty. 2 *Cor.* 3. 17. *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.* Gal. 2. 26. Jeruſalem *which is above is Free; which is the Mother of us all, and* 31. *We are not Children of the Bond-woman, but of the Free.* It will be ſufficient in this Place to ſay no more of Chriſtian Liberty, then that it ſets us Free not only from the Bondage of thoſe Ceremonies, but alſo from the forcible Impoſition of thoſe Circumſtances, Place and Time in the Worſhip of God: Which though by him Commanded in the Old Law, yet in reſpect of that Verity and Freedom which is Evangelical, S. *Paul* comprehends both Kinds alike, that is to ſay, both Ceremony and Circumſtance, under one and the ſame contemptuous Name of *weak and beggarly Rudiments, Gal.* 4. 3, 9, 10. *Col.* 2. 8. with 16. conformable to what our Saviour himſelf Taught, *John* 4. 21. 23. *Neither in this Mountain nor yet at* Jeruſalem. *In Spirit and in Truth: For the Father ſeeketh ſuch to Worſhip him,* that is to ſay, not only ſincere of Heart, for ſuch he ſought ever, but alſo as the Words here chiefly import, not compell'd to Place, and by the ſame Reaſon, not to any ſet Time; as his Apoſtle by the ſame Spirit hath taught us, *Rom.* 14. 6. &c. *One Man eſteemeth one Day above another,* &c. *Gal.* 4. 10. *Ye obſerve Days and Months,* &c. *Coloſſ.* 2. 16. Theſe and other ſuch Places of Scripture the Beſt and Learnedſt Reformed Writers have thought evident enough to inſtruct us in our Freedom, not only from Ceremonies, but from thoſe Circumſtances alſo, though impos'd with a confident Perſwaſion of Morality in them, which they hold impoſſible to be in Place or Time. By what Warrant then our Opinions and Practices herein are of late turn'd quite againſt all other Proteſtants, and that which is to them Orthodoxal, to us become Scandalous and Puniſhable by Statute, I wiſh were once again better conſider'd; if we mean not to proclaim a Schiſm in this Point, from the beſt and moſt reformed Churches abroad. They who would ſeem more Knowing, confeſs that theſe Things are Indifferent, but for that very Cauſe by the Magiſtrate may be Commanded. As if God of his Special Grace in the Goſpel had to this End freed us from his own Commandments in theſe Things, that our Freedom ſhould Subject us to a more grevious Yoke, the Commandments of Men. As well may the Magiſtrate call that Common or Unclean which God hath cleanſed, forbidden to S. *Peter, Acts* 10. 15. as well may he looſen that which God hath ſtraiten'd, or ſtraiten that which God hath looſen'd, as he may injoyn thoſe Things in Religion which God hath left Free, and lay on that Yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this Gift as a ſpecial Priviledge and Excellence of the free Goſpel above the ſervile Law, but ſtrictly alſo hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it. *Gal.* 5. 13. *you are call'd to Liberty.* 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. *be not made the Servants of Men. Gal.* 5. 14. *ſtand faſt therefore in the Liberty*

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wherewith Chriſt hath made us Free; and be not intangl'd again with the Yoke of Bondage. Neither is this a meer Command, but for the moſt part in theſe forecited Places accompanied with the very weightieſt and inmoſt Reaſons of Chriſtian Religion: *Rom.* 14. 9, 10. *For to this End, Chriſt both dy'd and roſe and reviv'd, that he might be Lord both of the Dead and Living. But why doſt thou Judge thy Brother?* &c. How preſum'ſt thou to be his Lord, to be whoſe only Lord, at leaſt in theſe Things, Chriſt both dy'd and roſe and liv'd again? *We ſhall all ſtand before the judgment Seat of Chriſt.* Why then doſt thou not only judge, but perſecute in theſe Things for which we are to be accountable to the Tribunal of Chriſt only, our Lord and Lawgiver? 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a Price; be not made the Servants of Men.* Some trivial Price belike, and for ſome frivolous Pretences paid in their Opinion, if Bought and by him Redeem'd who is God from what was once the Service of God, we ſhall be enthral'd again and forc'd by Men, to what now is but the Service of Men. *Gal.* 4. 31, with 5. 1. *we are not Children of the Bondwoman*, &c. *Stand faſt therefore*, &c. *Col.* 2. 8. *beware leaſt any Man ſpoil you*, &c. *after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Chriſt.* Solid Reaſons whereof are continu'd through the whole Chapter. *v.* 10. *Ye are compleat in him, which is the head of all Principality and Power.* Not compleated therefore or made the more Religious by thoſe Ordinances of Civil Power, from which Chriſt their Head hath diſcharg'd us; *blotting out the Hand-writing of Ordinances, that was againſt us, which was contrary to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Croſs, v.* 14. blotting out Ordinances written by God himſelf, much more thoſe ſo boldly written over again by Men. Ordinances which were againſt us, that is, againſt our Frailty, much more thoſe which are againſt our Conſcience. *Let no Man therefore judge you in reſpect of*, &c. *v.* 16. *Gal.* 4. 3, &c. *Even ſo we, when we were Children, were in Bondage under the Rudiments of the World: But when the fullneſs of time was come, God ſent forth his Son*, &c. *To Redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the Adoption of Sons*, &c. *Wherefore thou art no more a Servant but a Son*, &c. *But now*, &c. *How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly Rudiments, whereunto ye deſire again to be in Bondage? Ye obſerve Days*, &c. Hence it plainly appears, that if we be not Free we are not Sons, but ſtill Servants unadopted; and if we turn again to thoſe weak and beggarly Rudiments, we are not Free; yea though willingly and with a miſguided Conſcience we deſire to be in Bondage to them; how much more then if unwillingly and againſt our Conſcience? Ill was our Condition chang'd from Legal to Evangelical, and ſmall Advantage gotten by the Goſpel, if for the Spirit of Adoption to Freedom, promis'd us, we receive again the Spirit of Bondage to Fear; if our Fear which was then Servile towards God only, muſt be now Servile in Religion towards Men: Strange alſo and prepoſterous Fear, if when and wherein it hath attain'd by the Redemption of our Saviour to be Filial only towards God, it muſt be now Servile towards the Magiſtrate. Who by ſubjecting us to his Puniſhment in theſe Things, brings back into Religion that Law of Terror and Satisfaction, belonging now only to Civil Crimes; and thereby in Effect aboliſhes the Goſpel by Eſtabliſhing again the Law to a far worſe Yoak of Servitude upon us then before. It will therefore not misbecome the meaneſt Chriſtian to put in mind Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and ſo much the more freely by how much the more they deſire to be thought Chriſtian (for they will be thereby, as they ought to be in theſe things, the more our Brethren and the leſs our Lords) that they meddle not raſhly with Chriſtian Liberty, the Birthright and outward Teſtimony of our Adoption: Leaſt while they little think it, nay think they do God Service, they themſelves like the Sons of that Bondwoman be found peſecuting them who are Freeborn of the Spirit; and by a Sacriledge of not the leaſt Aggravation bereaving them of

that

that ſacred Liberty which our Saviour with his own Blood purchas'd for them.

A *Fourth* Reaſon, why the Magiſtrate ought not to uſe Force in Religion, I bring from the Conſideration of all thoſe Ends which he can likely pretend to the Interpoſing of his Force therein: And thoſe hardly can be other then firſt the Glory of God; next either the ſpiritual Good of them whom he Forces, or the temporal Puniſhment of their Scandal to others. As for the Promoting of Gods Glory, none, I think, will ſay that his Glory ought to be Promoted in Religious Things by unwarrantable Means, much leſs by Means contrary to what he hath commanded. That outward Force is ſuch, and that Gods Glory in the whole Adminiſtration of the Goſpel according to his own Will and Councel ought to be fulfill'd by Weakneſs, at leaſt ſo refuted, not by Force; or if by Force, Inward and Spiritual, not Outward and Corporal, is already prov'd at large. That outward Force cannot tend to the Good of him who is forc'd in Religion, is Unqueſtionable. For in Religion whatever we do under the Goſpel, we ought to be thereof Perſwaded without Scruple; and are juſtified by the Faith we have, not by the Work we do. *Rom.* 14. 5. *Let every Man be fully perſwaded in his own Mind.* The other Reaſon which follows neceſſarily is obvious, *Gal.* 2. 16. and in many other Places of St. *Paul*, as the Groundwork and Foundation of the whole Goſpel, that we are *juſtifi'd by the Faith of Chriſt, and not by the Works of the Law.* If not by the Works of God's Law, how then by the Injunctions of Mans Law? Surely Force cannot work Perſwaſion, which is Faith; cannot therefore juſtifie nor pacifie the Conſcience; and that which Juſtifies not in the Goſpel, Condemns; is not only not Good, but Sinful to do. *Rom.* 14. 23. *Whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin.* It concerns the Magiſtrate then to take heed how he Forces in Religion Conſcientious Men: Leaſt by compelling them to do that whereof they cannot be Perſwaded, that wherein they cannot find themſelves Juſtified, but by their own Conſciences condemn'd, inſtead of aiming at their ſpiritual Good, he force them to do Evil; and while he thinks himſelf *Aſa*, *Joſia*, *Nehemia*, he be found *Jeroboam*, who cauſed *Iſrael* to Sin; and thereby draw upon his own Head all thoſe Sins and Shipwracks of implicit Faith and Conformity, which he hath forc'd, and all the wounds given to thoſe *little ones*, whom to offend he will find worſe one day then that violent Drowning mentioned *Mat.* 18. 6. *Laſtly*, as a Preface to Force, it is the uſual Pretence, That although tender Conſciences ſhall be tolerated, yet Scandals thereby given ſhall not be unpuniſh'd, Prophane and Licentious Men ſhall not be encourag'd to neglect the Performance of Religious and Holy Duties by Colour of any Law giving Liberty to tender Conſciences. By which Contrivance the way lies ready open to them hereafter, who may be ſo minded, to take away by little and little, that Liberty which Chriſt and his Goſpel, not any Magiſtrate hath Right to give: Though this kind of his giving be but to give with one Hand and take away with the other, which is a Deluding not a Giving. As for Scandals, if any Man be offended at the Conſcientious Liberty of another, it is a taken Scandal not a given. To heal one Conſcience we muſt not wound another: And Men muſt be exhorted to beware of Scandals in Chriſtian Liberty, not forc'd by the Magiſtrate; leaſt while he goes about to take away the Scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our Liberty, which is the certain and the ſacred Gift of God, neither to be touch'd by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving Scandal then St. *Paul*. Yet while he made himſelf *Servant to all*, that he *might gain the more*, he made himſelf ſo of his own Accord, was not made ſo by outward Force, teſtifying at the ſame time, that he *was free from all Men*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 19. and thereafter exhorts us alſo, *Gal.* 5. 13. *ye were call'd to Liberty*, &c. *But by Love ſerve one another*: Then not by Force. As for that Fear leaſt prophane and licentious Men ſhould be encouraged to omit the Performance of Religious

gious and holy Duties, how can that Care belong to the Civil Magiſtrate, eſpecially to his Force? For if prophane and licentious Perſons muſt not neglect the Performance of religious and holy Duties, it implies, that ſuch Duties they can perform, which no Proteſtant will affirm. They, who mean the outward Performance, may ſo explain it; and it will then appear yet more plainly, that ſuch Performance of religious and holy Duties eſpecially by prophane and licentious Perſons, is a Diſhonouring rather then a Worſhipping of God; and not only by him not requir'd but deteſted: *Prov.* 21. 27. *The Sacrifice of the wicked is an Abomination: How much more when he bringeth it with a wicked Mind?* To compel therefore the Prophane to Things holy in his Prophaneneſs, is all one under the Goſpel, as to have compell'd the Unclean to ſacrifice in his Uncleanneſs under the Law. And I add withal, that to compel the Licentious in his Licentiouſneſs and the Conſcientious againſt his Conſcience, comes all to one; tends not to the Honour of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of Sin to them both. We read not that Chriſt ever exercis'd Force but once; and that was to drive prophane ones out of his Temple, not to force them in: And if their being there was an Offence, we find by many other Scriptures, that their Praying there was an Abomination: And yet to the *Jewiſh* Law that Nation as a Servant was oblig'd; But to the Goſpel each Perſon is left voluntary, call'd only, as a Son, by the Preaching of the Word; not to be driven in by Edicts and Force of Arms. For if by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 21. 1. we are *beſeeched* as *Brethren by the Mercies of God* to *preſent* our *Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is* our *reaſonable Service* or Worſhip, then is no Man to be forc'd by the compulſive Laws of Men to preſent his Body a dead Sacrifice, and ſo under the Goſpel moſt unholy and unacceptable, becauſe it is his unreaſonable Service, that is to ſay, not only unwilling but unconſcionable. But if prophane and licentious Perſons may not omit the Performance of holy Duties, why may they not partake of holy Things? Why are they prohibited the Lords Supper; ſince both the one and the other Action may be outward; and outward Performance of Duty may attain at leaſt an outward Participation of Benefit? The Church denying them that Communion of Grace and Thankſgiving, as it juſtly doth, why doth the Magiſtrate compel them to the Union of performing that which they neither truly can, being themſelves unholy, and to do ſeemingly is both hateful to God, and perhaps no leſs dangerous to perform holy Duties irreligiouſly then to receive holy Signs or Sacraments unworthily. All prophane and licentious Men, ſo known, can be conſider'd but either ſo without the Church as never yet within it, or departed thence of their own Accord or Excommunicate: If never yet within the Church, whom the Apoſtle, and ſo conſequently the Church, have nought to do to judge, as he profeſſes, 1 *Cor.* 5 12. then by what Authority doth the Magiſtrate judge, or, which is worſe, compel in Relation to the Church? If departed of his own Accord, like that loſt Sheep, *Luke.* 15. 4, *&c.* the true Church either with her own or any borrow'd Force worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable Manner ſends after him, and if ſhe find him, lays him gently on her Shoulders; bears him, yea bears his Burthens, his Errors, his Infirmities any way tolerable, *ſo fulfilling the Law of Chriſt*, *Gal.* 6. 2. If excommunicate, whom the Church hath bid go out, in whoſe Name doth the Magiſtrate compel to go in? The Church indeed hinders none from hearing in her public Congregation, for the Doors are open to all: nor excommunicates to Deſtruction, but, as much as in her lies, to a final Saving. Her Meaning therefore muſt needs be, that as her Driving out brings on no outward Penalty, ſo no outward Force or Penalty of an improper and only a deſtructive Power ſhould drive in again her infectious Sheep; therefore ſent out becauſe infectious, and not driven in but with the Danger not only of the whole and ſound, but alſo of his own utter Periſhing. Since Force neither

inſtructs

inſtructs in Religion, nor begets Repentance or Amendment of Life, but, on the contrary, Hardneſs of Heart, Formality, Hypocriſy, and, as I ſaid before, every way Increaſe of Sin; more and more alienates the Mind from a violent Religion, expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a Condition like that which the *Britains* complain of in our Story, driven to and fro between the *Picts* and the Sea. If after Excommunion he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the Church, he becomes as one never yet within her Pale, *a Heathen or a Publican, Mat.* 18. 17. not further to be judg'd, no not by the Magiſtrate, unleſs for Civil Cauſes; but left to the final Sentence of that Judge, whoſe Coming ſhall be in Flames of Fire: That *Maran atha*, 1 *Cor.* 16. 22. then which to him ſo left nothing can be more dreadful, and oft-times to him particularly nothing more ſpeedy, that is to ſay, the Lord cometh: In the mean while deliver'd up to Satan, 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. that is, from the Fold of Chriſt and Kingdom of Grace to the World again, which is the Kingdom of Satan; and as he was receiv'd *from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God, Acts.* 26. 18. ſo now deliver'd up again from Light to Darkneſs, and from God to the Power of Satan; yet ſo as in both Places manifeſted to the Intent of ſaving him, brought ſooner to Contrition by ſpiritual then by any corporal Severity. But grant it belonging any way to the Magiſtrate, that prophane and licentious Perſons omit not the Performance of holy Duties, which in them were odious to God even under the Law, much more now under the Goſpel, yet ought his Care, both as a Magiſtrate and a Chriſtian, to be much more that Conſcience be not inwardly violated, then that Licence in theſe things be made outwardly conformable: Since his Part is undoubtedly as a Chriſtian, which puts him upon this Office, much more then as a Magiſtrate, in all Reſpects to have more Care of the Conſcientious then of the Prophane; and not for their Sakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminiſh the rightful Liberty of religious Conſciences.

On theſe *four* Scriptural Reaſons, as on a firm Square of this Truth, the Right of Chriſtian and Evangelic Liberty, will ſtand immoveable againſt all thoſe pretended Conſequences of Licence and Confuſion, which for the moſt part Men moſt licentious and confus'd themſelves, or ſuch as whoſe Severity would be wiſer then divine Wiſdom, are ever apteſt to object againſt the Ways of God: As if God, without them, when he gave us this Liberty, knew not of the worſt which theſe Men in their Arrogance pretend, will follow; yet knowing all their worſt, he gave us this Liberty as by him judg'd beſt. As to thoſe Magiſtrates who think it their work to ſettle Religion, and thoſe Miniſters or others, who ſo oft call upon them to do ſo, I truſt, that having well conſider'd what hath been here argu'd, neither they will continue in that Intention, nor theſe in that Expectation from them: When they ſhall find that the Settlement of Religion belongs only to each particular Church by perſwaſive and ſpiritual Means within it ſelf, and that the Defence only of the Church belongs to the Magiſtrate. Had he once learn'd not further to concern himſelf with Church-affairs, half his Labour might be ſpar'd, and the Common-wealth better tended. To which End, that which I premis'd in the Beginning, and in due Place treated of more at large, I deſire now concluding, that they would conſider ſeriouſly what Religion is: And they will find it to be in Sum, both our Belief and our Practice depending upon God only. That there can be no Place then left for the Magiſtrate or his Force in the Settlement of Religion, by appointing either what we ſhall believe in divine Things, or practiſe in religious (neither of which Things are in the Power of Man either to perform himſelf or to enable others) I perſwade me in the Chriſtian Ingenuity of all religious Men, the more they examin ſeriouſly the more they will find clearly to be true; and find how falſe and deceivable that common Saying is, which is ſo much reli'd upon,

that the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*, Keeper of both Tables; unleſs is meant by Keeper the Defender only: Neither can that Maxim be maintain'd by any Proof or Argument which hath not in this Diſcourſe firſt or laſt been refuted. For the two Tables, or ten Commandments, teach our Duty to God and our Neighbour from the Love of both, give Magiſtrates no Authority to force either, they ſeek that from the Judicial Law, though on falſe Grounds, eſpecially in the firſt Table as I have ſhewn: And both in the firſt and ſecond execute that Authority, for the moſt part, not according to Gods Judicial Laws, but their own. As for Civil Crimes and of the outward Man, which all are not, no not of thoſe againſt the ſecond Table, as that of Coveting; in them, what Power they have, they had from the Beginning, long before *Moſes* or the two Tables were in Being. And whether they be not now as little in Being to be kept by any Chriſtian as they are two Legal Tables, remains yet as undecided, as it is ſure, they never were yet deliver'd to the keeping of any Chriſtian Magiſtrate. But of theſe Things perhaps more ſome other time; what may ſerve the preſent hath been above diſcours'd ſufficiently out of the Scriptures: And to thoſe produc'd might be added Teſtimonies, Examples, Experiences of all ſucceeding Ages to theſe Times aſſerting this Doctrin: But having herein the Scripture ſo copious and ſo plain, we have all that can be properly call'd true Strength and Nerve; the reſt would be but Pomp and Incumbrance. Pomp and Oſtentation of Reading is admir'd among the Vulgar; But doubtleſs in Matters of Religion he is Learned'ſt who is Plaineſt. The Brevity I uſe, not exceeding a ſmall Manual, will not therefore, I ſuppoſe, be thought the leſs conſiderable, unleſs with them, perhaps, who think that great Books only can determine great Matters. I rather choſe the common Rule, not to make much ado where leſs may ſerve. Which in Controverſies, and thoſe eſpecially of Religion, would make them leſs tedious, and by Conſequence read ofter, by many more, and with more Benefit.

CONSIDERATIONS

TOUCHING

The likelieſt *Means* to remove

HIRELINGS

out of the *CHURCH.*

Wherein is alſo Diſcours'd

OF { Tithes. / Church-fees. / Church-Revenues.

And whether any *Maintenance* of *Miniſters* can be ſettl'd by LAW.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

TO THE PARLIAMENT Of the Common-Wealth of ENGLAND, With the Dominions thereof.

OWing to your Protection ſupream Senate, this Liberty of Writing which I have us'd theſe 18 Years on all Occaſions to aſſert the juſt Rights and Freedoms both of Church and State, and ſo far approv'd, as to have been truſted with the Repreſentment and Defence of your Actions to all Chriſtendom againſt an Adverſary of no mean Repute, to whom ſhould I Addreſs what I ſtill publiſh on the ſame Argument, but to you, whoſe Magnanimous Councels firſt opened and unbound the Age from a double Bondage under Prelatical and Regal Tyranny; above our own Hopes heartning us to look up at laſt like Men and Chriſtians from the ſlaviſh Dejection, wherein from Father to Son we were bred up and taught; and thereby deſerving of theſe Nations, if they be not Barbarouſly ingrateful to be acknowledg'd, next under God, the Authors and beſt Patrons of Religious and Civil Liberty that ever theſe Iſlands brought forth. The Care and Tuition of whoſe Peace and Safety, after a ſhort but ſcandalous Night of Interruption, is now again by a new Dawning of God's miraculous Providence among us revolv'd upon your Shoulders. And to whom more appertain theſe Conſiderations which I propound, then to your Selves and the Debate before you, though I truſt of no Difficulty, yet at preſent of great Expectation, not whether ye will gratifie, were it no more then ſo, but whether ye will hearken to the juſt Petition of many Thouſands beſt Affected, both to Religion and to this your Return, or whether ye will ſatisfie which you never can, the covetous Pretences and Demands of inſatiable Hirelings, whoſe Diſaffection ye well know both to your Selves and Reſolutions. That I, though among many others in this common Concernment, interpoſe to your Deliberations what my Thoughts alſo are, your own Judgment, and the Succeſs thereof hath given me the Confidence: Which requeſts but this, that if I have Proſperouſly, God ſo favouring me, defended the publick Cauſe of this Commonwealth to Forreigners, ye would not think the Reaſon and Ability wherein ye truſted once, and repent not your whole Reputation to the World, either grown leſs by more Maturity and longer Study, or leſs available in Engliſh then in another Tongue: But that if it ſuffic'd ſome Years paſt to convince and ſatisfie the unimag'd of other Nations in the Juſtice of your doings, though then held Paradoxal, it may as well ſuffice now againſt weaker Oppoſition in Matters, except here in England with a Spiritualty of Men devoted to their Temporal Gain, of no Controverſie elſe among Proteſtants. Neither do I doubt, ſeeing daily the Acceptance which they find, who in their Petitions venture to bring Advice alſo, and new Models of a Common-wealth, but that you will interpret it much more the Duty of a Chriſtian to offer what his Conſcience perſwades him, may be of Moment to the Freedom and better Conſtituting of the Church: Since it is a Deed of higheſt Charity to help undeceive the People, and a Work worthieſt your Authority, in all things elſe Authors, Aſſerters, and now Recoverers of our Liberty, to deliver us the only People of all Proteſtants left ſtill undeliver'd from the Oppreſſions of a Simonious decimating Clergy; who ſhame not againſt the Judgment and Practice of all other Churches Reform'd, to maintain, though very weakly, their Popiſh and oft Refuted Poſitions, not in a point of Conſcience, wherein they might be Blameleſs, but in a point of Covetouſneſs and unjuſt Claim to other Mens Goods; a Convention foul and odious in any Man, but moſt of all in Miniſters of the Goſpel, in whom Contention though for their own Right, ſcarce is allowable. Till which Grievances be reviev'd, and Religion ſet free from the Monopoly of Hirelings, I dare Affirm, that no Model whatſoever of a Common wealth will prove Succeſsful or Undiſturb'd; and ſo perſwaded, implore divine Aſſiſtance on your pious Councels and Proceedings to Unanimity in this and all other Truth.

JOHN MILTON.

CONSIDERATIONS
TOUCHING
The *Likelieſt Means* to *Remove*
HIRELINGS
OUT Of The
CHURCH.

THE former Treatiſe, which leads in this, began with two Things ever found working much Miſchief to the Church of God, and the Advancement of Truth; Force on the one ſide Reſtraining, and Hire one the other ſide Corrupting the Teachers thereof. The latter of theſe is by much the more dangerous: For under Force, though no Thank to the Forcers, true Religion oftimes beſt thrives and flouriſhes: But the Corruption of Teachers, moſt commonly the Effect of Hire, is the very Bane of Truth in them who are ſo Corrupted. Of Force, not to be us'd in Matters of Religion, I have already ſpoken; and ſo ſtated Matters of Conſcience and Religion in Faith and divine Worſhip, and ſo ſever'd them from Blaſphemy and Hereſy, the one being ſuch properly as is deſpiteful, the other ſuch as ſtands not to the Rule of Scripture, and ſo both of them not Matters of Religion, but rather againſt it, that to them who will yet uſe Force this only choice can be left, whether they will force them to believe, to whom it is not given from above, being not forc'd thereto by any Principle of the Goſpel, which is now the only Diſpenſation of God to all Men, or whether being Proteſtants, they will puniſh in thoſe things wherein the Proteſtant Religion denies them to be Judges, either in themſelves infallible, or to the Conſciences of other Men, or whether, *Laſtly*, they think fit to puniſh Error, ſuppoſing they can be infallible that it is ſo, being not wilful, but conſcientious, and, according to the beſt Light of him who errs, grounded on Scripture: Which kind of Error all Men religious, or but only reaſonable, have thought worthier of Pardon; and the Growth thereof to be prevented by ſpiritual Means and Church-diſciplin, not by Civil Laws and outward Force; ſince it is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all; and by thoſe Means which he ordain'd ſufficiently in his Church to the full Execution of his Divine Purpoſe in the Goſpel. It remains now to ſpeak of Hire: the other Evil ſo Miſchevous in Religion: Whereof I promis'd then to ſpeak further, when I ſhould find God diſpoſing me and Opportunity inviting. Opportunity I find now inviting, and apprehend therein the Concurrence of God diſpoſing; ſince the Maintenance of Church Miniſters, a thing not properly belonging to the Magiſtrate, and yet with ſuch Importunity call'd for, and expected from him, is at preſent under public Debate. Wherein leaſt any thing may happen to be determin'd and eſtabliſh'd prejudicial to the Right and Freedom of Church, or advantageous to ſuch as may be found Hirelings therein, it will be now moſt ſeaſonable, and in theſe Matters wherein every Chriſtian hath his free Suffrage, no way misbecoming Chriſtian Meekneſs to offer freely, without Diſparagement to the Wiſeſt, ſuch Advice as God ſhall encline him and enable him to propound. Since heretofore in Common-wealths

of

of moſt Fame for Government, Civil Laws were not eſtabliſh'd till they had been firſt for certain Days publiſh'd to the View of all Men, that who ſo pleas'd might ſpeak freely his Opinion thereof, and give in his Exceptions, e're the Law could paſs to a full Eſtabliſhment. And where ought this Equity to have more Place, then in the Liberty which is unſeparable from Chriſtian Religion? This, I am not ignorant, will be a Work unpleaſing to ſome: But what Truth is not hateful to ſome or other, as this, in likelihood, will be to none but Hirelings. And if there be among them who hold it their Duty to ſpeak impartial Truth as the Work of their Miniſtry, though not perform'd without Mony, let them not envy others who think the ſame no leſs their Duty by the general Office of Chriſtianity, to ſpeak Truth, as in all Reaſon may be thought more impartially and unſuſpectedly without Mony.

Hire of it ſelf is neither a thing unlawful, nor a Word of any evil Note, ſignifying no more then a due Recompence or Reward; as when our Saviour ſaith, *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire.* That which makes it ſo dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the *Hireling*, a Word always of evil Signification, is either the Exceſs thereof, or the undue Manner of giving and taking it. What harm the Exceſs thereof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by Experience till the days of *Conſtantine*; who out of his Zeal thinking he could be never too liberally a nurſing Father of the Church, might be not unfitly ſaid to have either overlaid it or choak'd it in the Nurſing. Which was foretold, as is recorded in Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, by a Voice heard from Heaven *on the very day* that thoſe great Donations and Church-Revenues were given, crying aloud, *This day is Poiſon pour'd into the Church.* Which the Event ſoon after verifi'd; as appears by another no leſs ancient Obſervation, That *Religion brought forth Wealth, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.* But long e're Wealth came into the Church, ſo ſoon as any Gain appear'd in Religion, Hirelings were apparent; drawn in long before by the very Scent thereof. *Judas* therefore, the firſt Hireling, for want of preſent Hire anſwerable to his Coveting, from the ſmall Number or the Meanneſs of ſuch as then were the religious, ſold the Religion it ſelf with the Founder thereof, his Maſter. *Simon Magus* the next, in hope only that Preaching and the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt would prove gainful, offer'd beforehand a Sum of Mony to obtain them. Not long after, as the Apoſtle foretold, Hirelings like Wolves came in by Herds, *Acts* 20. 29. *For, I know this that after my departing ſhall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the Flock.* Tit. 1. 11. *Teaching things which they ought not, for filthy Lucres ſake.* 2 Pet. 2. 3. *And through Covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned Words make Merchandiſe of you.* Yet they taught not falſe Doctrin only, but ſeeming Piety. 1 *Tim.* 6. 5. *Suppoſing that Gain is Godlineſs.* Neither came they in of themſelves only, but invited oft-times by a corrupt Audience. 2 *Tim.* 4. 3. *For the time will come, when they will not endure ſound Doctrin, but after their own Luſts they will heap to themſelves Teachers, having itching Ears:* And they on the other ſide, as faſt heaping to themſelves Diſciples, *Acts* 20. 30. Doubtleſs had as itching Palms. 2 *Pet.* 2. 15. *Following the way of* Balaam, *the Son of* Boſor, *who lov'd the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs.* Jude 11. *They ran greedily after the Error of* Balaam *for Reward.* Thus we ſee that not only the Exceſs of Hire in wealthieſt Times, but alſo the undue and vitious Taking or Giving it, though but ſmall or mean, as in the Primitive Times, gave to Hirelings Occaſion, though not intended, yet ſufficient, to creep at firſt into the Church. Which argues alſo the Difficulty, or rather the Impoſſibility, to remove them quite; unleſs every Miniſter were, as St. *Paul*, contented to teach *Gratis*: But few ſuch are to be found. As therefore we cannot juſtly take away all Hire in the Church, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe quite remove all Hirelings, ſo are we not for the Impoſſibility of removing them all, to uſe therefore no Endeavour that feweſt may come in. But rather, in regard the Evil, do

what

what we can, will always be incumbent and unavoidable, to uſe our utmoſt Diligence, how it may be leaſt dangerous. Which will be likelieſt effected, if we conſider, *Firſt*, what Recompence God hath ordain'd ſhould be given to Miniſters of the Church; (for that a Recompence ought to be given them, and may by them juſtly be received, our Saviour himſelf from the very Light of Reaſon and of Equity hath declar'd: *Luk.* 10. 7. *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*) Next by whom; and *Laſtly*, in what Manner.

What Recompence ought be given to Church-miniſters, God hath anſwerably ordain'd according to that Difference which he hath manifeſtly put between thoſe his two great Diſpenſations, the Law and the Goſpel. *Under the Law he gave them Tithes*; under the Goſpel, having left all things in his Church to *Charity* and *Chriſtian Freedom*, he hath given them only what is juſtly given them. That, as well under the Goſpel as under the Law, ſay our *Engliſh* Divines, and they only of all Proteſtants, is *Tithes*; and they ſay true, if any Man be ſo minded to give them of his own the Tenth or Twentieth: But that the Law therefore of Tithes is in Force under the Goſpel, all other Proteſtant Divines, though equally concern'd, yet conſtantly deny. For although Hire to the Labourer be of moral and perpetual Right, yet that ſpecial Kind of Hire, the Tenth, can be of no Right or Neceſſity, but to that ſpecial Labour for which God ordain'd it. That ſpecial Labour was the *Levitical* and Ceremonial Service of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* 18. 21, 31. Which is now aboliſh'd: The Right therefore of that ſpecial Hire muſt needs be withal aboliſh'd, as being alſo Ceremonial. That Tithes were Ceremonial, is plain; not being given to the *Levites* till they had been firſt offer'd a Heave-offering to the Lord, *Verſ.* 24, 28. He then who by that Law brings Tithes into the Goſpel, of neceſſity brings in withal a Sacrifice, and an Altar; without which Tithes by that Law were unſanctifi'd and polluted, *Verſ.* 32. And therefore never thought on in the firſt Chriſtian Times, till Ceremonies, Altars and Oblations, by an ancienter Corruption were brought back long before. And yet the *Jews* ever ſince their Temple was deſtroy'd, though they have Rabbies and Teachers of their Law, yet pay no Tithes, as having no *Levites* to whom, no Temple where to pay them, no Altar whereon to hallow them; which argues that the *Jews* themſelves never thought Tithes Moral, but Ceremonial only. That Chriſtians therefore ſhould take them up, when *Jews* have laid them down, muſt needs be very abſurd and prepoſterous. *Next*, it is as clear in the ſame Chapter, that the Prieſts and *Levites* had not Tithes for their Labour only in the Tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other Part nor Inheritance in the Land, *Verſ.* 20. 24. And by that means for a Tenth loſt a Twelfth. But our *Levites* undergoing no ſuch Law of Deprivement, can have no Right to any ſuch Compenſation: Nay, if by this Law they will have Tithes, can have no Inheritance of Land, but forfeit what they have. Beſides this, Tithes were of two Sorts, thoſe of every Year, and thoſe of every Third Year: Of the former, every one that brought his Tithes, was to eat his Share. *Deut.* 14. 23. *Thou ſhalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the Place which he ſhall chuſe to place his Name there, the Tithes of thy Corn, of thy Wine, and of thine Oyl*, &c. Nay, though he could not bring his Tithe in Kind, by Reaſon of his diſtant dwelling from the Tabernacle or Temple, but was thereby forc'd to turn it into Mony, he was to beſtow that Mony on whatſoever pleas'd him; Oxen, Sheep, Wine, or ſtrong Drink, and to eat and drink thereof, there before the Lord both he and his Houſhold, *Verſ.* 24, 25, 26. As for the Tithes of every third Year, they were not given only to the *Levite*, but to the Stranger, the Fatherleſs and the Widdow, *Verſ.* 28. 29. and *Chap.* 26. 12, 13. So that ours, if they will have Tithes, muſt admit of theſe Sharers with them. Nay, theſe Tithes were not paid at all to the *Levite*, but the *Levite* himſelf was to come with thoſe his Fellow

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Gueſts and eat his Share of them only at his Houſe who provided them; and this not in regard of his Miniſterial Office, but becauſe he had no Part nor Inheritance in the Land. *Laſtly*, the Prieſts and *Levites*, a Tribe were of a far different Conſtitution from this of our Miniſters under the Goſpel: In them were Orders and Degrees both by Family, Dignity and Office, mainly diſtinguiſh'd; the High Prieſt, his Brethren and his Sons, to whom the *Levites* themſelves paid Tithes, and of the beſt, were eminently Superior, *Num.* 18. 28, 29. No Proteſtant, I ſuppoſe, will liken one of our Miniſters to a High Prieſt, but rather to a Common *Levite*. Unleſs then, to keep their Tithes, they mean to bring back again Biſhops, Arch-biſhops and the whole Gang of Prelatry, to whom will they themſelves pay Tithes, as by that Law it was a Sin to them, if they did not. *v.* 32. Certainly this muſt needs put them to a deep Demur, while the Deſire of holding faſt their Tithes without Sin, may tempt them to bring back again Biſhops as the Likeneſs of that *Hierarchy*, that ſhould receive Tithes from them, and the Deſire to pay none, may adviſe them to keep out of the Church all Orders above them. But if we have to do at preſent, as I ſuppoſe we have, with true Reformed Proteſtants, not with Papiſts or Prelates, it will not be deny'd that in the Goſpel there be but two Miniſterial Degrees, Presbyters and Deacons: Which if they contend to have any Succeſſion, Reference or Conformity with thoſe two Degrees under the Law, Prieſts and *Levites*, it muſt needs be ſuch whereby our Presbyters or Miniſters may be anſwerable to Prieſts, and our Deacons to *Levites*: By which Rule of Proportion it will follow, that we muſt pay our Tithes to the Deacons only, and they only to the Miniſters. But if it be truer yet, that the Prieſthood of *Aaron* typifi'd a better Reality, 1 *Pet.* 2. 5. Signifying the Chriſtian, True and *Holy Prieſthood, to offer up Spiritual Sacrifice*; it follows hence, that we are now juſtly exempt from paying Tithes, to any who claim from *Aaron*, ſince that Prieſthood is in us now real, which in him was but a Shadow. Seeing then by all this which hath been ſhewn, that the Law of Tithes is partly Ceremonial, as the Work was for which they were given, partly Judicial, not of Common, but of Particular Right to the Tribe of *Levi*, nor to them alone, but to the Owner alſo and his Houſhold, at the Time of their Offering and every three Years to the Stranger, the Fatherleſs and the Widdow, their appointed Sharers, and that they were a Tribe of Prieſts and Deacons improperly compar'd to the Conſtitution of our Miniſtery, and the Tithes given by that People to thoſe Deacons only, it follows that our Miniſters at this Day, being neither Prieſts nor Levites, nor fitly anſwering to either of them, can have no juſt Title or Pretence to Tithes, by any Conſequence drawn from the Law of *Moſes*. But they think they have yet a better Plea in the Example of *Melchiſedec*, who took Tithes of *Abraham* 'ere the Law was given: Whence they would infer Tithes to be of moral Right. But they ought to know, or to remember, that not Examples, but expreſs Commands oblige our Obedience to God or Man: *Next*, that whatſoever was done in Religion before the Law written, is not preſently to be counted Moral, whenas ſo many things were then done both Ceremonial and *judaically judicial*, that we need not doubt to conclude all Times before Chriſt, more or leſs under the Ceremonial Law. To what End ſerv'd elſe thoſe Altars and Sacrifices, that Diſtinction of Clean and Unclean entring into the Ark, Circumciſion and the Raiſing up of Seed to the Elder Brother, *Gen.* 38. 8. If theſe Things be not moral, though before the Law, how are Tithes, though in the Example of *Abraham* and *Melchiſedec*? But this Inſtance is ſo far from being the juſt Ground of a Law, that after all Circumſtances duly weigh'd both from *Gen.* 14. and *Heb.* 7. it will not be allow'd them ſo much as an Example. *Melchiſedec*, beſides his Prieſtly Benediction, brought with him Bread and Wine ſufficient to refreſh *Abraham* and his whole Army; incited

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to do ſo, *firſt*, by the ſecret Providence of God, intending him for a Type of Chriſt and his Prieſthood; *next*, by his due Thankfulneſs and Honour to *Abraham*, who had freed his Borders of *Salem* from a potent Enemy: *Abraham* on the other ſide honours him with the Tenth of all, that is to ſay (for he took not ſure his whole Eſtate with him to that War) of the Spoils, *Heb.* 7. 4. Incited he alſo by the ſame ſecret Providence to ſignify as Grandfather of *Levi*, that the *Levitical* Prieſthood was excell'd by the Prieſthood of Chriſt. For the giving of a Tenth declar'd, it ſeems, in thoſe Countries and Times, him the greater who receiv'd it. That which next incited him, was partly his Gratitude to require the Preſent, partly his Reverence to the Perſon and his Benediction: To his Perſon, as a King and Prieſt; greater therefore then *Abraham*; who was a Prieſt alſo but not a King. And who unhir'd will be ſo hardy as to ſay, that *Abraham* at any other time ever paid him Tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental Meeting and Obligement; or that elſe *Melchiſedec* had demanded or exacted them, or took them otherwiſe then as the voluntary Gift of *Abraham*? But our Miniſters, though neither Prieſts nor Kings more then any other Chriſtian, greater in their own Eſteem then *Abraham* and all his Seed, for the verbal Labour of a ſeventh days Preachment, not bringing like *Melchiſedec*, Bread or Wine at their own Coſt, would not take only at the willing Hand of Liberality or Gratitude, but require and exact as due the Tenth, not of Spoils, but of our whole Eſtates and Labours; nor once, but yearly. We, then it ſeems by the Example of *Abraham*, muſt pay Tithes to theſe *Melchiſedec's*: But what if the Perſon of *Abraham* can either no way repreſent us, or will oblige the Miniſters to pay Tithes no leſs then other Men? *Abraham* had not only a Prieſt in his Loins, but was himſelf a Prieſt, and gave Tithes to *Melchiſedec* either as Grandfather of *Levi*, or as Father of the Faithful. If as Grandfather (though he underſtood it not) of *Levi*, he oblig'd not us but *Levi* only, the inferior Prieſt, by that Homage (as the Apoſtles to the *Hebrews* clearly enough explains) to acknowledge the greater. And they who by *Melchiſedec* claim from *Abraham* as *Levi*'s Grandfather, have none to ſeek their Tithes of, but the *Levites*, where they can find them. If *Abraham* as Father of the Faithful paid Tithes to *Melchiſedec*, then certainly the Miniſters alſo, if they be of that Number, paid in him equally with the reſt. Which may induce us to believe, that as both *Abraham* and *Melchiſedec*, ſo Tithes alſo in that Action Typical and Ceremonial, ſignifi'd nothing elſe but that Subjection, which all the Faithful, both Miniſters and People, owe to Chriſt, our High Prieſt and King. In any literal Senſe from this Example they never will be able to extort, that the People in thoſe Days paid Tithes to Prieſts; but this only, that one Prieſt once in his Life, of Spoils only, and in requital partly of a liberal Preſent, partly of a Benediction, gave voluntary Tithes, not to a greater Prieſt then himſelf, as far as *Abraham* could then underſtand, but rather to a Prieſt and King joyn'd in one Perſon. They will reply perhaps, that if one Prieſt paid Tithes to another, it muſt needs be underſtood that the People did no leſs to the Prieſt. But I ſhall eaſily remove that neceſſity by remembering them, that in thoſe days was no Prieſt, but the Father, or the Firſt-born of each Family; and by conſequence no People to pay him Tithes, but his own Children and Servants, who had not wherewithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant, that the People then paid Tithes, there will not yet be the like Reaſon to enjoyn us: They being then under Ceremonies, a meer Laity, we now under Chriſt, a Royal Prieſthood, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. As we are Co-heirs, Kings and Prieſts with him, a Prieſt for ever after the Order or Manner of *Melchiſedec*. As therefore *Abraham* paid Tithes to *Melchiſedec*, becauſe *Levi* was in him, ſo we ought to pay none, becauſe the true *Melchiſedec* is in us, and we in him, who can pay to none greater, and hath freed us by our Union with himſelf, from all compul-

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ſive Tributes and Taxes in his Church. Neither doth the collateral Place, *Heb.* 7. make other uſe of this Story, then to prove Chriſt, Perſonated by *Melchiſedec*, a greater Prieſt then *Aaron*: Verſe 4. *Now conſider how great this Man was*, &c. And proves not in the leaſt manner that Tithes be of any Right to Miniſters, but the contrary: Firſt, the *Levites* had *a Commandment to take Tithes of the People according to the Law, that is of their Brethren, though they come out of the Loins of Abraham*, Verſe 5. The Commandment then was, it ſeems, to take Tithes of the *Jews* only, and according to the Law. That Law changing of neceſſity with the Prieſthood, no other Sort of Miniſters, as they muſt needs be another Sort, under another Prieſthood, can receive that Tribute of Tithes which fell with that Law, unleſs renu'd by another expreſs Command, and according to another Law: No ſuch Law is extant. Next, *Melchiſedec* not as a Miniſter, but as Chriſt himſelf in Perſon bleſſed *Abraham*, who *had the Promiſes*, Verſe 6. And in him bleſſed all both Miniſters and People, both of the Law and Goſpel: That Bleſſing declar'd him greater and better then whom he bleſſed, *Verſe.* 7. Receiving Tithes from them all not as a Maintenance, which *Melchiſedec* needed not, but as a Sign of Homage and Subjection to their King and Prieſt: Whereas Miniſters bear not the Perſon of Chriſt in his Prieſthood or Kingſhip, bleſs not as he bleſſes, are not by their Bleſſing greater then *Abraham*, and all the Faithful with themſelves included in him, cannot both give and take Tithes in *Abraham*, cannot claim to themſelves that Sign of our Allegiance due only to our eternal King and Prieſt, cannot therefore derive Tithes from *Melchiſedec*. *Laſtly*, the 8. *Verſe* hath thus: *Here Men that die receive Tithes: There he received them, of whom it is witneſſed that he liveth.* Which Words intimate that as he offer'd himſelf once for us, ſo he received once of us in *Abraham*, and in that Place the typical Acknowledgment of our Redemption: which had it been a perpetual Annuity to Chriſt, by him claim'd as his due, *Levi* muſt have paid it yearly, as well as then, *Verſe* 9. and our Miniſters ought ſtill to ſome *Melchiſedec* or other, as well now as they did in *Abraham*. But that Chriſt never claim'd any ſuch Tenth as his Annual Due, much leſs reſign'd it to the Miniſters, his ſo officious Receivers without expreſs Commiſſion or Aſſignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. Thus much may at length aſſure us, that this Example of *Abraham* and *Melchiſedec*, though I ſee of late they build moſt upon it, can ſo little be the Ground of any Law to us, that it will not ſo much avail them as to the Authority of an Example. Of like Impertinence is that Example of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 28. 22. who of his free Choice, not enjoyn'd by any Law, vow'd the Tenth of all that God ſhould give him: Which, for ought appears to the contrary, he vow'd as a thing no leſs indifferent before his Vow, then the foregoing part thereof; That the Stone which he had ſet there for a Pillar, ſhould be God's Houſe. And to whom vow'd he this Tenth, but to God; not to any Prieſt; for we read of none to him greater then himſelf? And to God, no doubt, but he paid what he Vow'd; both in the Building of that *Bethel* with other Altars elſewhere, and the Expence of his continual Sacrifices, which none but he had right to Offer. However therefore he paid his Tenth, it could in no likelihood, unleſs by ſuch an Occaſion as befel his Grandfather, be to any Prieſt. But ſay they, *All the Tithe of the Land, whether of the Seed of the Land, or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lords; holy unto the Lord, Lev.* 27. 30. And this before it was given to the *Levites*, therefore ſince they ceas'd. No queſtion; *For the whole Earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof*, Pſal. 24. 1. And the Light of Nature ſhews us no leſs: But that the Tenth is his more then the reſt, how know I, but as he ſo declares it? He declares it ſo here of the Land of *Canaan* only, as by all Circumſtance appears; and paſſes by Deed of Gift this Tenth to the *Levite*; yet ſo as offer'd to him firſt a Heave-offering, and Conſecrated on his Altar, *Numb.* 18. All which I had as little known, but by that Evidence. The

Levites are ceas'd, the Gift return to the Giver. How then can we know that he hath given it to any other, or how can theſe Men preſume to take it unoffer'd firſt to God, unconſecrated, without another clear and expreſs Donation, whereof they ſhew no Evidence or Writing? Beſides, he hath now alienated that holy Land: Who can warrantably affirm, that he hath ſince hallow'd the Tenth of this Land; which none but God hath Power to do or can warrant? Their laſt Proof they cite out of the Goſpel, which makes as little for them, *Matth.* 23. 23. Where our Saviour denouncing Woe to the Scribes and Phariſees, who paid Tithe ſo exactly, and omitted weightier Matters, tells them, that theſe they ought to have done, that is, to have paid Tithes. For our Saviour ſpake then to thoſe who obſerved the Law of *Moſes*, which was yet not fully abrogated, till the deſtruction of the Temple. And by the way here we may obſerve out of their own Proof, that the Scribes and Phariſees, though then chief Teachers of the People, ſuch at leaſt as were not *Levites*, did not take Tithes, but paid them: So much leſs covetous were the Scribes and Phariſees in thoſe worſt Times then ours at this Day. This is ſo apparent to the Reformed Divines of other Countreys, that when any one of ours hath attempted in *Latin* to maintain this Argument of Tithes, though a Man would think they might ſuffer him without Oppoſition in a Point equally tending to the Advantage of all Miniſters, yet they forbear not to oppoſe him, as in a Doctrin not fit to paſs unoppos'd under the Goſpel. Which ſhews the Modeſty, the Contentedneſs of thoſe foreign Paſtors with the Maintenance given them, their Sincerity alſo in the Truth, though leſs gainful, and the Avarice of ours: Who through the Love of their old Papiſtical Tithes, conſider not the weak Arguments, or rather Conjectures and Surmiſes, which they bring to defend them. On the other ſide, although it be ſufficient to have prov'd in general the aboliſhing of Tithes, as Part of the *Judaical* or Ceremonial Law, which is aboliſh'd all, as well that before as that after *Moſes*, yet I ſhall further prove them abrogated by an expreſs Ordinance of the Goſpel, founded not on any Type or that Municipal Law of *Moſes*, but on Moral and General Equity given us inſtead: 1 *Cor.* 9. 13, 14. *Know ye not, that they who miniſter about holy Things live of the Things of the Temple; and they which wait at the Altar are Partakers with the Altar? So alſo the Lord hath ordain'd, that they who preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel.* He ſaith not, ſhould live on Things which were of the Temple or of the Altar, of which were Tithes, for that had given them a clear Title: But abrogating that former Law of *Moſes*, which determin'd what and how much by a later Ordinance of Chriſt, which leaves the what and how much indefinite and free, ſo it be ſufficient to live on, he ſaith, *The Lord hath ſo ordain'd, that they who preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel*; which hath neither Temple, Altar nor Sacrifice: *Heb.* 7. 13. *For he, of whom theſe Things are ſpoken, pertaineth to another Tribe, of which no Man gave Attendance at the Altar:* his Miniſters therefore cannot thence have Tithes. And where the Lord hath ſo ordain'd we may find eaſily in more then one Evangeliſt: *Luke* 10. 7, 8. *In the ſame Houſe remain eating and drinking ſuch Things as they give: For the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*, &c. *And into whatſoever City you enter, and they receive you, eat ſuch Things as are ſet before you.* To which Ordinance of Chriſt it may ſeem likelieſt, that the Apoſtle refers us both here and 1 *Tim.* 5. 18. where he cites this as the Saying of our Saviour, *That the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*: and both by this Place of *Luke*, and that of *Matth.* 10. 9, 10, 11. it evidently appears, that our Saviour ordain'd no certain Maintenance for his Apoſtles or Miniſters publickly or privately in Houſe or City receiv'd, but that, whatever it were, which might ſuffice to live on: And this not commanded or proportion'd by *Abraham* or by *Moſes*, whom he might eaſily have here cited, as his Manner was, but declar'd only by a Rule of Common Equity,

Equity, which proportions the Hire as well to the Ability of him who gives, as to the Labour of him who receives, and recommends him only as worthy, not inveſts him with a Legal Right. And mark whereon he grounds this his Ordinance; not on a perpetual Right of Tithes from *Melchiſedec*, as Hirelings pretend, which he never claim'd, either for himſelf, or for his Miniſters, but on the plain and common Equity of rewarding the Labourer; worthy ſometimes of ſingle, ſometimes of double Honour, not proportionable by Tithes. And the Apoſtle, in this forecited *Chap.* to the *Corinthians*, *v.* 11. affirms it to be no great Recompence, if carnal Things be reap'd for ſpiritual ſown; but to mention Tithes, neglects here the fitteſt Occaſion that could be offer'd him, and leaves the reſt free and undetermin'd. Certainly, if Chriſt or his Apoſtles had approv'd of Tithes, they would have either by Writing or Tradition recommended them to the Church: And that ſoon would have appear'd in the Practice of thoſe primitive and the next Ages. But for the firſt three hundred Years and more, in all the Eccleſiaſtical Story, I find no ſuch Doctrin or Example? Though Error by that Time had brought back again Prieſts, Altars and Oblations; and in many other Points of Religion had miſerably *Judaiz'd* the Church. So that the Defenders of Tithes, after a long Pomp and tedious Preparation out of *Heathen* Authors, telling us, that Tithes were paid to *Hercules* and *Apollo*, which perhaps was imitated from the *Jews*, and as it were beſpeaking our Expectation, that they will abound much more with Authorities out of Chriſtian Story, have nothing of general Approbation to begin with from the firſt three or four Ages, but that which abundantly ſerves to the Confutation of their Tithes; while they confeſs that Churchmen in thoſe Ages liv'd meerly upon Free-will Offerings. Neither can they ſay, that Tithes were not then paid for Want of a Civil Magiſtrate to ordain them, for Chriſtians had then alſo Lands, and might give out of them what they pleas'd; and yet of Tithes then given we find no Mention. And the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, who did all Things as Biſhops advis'd them, ſupply'd what was wanting to the Clergy, not out of Tithes, which were never motion'd, but out of their own Imperial Revenues; as is manifeſt in *Euſebius*, *Theodoret* and *Sozomen*, from *Conſtantine* to *Arcadius*. Hence thoſe Ancienteſt Reformed Churches of the *Waldenſes*, if they rather continu'd not pure ſince the Apoſtles, deny'd that Tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the Primitive Church; as appears by an Ancient Tractate inſerted in the *Bohemian* Hiſtory. Thus far hath the Church been always, whether in her prime or in her ancienteſt Reformation from the approving of Tithes: Nor without Reaſon; for they might eaſily perceive that Tithes were fitted to the *Jews* only, a national Church of many incompleat Synagogues, uniting the Accompliſhment of Divine Worſhip in one Temple; and the *Levites* there had their Tithes paid where they did their bodily Work; to which a particular Tribe was ſet apart by Divine Appointment not by the Peoples Election: But the Chriſtian Church is univerſal; not ty'd to Nation, Dioceſs or Pariſh, but conſiſting of many particular Churches compleat in themſelves: Gather'd, not by Compulſion or the Accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free Conſent chooſing both their particular Church and their Church-Officers. Whereas if Tithes be ſet up, all theſe Chriſtian Privileges will be diſturb'd and ſoon loſt, and with them Chriſtian Liberty. The firſt Authority which our Adverſaries bring, after thoſe fabolous Apoſtolic Canons, which they dare not inſiſt upon, is a Provincial Councel held at *Cullen*, where they voted Tithes to be *God*'s *Rent*, in the Year three hundred fifty ſix: At the ſame time perhaps when the three Kings reign'd there, and of like Authority. For to what Purpoſe do they bring theſe trivial Teſtimonies, by which they might as well prove Altars Candles at Noon, and the greateſt Part of thoſe Superſtitions, fetch'd from Paganiſm or *Jewiſm*, which the Papiſt, inveigl'd

by this fond Argument of Antiquity, retains to this day? To what purpoſe thoſe Decrees of I know not what Biſhops, to a Parliament and People who have thrown out both Biſhops and Altars, and promis'd all Reformation by the Word of God? and that Altars brought Tithes hither, as one Corruption begot another, is evident by one of thoſe Queſtions which the Monk *Auſtin* propounded to the Pope, *Concerning thoſe things, which by offerings of the Faithful came to the Altar*; as *Beda* writes, *l.* 1. *c.* 27. If then by theſe Teſtimonies we muſt have Tithes continu'd, we muſt again have Altars. Of Fathers, by Cuſtom ſo call'd, they quote *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, and ſome other Ceremonial Doctors of the ſame Leaven: Whoſe aſſertion without pertinent Scripture, no reform'd Church can admit; and what they vouch is founded on the Law of *Moſes*, with which, every where pitifully miſtaken, they again incorporate the Goſpel; as did the reſt alſo of thoſe Titular Fathers, perhaps an Age or two before them, by many Rights and Ceremonies, both *Jewiſh* and *Heatheniſh* introduc'd; whereby thinking to gain all, they loſt all: And inſtead of winning *Jews* and *Pagans* to be Chriſtians, by too much condeſcending they turn'd Chriſtians into *Jews* and *Pagans*. To heap ſuch unconvincing Citations as theſe in Religion, whereof the Scripture only is our Rule, argues not much Learning nor Judgment: But the loſt Labour of much unprofitable Reading. And yet a late hot Quæriſt for Tithes, whom ye may know by his Wits lying ever beſide him in the Margent, to be ever beſide his Wits in the Text, a fierce Reformer once, now ranckl'd with a contrary Heat, would ſend us back, very Reformly indeed to learn Reformation from *Tyndarus* and *Rebuffus*, two Canonical Promoters. They produce next the ancient Conſtitutions of this Land, *Saxon* Laws, Edicts of Kings, and their Counſels, from *Athelſtan*, in the Year Nine Hundred Twenty Eight, that Tithes by Statute were paid: And might produce from *Ina*, above two hundred Years before, that *Romeſcot*, or *Peters-penny*, was by as good Statute Law paid to the Pope, from Seven Hundred Twenty Five, and almoſt as long continu'd. And who knows not that this Law of Tithes was enacted by thoſe Kings and Barons upon the Opinion they had of their divine Right, as the very Words Import of *Edward* the Confeſſor, in the cloſe of that Law: *For ſo bleſſed* Auſtin *Preached and Taught*; meaning the Monk, who firſt brought the *Romiſh* Religion into *England* from *Gregory* the Pope. And by the way I add, that by theſe Laws, imitating the Law of *Moſes*, the third Part of Tithes only was the Prieſts due; the other two were appointed for the Poor, and to Adorn or Repair Churches; as the Canons of *Ecbert* and *Elfric* witneſs: *Concil. Brit.* If then theſe Laws were founded upon the Opinion of Divine Authority, and that Authority be found Miſtaken and Erroneous, as hath been fully manifeſted, it follows, that theſe Laws fall of themſelves with their falſe Foundation. But with what Face or Conſcience can they alledge *Moſes*, or theſe Laws for Tithes, as they now enjoy or exact them; whereof *Moſes* ordains the Owner, as we heard before, the Stranger, the Fatherleſs and the Widdow, Partakers with the *Levite*; and theſe Fathers which they cite, and theſe though *Romiſh* rather then *Engliſh* Laws, allotted both to Prieſt and Biſhop the third Part only. But theſe our Proteſtant, theſe our new reform'd *Engliſh* Presbyterian Divines, againſt their own cited Authors, and to the ſhame of their pretended Reformation, would engroſs to themſelves all Tithes by Statute; and ſupported more by their wilful Obſtinacy and Deſire of filthy Lucre then by theſe both inſufficient and impertinent Authorities, would perſwade a Chriſtian Magiſtracy and Parliament, whom we truſt God hath reſtor'd for a happier Reformation, to impoſe upon us a Judaical Ceremonial Law, and yet from that Law to be more Irregular and Unwarrantable, more complying with a Covetous Clergy, then any of thoſe Popiſh Kings and Parliaments alledg'd. Another ſhift they have to plead, that Tithes may be

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Moral as well as the Sabbath, a Tenth of Fruits as well as a Seventh of Days. I Anſwer, that the Prelates who urge this Argument, have leaſt reaſon to uſe it; denying Morality in the Sabbath, and therein better agreeing with Reformed Churches abroad then the reſt of our Divines. As therefore the ſeventh Day is not Moral, but a convenient Recourſe of Worſhip in fit Seaſon, whether Seventh or other Number, ſo neither is the Tenth of our Goods, but only a convenient Subſiſtance morally due to Miniſters. The laſt and loweſt Sort of their Arguments, that Men purchas'd not their Tithe with their Land and ſuch like Pettifoggery, I omit; as refuted ſufficiently by others: I omit alſo their Violent and Irreligious Exactions, related no leſs credibly; their ſeiſing of Pots and Pans from the Poor, who have as good Right to Tithes as they; from ſome, the very Beds; their Suing and Impriſoning; worſe then when the Canon Law was in Force; worſe then when thoſe wicked Sons of *Eli* were Prieſts, whoſe manner was thus to ſeiſe their pretended Prieſtly due by Force, 1 *Sam.* 2. 12, &c. *Whereby Men abhorr'd the Offering of the Lord*; and it may be fear'd that many will as much abhor the Goſpel, if ſuch Violence as this be ſuffer'd in her Miniſters, and in that which they alſo pretend to be the Offering of the Lord. For thoſe Sons of *Belial* within ſome Limits made Seiſure of what they knew was their own by an undoubted Law; but theſe, from whom there is no Sanctuary, ſeiſe out of Mens Grounds, out of Mens Houſes their other Goods of double, ſometimes of treble, Value, for that, which did not Covetouſneſs and Rapine blind them, they know to be not their own by the Goſpel which they Preach. Of ſome more tolerable then theſe, thus ſeverely God hath ſpoken, *Eſa.* 46. 10, &c. *They are greedy Dogs; they all look to their own way, every one for his Gain, from his quarter.* With what Anger then will he judge them who ſtand not looking, but under Colour of a divine Right, fetch by Force that which is not their own, taking his Name not in Vain, but in Violence? Nor content as *Gehazi* was to make a Cunning, but a conſtrain'd Advantage of what their Maſter bids them give freely, how can they but return ſmitten, worſe then that ſharking Miniſter, with a ſpiritual Leproſie? And yet they cry out Sacriledge, that Men will not be gull'd and baffl'd the Tenth of their Eſtates, by giving Credit to frivolous Pretences of divine Right. Where did God ever clearly declare to all Nations, or in all Lands (and none but Fools part with their Eſtates, without cleareſt Evidence, on bare Suppoſals and Preſumptions of them who are the Gainers thereby) that he requir'd the Tenth as due to him or his Son perpetually and in all Places? Where did he demand it, that we might certainly know, as in all Claims of Temporal Right is juſt and reaſonable? Or if demanded, where did he aſſign it, or by what evident Conveyance to Miniſters? Unleſs they can demonſtrate this by more then Conjectures, their Title can be no better to Tithes then the Title of *Gehazi* was to thoſe things which by abuſing his Maſters Name he rook'd from *Naaman*. Much leſs where did he command that Tithes ſhould be fetch'd by Force, where left not under the Goſpel whatever his Right was, to the freewill-offerings of Men? Which is the greater Sacriledge, to bely Divine Authority, to make the Name of Chriſt acceſſory to Violence, and, robbing him of the very Honour which he aim'd at in beſtowing freely the Goſpel, to commit Simony and Rapin, both Secular and Eccleſiaſtical, or on the other ſide, not to give up the Tenth of Civil Right and Propriety to the Tricks and Impoſtures of Clergy Men, contriv'd with all the Art and Argument that their Bellies can invent or ſuggeſt; yet ſo ridiculous and preſuming on the Peoples Dulneſs or Superſtition, as to think they prove the Divine Right of their Maintenance by *Abraham* paying Tithes to *Melchiſedec*, when as *Melchiſedec* in that Paſſage rather gave Maintenance to *Abraham*; in whom all both Prieſts and Miniſters, as well as Lay-Men, paid Tithes, not receiv'd them. And becauſe I affirm'd above, beginning this firſt Part of

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my Diſcourſe, that God hath given to Miniſters of the Goſpel that Maintenance only which is juſtly given them, let us ſee a little what hath been thought of that other Maintenance beſides Tithes, which of all Proteſtants, our *Engliſh* Divines either only or moſt apparently both require and take. Thoſe are, Fees for Chriſtnings, Marriages and Burials: Which, though whoſo will may give freely, yet being not of Right, but of free Gift, if they be exacted or eſtabliſh'd, they become unjuſt to them who are otherwiſe maintain'd; and of ſuch evil Note, that even the Councel of *Trent*, *l.* 2. *p.* 240. makes them lyable to the Laws againſt Simony, who take or demand Fees for the Adminiſtring of any Sacrament: *Che la ſinodo volendo levare gli abuſi introdotti*, &c. And in the next Page, with like Severity condemns the giving or taking for a Benefice, and the celebrating of Marriages, Chriſtnings and Burials, for Fees exacted or demanded: Nor counts it leſs Simony to ſell the Ground or Place of Burial. And in a State Aſſembly at *Orleans*, 1561. It was Decreed, *Che non ſi poteſſe eſſiger coſa alcuna*, &c. *p.* 429. *That nothing ſhould be exacted for the Adminiſtring of Sacraments, Burials, or any other Spiritual Function.* Thus much that Councel, of all others the moſt Popiſh, and this Aſſembly of Papiſts, though by their own Principles, in Bondage to the Clergy, were induc'd, either by their own Reaſon and Shame, or by the Light of Reformation then ſhining in upon them, or rather by the known Canons of many Councels and Synods long before, to condemn of Simony ſpiritual Fees demanded. For if the Miniſter be maintain'd for his whole Miniſtry, why ſhould he be twice paid for any part thereof? Why ſhould he, like a Servant, ſeek Vails over and above his Wages? As for Chriſtnings, either they themſelves call Men to Baptiſm, or Men of themſelves come: If Miniſters invite, how ill had it become *John* the Baptiſt to demand Fees for his Baptizing, or Chriſt for his Chriſtnings? Far leſs becomes it theſe now, with a Greedineſs lower then that of Tradeſmen calling Paſſengers to their Shop, and yet paid beforehand, to ask again, for doing that which thoſe their Founders did freely. If Men of themſelves come to be Baptiz'd, they are either brought by ſuch as already pay the Miniſter, or come to be one of his Diſciples and Maintainers: of whom to ask a Fee, as it were for Entrance, is a piece of paultry Craft or Caution, befitting none but beggarly Artiſts. Burials and Marriages are ſo little to be any part of their Gain, that they who conſider well, may find them to be no part of their Function At Burials their Attendance they allege on the Corps; all the Gueſts do as much unhir'd: But their Prayers at the Grave, ſuperſtitiouſly requir'd: Yet if requir'd, their laſt Performance to the Deceaſed of their own Flock. But the Funeral Sermon; at their Choice; or if not, an occaſion offer'd them to Preach out of Seaſon, which is one part of their Office. But ſomething muſt be ſpoken in Praiſe: If due, their Duty; if undue, their Corruption: A peculiar Simony of our Divines in *England* only. But the Ground is broken, and eſpecially their unrighteous Poſſeſſion, the Chancel. To ſell that will not only raiſe up in Judgment the Councel of *Trent* againſt them, but will loſe them the beſt Champion of Tithes, their zealous Antiquary, Sir *Henry Spelman*; who in a Book written to that Purpoſe, by many cited Canons, and ſome even of Times corrupteſt in the Church, proves, that Fees exacted or demanded for Sacraments, Marriages, Burials and eſpecially for Interring, are Wicked, Accurſed, Simoniacal and Abominable. Yet thus is the Church, for all this Noiſe of Reformation, left ſtill Unreformed, by the Cenſure of their own Synods, their own Favorours, a Den of Theeves and Robbers. As for Marriages, that Miniſters ſhould meddle with them, as not Sanctifi'd or Legitimate without their Celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of Precept or Example. Likelieſt it is (which our *Selden* hath well obſerv'd, *l.* 2. *c.* 28. *ux. Eb.*) that in Imitation of Heathen Prieſts who were wont at Nuptials to uſe many Rites and Ceremonies, and eſpecially,

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judging it would be profitable, and the Increaſe of their Authority, not to be Spectators only in buſineſs of ſuch Concernment to the Life of Man, they inſinuated that Marriage was not Holy without their Benediction, and for the better Colour, made it a Sacrament; being of it ſelf a Civil Ordinance, a Houſhold Contract, a Thing indifferent and free to the whole Race of Mankind, not as Religious, but as Men: Beſt indeed undertaken to Religious Ends, and, as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 7. *in the Lord.* Yet not therefore Invalid or Unholy without a Miniſter and his pretended neceſſary Hallowing, more then any other Act, Enterpriſe or Contract of Civil Life, which ought all to be done alſo in the Lord and to his Glory. All which, no leſs then Marriage, were by the Cunning of Prieſts heretofore, as material to their Profit, tranſacted at the Altar. Our Divines deny it to be a Sacrament; yet retain'd the Celebration, till prudently a late Parliament recover'd the Civil Liberty of Marriage from their Incroachment; and tranſferr'd the Ratifying and Regiſtring thereof from the Canonical Shop to the proper Cogniſance of Civil Magiſtrates. Seeing then, that God hath given to Miniſters under the Goſpel, that only which is juſtly given them, that is to ſay, a due and moderate Livelihood, the Hire of their Labour, and that the Heave-offering of Tithes is aboliſh'd with the Altar, yea though not aboliſh'd yet lawleſs, as they enjoy them, their *Melchiſedecian* Right alſo trivial and groundleſs, and both Tithes and Fees, if exacted or eſtabliſh'd, unjuſt and ſcandalous, we may hope, with them remov'd, to remove Hirelings in ſome good Meaſure, whom theſe tempting Baits, by Law eſpecially to be recover'd, allure into the Church.

The next thing to be conſider'd in the Maintenance of Miniſters, is by whom it ſhould be given. Wherein, though the Light of Reaſon might ſufficiently inform us, it will be beſt to conſult the Scripture: *Gal.* 6. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate, to him that teacheth, in all good Things*: That is to ſay, in all manner of Gratitude, to his Ability. 1 *Cor.* 9. 11. *If we have ſown unto you Spiritual Things, is it a great Matter if we reap your Carnal Things?* To whom therefore hath not been ſown, from him wherefore ſhould be reaped? 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Let the Elders that Rule well, be counted worthy of double Honor; eſpecially they who Labour in the Word and Doctrin.* By theſe Places we ſee, that Recompence was given either by every one in particular who had been inſtructed, or by them all in common, brought into the Church-treaſury and diſtributed to the Miniſters according to their ſeveral Labours: And that was judg'd either by ſome extraordinary Perſon, as *Timothy*, who by the Apoſtle was then left Evangeliſt at *Epheſus*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. Or by ſome to whom the Church deputed that care. This is ſo agreeable to Reaſon and ſo clear, that any one may perceive what Iniquity and Violence hath prevail'd ſince in the Church, whereby it hath been ſo order'd, that they alſo ſhall be compell'd to recompence the Parochial Miniſter, who neither choſe him for their Teacher, nor have receiv'd Inſtruction from him, as being either inſufficient, or not reſident, or inferior to whom they follow; wherein to bar them their Choice, is to violate Chriſtian Liberty. Our Lawbooks teſtifie, that before the Councel of *Lateran*, in the Year 1179, and the fifth of our *Henry* 2, or rather before a Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Innocent* the Third, about 1200, and the firſt of King *John*, *any Man might have given his Tithes to what ſpiritual Perſon he would*: And, as the L. *Coke* notes on that Place, *Inſtit. Part* 2, that *this Decretal bound not the Subjects of this Realm; but, as it ſeem'd juſt and reaſonable.* The Pope took his Reaſon rightly from the above cited Place, 1 *Cor.* 9. 11. But falſly ſuppos'd every one to be inſtructed by his Pariſh-Prieſt. Whether this were then firſt ſo decreed, or rather long before, as may ſeem by the Laws of *Edgar* and *Canute*, that Tithes were to be paid, not to whom he would that paid them, but to the Cathedral Church or the Pariſh-Prieſt, it imports not; ſince

ſince the Reaſon which they themſelves bring, built on falſe Suppoſition, becomes alike infirm and abſurd, that he ſhould reap from me, who ſows not to me; be the Cauſe either his Defect, or my free Choice. But here it will be readily objected. What if they who are to be inſtructed be not able to maintain a Miniſter, as in many Villages? I anſwer, that the Scripture ſhews in many Places what ought to be done herein. *Firſt*, I offer to the Reaſon of any Man, whether he think the Knowledge of Chriſtian Religion harder then any other Art or Science to attain. I ſuppoſe he will grant that it is far eaſier; both of it ſelf, and in regard of Gods aſſiſting Spirit, not particularly promiſed us to the Attainment of any other Knowledge, but of this only: Since it was preach'd as well to the Shepherds of *Bethleem* by Angels, as to the *Eaſtern* Wiſemen by that Star: And our Saviour declares himſelf anointed to Preach the Goſpel to the Poor, *Luke* 4. 18. Then ſurely to their Capacity. They who after him firſt taught it, were otherwiſe Unlearned Men: They who before *Hus* and *Luther* firſt Reform'd it, were for the Meanneſs of their Condition call'd, *the poor Men of Lions:* And in *Flanders* at this day, *Les gueus*, which is to ſay, Beggars. Therefore are the Scriptures tranſlated in to every vulgar Tongue, as being held in main Matters of Belief and Salvation, plain and eaſie to the Pooreſt: And ſuch no leſs then their Teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all Truth, *Joh.* 14. 26, and 16. 13. Hence we may conclude, if Men be not all their Life Time under a Teacher to learn Logic, Natural Philoſophy, Ethics or Mathematics, which are more difficult, that certainly it is not neceſſary to the Attainment of Chriſtian Knowledge, that Men ſhould ſit all their Life long at the Feet of a Pulpited Divine; while he a Lollard indeed over his Elbow-cuſhion, in almoſt the ſeventh Part of 40 or 50 Years, teaches them ſcarce half the Principles of Religion; and his Sheep oft-times ſit the while to as little purpoſe of benefiting as the Sheep in their Pues at *Smithfield*; and for the moſt Part by ſome Simony or other, bought and ſold like them: Or, if this Compariſon be too low, like thoſe Women, 1 *Tim.* 3. 7. *Ever Learning and never Attaining*: Yet not ſo much through their own Fault, as through the unskilful and immethodical Teaching of their Paſtor, Teaching here and there at Random out of this or that Text as his Eaſe or Fancy, and oft-times as his Stealth guides him. Seeing then that Chriſtian Religion may be ſo eaſily attain'd, and by meaneſt Capacities, it cannot be much difficult to find ways, both how the Poor, yea all Men, may be ſoon taught what is to be known of Chriſtianity, and they who teach them, recompens'd. *Firſt*, if Miniſters of their own Accord, who pretend that they are call'd and ſent to Preach the Goſpel, thoſe eſpecially, who have no particular Flock, would imitate our Saviour and his Diſciples, who went Preaching through the Villages, not only through the Cities, *Matth.* 9. 35. *Mark* 6. 6. *Luke* 13. 22. *Acts* 8. 25. And there Preach'd to the Poor as well as to the Rich, looking for no Recompence but in Heaven: *John* 4. 35, 36. *Look on the fields; for they are white already to Harveſt: And he that reapeth, receiveth Wages, and gathereth Fruit unto Life Eernal.* This was their Wages. But they will ſoon reply, we our ſelves have not wherewithal; who ſhall bear the Charges of our Journey? To whom it may as ſoon be anſwer'd, that in Likelihood they are not poorer then they who did thus; and if they have not the ſame Faith which thoſe Diſciples had to truſt in God and the Promiſe of Chriſt for their Maintenance as they did, and yet intrude into the Miniſtery without any Livelihood of their own, they caſt themſelves into a miſerable Hazzard or Temptation, and oft-time into a more miſerable Neceſſity, either to ſtarve, or to pleaſe their Pay-maſters rather then God: And give Men juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that they came neither call'd nor ſent from above to Preach the Word, but from below, by the Inſtinct of their own Hunger, to feed upon the Church. Yet grant it needful to allow them both the Charges of their

Journey

Journey and the Hire of their Labour, it will belong next to the Charity of richer Congregations, where moſt commonly they abound with Teachers, to ſend ſome of their Number to the Villages round, as the Apoſtles from *Jeruſalem* ſent *Peter* and *John* to the City and Villages of *Samaria*, *Acts* 8. 14, 25. Or as the Church at *Jeruſalem* ſent *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, *Chap.* 11. 22. And other Churches joyning ſent *Luke* to travel with *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 8. 19. Though whether they had their Charges born by the Church or no, it be not recorded. If it be objected, that this itinerary Preaching will not ſerve to plant the Goſpel in thoſe Places, unleſs they who are ſent abide there ſome competent Time, I anſwer, that if they ſtay there a Year to two, which was the longeſt Time uſually ſtaid by the Apoſtles in one Place, it may ſuffice to teach them, who will attend and learn, all the Points of Religion neceſſary to Salvation; then ſorting them into ſeveral Congregations of a moderate Number, out of the ableſt and zealouſeſt among them to create Elders, who, exerciſing and requiring from themſelves what they have learn'd (for no Learning is retain'd without conſtant Exerciſe and methodical Repetition) may teach and govern the reſt: And ſo exhorted to continue faithful and ſtedfaſt they may ſecurely be commited to the Providence of God and the Guidance of his Holy Spirit, till God may offer ſome Opportunity to viſit them again and to confirm them: Which when they have done, they have done as much as the Apoſtles were wont to do in Propagating the of Goſpel, *Acts* 14. 23. *And when they had ordain'd them Elders in every Church, and had prayed with Faſting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed.* And in the ſame Chapter, *Verſ.* 21, 22. *When they had preach'd the Goſpel to that City, and had taught many, they returned again to* Lyſtra *and to* Iconium *and* Antioch, *confirming the Souls of the Diſciples, and exhorting them to continue in the Faith.* And *Chap.* 15. 36. *Let us go again and viſit our Brethren.* And *Verſ.* 41. *He went through* Syria *and* Cilicia, *confirming the Churches.* To theſe I might add other Helps which we enjoy now, to make more eaſie the Attainment of Chriſtian Religion by the Meaneſt: The entire Scripture tranſlated into *Engliſh* with Plenty of Notes; and ſomewhere or other, I truſt, may be found ſome wholſom Body of Divinity, as they call it, without School-terms and Metaphyſical Notions, which have obſcur'd rather then explain'd our Religion, and made it ſeem difficult without Cauſe. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then viſited and confirm'd, in the moſt deſtitute and pooreſt Places of the Land, under the Government of their own Elders performing all Miniſterial Offices among them, they may be truſted to meet and edifie one another whether in Church or Chappel, or, to ſave them the trudging of many Miles thither, nearer Home, though in a Houſe or Barn. For notwithſtanding the gaudy Superſtition of ſome devoted ſtill ignorantly to Temples, we may be well aſſur'd, that he who diſdain'd not to be laid in a Manger, diſdains not to be preach'd in a Barn; and that by ſuch Meetings as theſe, being indeed, moſt Apoſtolical and Primitive, they will in a ſhort time advance more in Chriſtian Knowledge and Reformation of Life, then by the many Years Preaching of ſuch an Incumbent, I may ſay ſuch an Incubus oft-times, as will be meanly hir'd to abide long in thoſe Places. They have this left perhaps to object further, that to ſend thus and to maintain, though but for a Year or two, Miniſters and Teachers in ſeveral Places, would prove chargable to the Churches, though in Towns and Cities round about. To whom again I anſwer, that it was not thought ſo by them who firſt thus propagated the Goſpel, though but few in Number to us, and much leſs able to ſuſtain the Expence. Yet this Expence would be much leſs then to hire Incumbents or rather Incumbrances for Life-time: And a great Means (which is the Subject of this Diſcourſe) to diminiſh Hirelings. But be the Expence leſs or more, if it be found burthenſom to the Churches, they have in this

Land an eaſy Remedy in their Recourſe to the Civil Magiſtrate, who hath in his Hands the Diſpoſal of no ſmall Revenues; leſt, perhaps, anciently to ſuperſtitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and beſt Uſes; and therefore, once made public, appliable by the preſent Magiſtrate to ſuch Uſes as the Church or ſolid Reaſon from whomſoever ſhall convince him to think beſt. And thoſe Uſes may be, no doubt, much rather then as Glebes and Augmentations are now beſtow'd, to grant ſuch Requeſts as theſe of the Churches; or to erect in greater Number all over the Land Schools and competent Libraries to thoſe Schools, where Languages and Arts may be taught free together, without the Needles, unprofitable and inconvenient Removing to another Place. So all the Land would be ſoon better civiliz'd, and they who are taught freely at the public Coſt, might have their Education given them on this Condition, that therewith content, they ſhould not gad for Preferment out of their own Countrey, but continue there thankful for what they receiv'd freely, beſtowing it as freely on their Country, without ſoaring above the Meanneſs wherein they were born. But how they ſhall live when they are thus bred and diſmiſs'd will be ſtill the ſluggiſh Objection. To which is anſwer'd, that thoſe public Foundations may be ſo inſtituted, as the Youth therein may be at once brought up to a Competence of Learning and to an honeſt Trade; and the Hours of teaching ſo order'd, as their Study may be no Hindrance to their Labour or other Calling. This was the Breeding of St. *Paul*, though born of no mean Parents, a free Citizen of the *Roman* Empire: So little did his Trade debaſe him, that it rather enabl'd him to uſe that Magnanimity of Preaching the Goſpel through *Aſia* and *Europe* at his own Charges: Thus thoſe Preachers among the poor *Waldenſes*, the Ancient Stock of our Reformation, without theſe Helps which I ſpeak of, bred up themſelves in Trades, and eſpecially in Phyſic and Chirurgery as well as in the Study of Scripture (which is the only true Theology) that they might be no Burthen to the Church; and by the Example of Chriſt might cure both Soul and Body; through Induſtry joining that to their Miniſtry, which he join'd to his by Gift of the Spirit. Thus relates *Peter Gilles* in his Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes* in *Piedmont*. But our Miniſters think Scorn to uſe a Trade, and count it the Reproach of this Age, that Tradeſmen preach the Goſpel. It were to be wiſh'd they were all Tradeſmen; they would not then ſo many of them, for want of another Trade, make a Trade of their Preaching: And yet they clamour that Tradeſmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themſelves are the worſt Tradeſmen of all. As for Church-Endowments and Poſſeſſions, I meet with none conſiderable before *Conſtantine*, but the Houſes and Gardens where they met, and their Places of Burial: And I perſwade me, that from them the Ancient *Waldenſes*, whom deſervedly I cite ſo often, held, *That to endow Churches is an evil Thing*; and, that the Church then fell off and turn'd Whore, ſitting on that Beaſt in the *Revelations*, when under Pope *Sylveſter* ſhe receiv'd thoſe temporal Donations. So the forecited Tractate of their Doctrin teſtifies. This alſo their own Traditions of that Heavenly Voice witneſs'd, and ſome of the Ancient Fathers then living foreſaw and deplor'd. And indeed, how could theſe Endowments thrive better with the Church, being unjuſtly taken by thoſe Emperours, without Suffrage of the People, out of the Tributes and public Lands of each City, whereby the People became liable to be oppreſs'd with other Taxes. Being therefore given for the moſt part by Kings and other public Perſons, and ſo likelieſt out of the Public, and if without the Peoples Conſent, unjuſtly, however to public Ends of much Concernment to the Good or Evil of a Common-wealth, and in that Regard made public though given by private Perſons, or which is worſe, given, as the Clergy then perſwaded Men, for their Souls Health, a pious Gift, but as the Truth was, oft-times a Bribe to God or to Chriſt for Abſolution, as they

were

were then taught, from Murthers, Adulteries and other heinous Crimes, what ſhall be found heretofore given by Kings or Princes out of the Public, may juſtly by the Magiſtrate be recall'd and reappropriated to the Civil Revenue: What by private or public Perſons out of their own, the Price of Blood or Luſt, or to ſome ſuch purgatorious and ſuperſtitious Uſes, not only may, but ought, to be taken off from Chriſt, as a foul Diſhonour laid upon him, or not impiouſly given, nor in particular to any one, but in general to the Churches Good, may be converted to that Uſe, which ſhall be judg'd tending more directly to that general End. Thus did the Princes and Cities of *Germany* in the firſt Reformation; and defended their ſo doing by many Reaſons, which are ſet down at large in *Sleidan*, *l.* 6. *An.* 1526. and *l.* 11. *An.* 1537. and *l.* 13. *An.* 1540. But that the Magiſtrate, either out of that Church-Revenue which remains yet in his Hand, or eſtabliſhing any other Maintenance inſtead of Tithe, ſhould take into his own Power the ſtipendiary Maintenance of Church-Miniſters, or compel it by Law, can ſtand neither with the Peoples Right nor with Chriſtian Liberty, but would ſuſpend the Church wholly upon the State, and turn her Miniſters into State-Penſioners. And for the Magiſtrate in Perſon of a nurſing Father to make the Church his meer Ward, as always in Minority, the Church, to whom he ought as a Magiſtrate, *Eſa.* 49.23. *To bow down with his Face toward the Earth, and lick up the Duſt of her Feet*, her to ſubject to his political Drifts or conceiv'd Opinions by maſtring her Revenue, and ſo by his examinant Committees to circumſcribe her free Election of Miniſters, is neither juſt nor pious; no Honour done to the Church, but a plain Diſhonour: And upon her, whoſe only Head is in Heaven, yea upon him, who is her only Head, ſets another in Effect, and, which is moſt monſtrous, a Human on a Heavenly, a Carnal on a Spiritual, a Political Head on an Eccleſiaſtical Body; which at length by ſuch heterogeneal, ſuch inceſtuous Conjunction, transforms her oft-times into a Beaſt of many Heads and many Horns. For if the Church be of all Societies the holieſt on Earth, and ſo to be reverenc'd by the Magiſtrate, not to truſt her with her own Belief and Integrity, and therefore not with the keeping, at leaſt with the diſpoſing, of what Revenue ſhall be found juſtly and lawfully her own, is to count the Church not a holy Congregation, but a Pack of giddy or diſhoneſt Perſons, to be rul'd by Civil Power in ſacred Affairs. But to proceed further in the Truth yet more freely, ſeeing the Chriſtian Church is not national, but conſiſting of many particular Congregations, ſubject to many Changes, as well through civil Accidents as through Schiſm and various Opinions, not to be decided by any outward Judge, being Matters of Conſcience, whereby theſe pretended Church-Revenues, as they have been ever, ſo are like to continue endleſs, Matter of Diſſention both between the Church and Magiſtrate, and the Churches among themſelves, there will be found no better Remedy to theſe Evils, otherwiſe incurable, then by the incorrupteſt Councel of thoſe *Waldenſes* our firſt Reformers, to remove them as a Peſt, an Apple of Diſcord in the Church (for what elſe can be the Effect of Riches and the Snare of Mony in Religion) and to convert them to thoſe more profitable Uſes above expreſs'd, or other ſuch as ſhall be judg'd moſt neceſſary; conſidering that the Church of Chriſt was founded in Poverty rather then in Revenues, ſtood pureſt and proſper'd beſt without them, receiv'd them unlawfully from them who both erroneouſly and unjuſtly, ſometimes impiouſly gave them, and ſo juſtly was enſnar'd and corrupted by them. And leaſt it be thought, that theſe Revenues withdrawn and better employ'd, the Magiſtrate ought inſtead to ſettle by Statute ſome Maintenance of Miniſters, let this be conſider'd, *Firſt*, that it concerns every Mans Conſcience to what Religion he contributes; and that the Civil Magiſtrate is intruſted with Civil Rights only, not with Conſcience, which can have no Deputy or Repreſenter of it ſelf, but one of the

ſame Mind: *Next*, that what each Man gives to the Miniſter, he gives either as to God, or as to his Teacher; if as to God, no Civil Power can juſtly conſecrate to Religious Uſes any Part either of Civil Revenue, which is the Peoples, and muſt ſave them from other Taxes, or of any Mans Propriety, but God by ſpecial Command, as he did by *Moſes*, or the Owner himſelf by voluntary Intention and the Perſwaſion of his giving it to God; forc'd Conſecrations out of another Mans Eſtate are no better then forc'd Vows; hateful to God, *who loves a chearful Giver*; but much more hateful, wrung out of Mens Purſes to maintain a diſapprov'd Miniſtry againſt their Conſcience; however unholy, infamous and diſhonourable to his Miniſters and the free Goſpel, maintain'd in ſuch unworthy Manner as by Violence and Extortion: If he give it as to his Teacher, what Juſtice or Equity compels him to pay for Learning that Religion which leaves freely to his Choice whether he will learn it or no, whether of this Teacher or another, and eſpecially to pay for what he never learn'd or approves not; whereby, beſides the wound of Conſcience, he becomes the leſs able to recompence his true Teacher? Thus far hath been enquir'd by whom Church-Miniſters ought to be maintain'd; and hath been prov'd moſt natural, moſt equal and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them who receive their Teaching; and by whom, if they be unable. Which ways well obſerv'd, can diſcourage none but Hirelings, and will much leſſen their Number in the Church.

It remains, *Laſtly*, to conſider in what Manner God hath ordain'd that Recompence be given to Miniſters of the Goſpel: And by all Scripture it will appear that he hath given it them not by Civil Law and Freehold, as they claim, but by the Benevolence and free Gratitude of ſuch as receive them, *Luke* 10. 7, 8. *Eating and Drinking ſuch things as they give you. If they receive you, eat ſuch Things as are ſet before you*, Matth. 10. 7, 8. *As ye go, Preach, ſaying, The Kingdom of God is at Hand*, &c. *Freely ye have receiv'd, freely give.* I God have ordain'd Miniſters to preach freely, whether they receive Recompence or not, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them. But freely given, he accounts it as given to himſelf, *Phillip.* 4. 16, 17, 18. *Ye ſent once and again to my Neceſſity. Not becauſe I deſire a Gift; but I deſire Fruit that may abound to your Account. Having receiv'd of* Epaphroditus *the things which were ſent from you, an Odour of ſweet Smell, a Sacrifice acceptable, well pleaſing to God.* Which cannot be from Force or Unwillingneſs. The ſame is ſaid of Almes, *Heb.* 13. 16. *To do good and to communicate, forget not: For with ſuch Sacrifices God is well pleaſed.* Whence the Primitive Church thought it no ſhame to receive all their Maintenance as the Alms of their Auditors. Which they who defend Tithes, as if it made for their Cauſe, when as it utterly confutes them, omit not to ſet down at large; proving to our Hands out of *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and others, that the Clergy liv'd at firſt upon the meer Benevolences of their Hearers: Who gave what they gave, not to the Clergy, but to the Church; out of which the Clergy, had their Portions given them in Baskets; and were thence call'd *Sportularii Basket-Clerks*: That their Portion was a very mean Allowance, only for a bare Livelihood; according to thoſe Precepts of our Saviour, *Matth.* 10. 7, &c. the reſt was diſtributed to the Poor. They cite alſo out of *Proſper*, the Diſciple of St. *Auſtin*, that ſuch of the Clergy as had Means of their own, might not without Sin partake of Church-Maintenance; not receiving thereby Food which they abound with, but feeding on the Sins of other Men: That the Holy Ghoſt ſaith of ſuch Clergy Men, they eat the Sins of my People: And that a Councel at *Antioch*, in the Year 340. ſuffer'd not either Prieſt or Biſhop to live on Church-Maintenance without Neceſſity. Thus far Tithes themſelves have contributed to their own Confutation, by confeſſing that the Church liv'd Primitively on Alms. And I add, that about the Year 359.

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Conſtantius the Emperour having ſummon'd a general Councel of Biſhops to *Ariminum* in *Italy*, and provided for their Subſiſtence there, the *Britiſh* and *French* Biſhops, judging it not decent, to live on the Public, choſe rather to be at their own Charges. Three only out of *Britain*, conſtrain'd through Want, yet refuſing offer'd Aſſiſtance from the reſt, accepted the Emperour's Proviſion; judging it more convenient to ſubſiſt by public then by private Suſtenance. Whence we may conclude, that *Biſhops* then in this Iſland had their Livelihood only from Benevolence: In which regard this Relater *Sulpitius Severus*, a good Author of the ſame Time, highly praiſes them. And the *Waldenſes*, our firſt Reformers, both from the Scripture and theſe primitive Examples, maintain'd thoſe among them who bore the Office of Miniſters by Alms only. Take their very Words from the Hiſtory written of them in *French*, Part 3. *l.* 2. *c.* 2. *La Nourriture & ce de quoy nous ſommes couverts*, &c. *Our Food and Cloathing is ſufficiently adminiſter'd and given to us by way of Gratitude and Alms, by the good People whom we teach.* If then by Alms and Benevolence, not by legal Force, not by Tenure of Freehold or Copyhold: For Alms, though juſt, cannot be compell'd; and Benevolence forc'd is Malevolence rather, violent and inconſiſtent with the Goſpel; and declares him no true Miniſter thereof, but a rapacious Hireling rather, who by Force receiving it, eats the Bread of Violence and Exaction, no holy or juſt Livelihood, no not civilly counted Honeſt; much leſs beſeeming ſuch a ſpiritual Miniſtry. But, ſay they, our Maintenance is our Due, Tithes the Right of Chriſt, unſeparable from the Prieſt, no where repeal'd; if then, not otherwiſe to be had, by Law to be recover'd: For though *Paul* were pleaſed to forego his Due, and not to uſe his Power, 1 *Cor.* 9. 12. Yet he had a Power, *v.* 4. and bound not others. I Anſwer, *Firſt*, becauſe I ſee them ſtill ſo loath to unlearn their Decimal Arithmetic, and ſtill graſp their Tithes as inſeparable from a Prieſt, that Miniſters of the Goſpel are not Prieſts; and therefore ſeparated from Tithes by their own Excluſion; being neither call'd Prieſts in the New Teſtament, nor of any Order known in Scripture: Not of *Melchiſedec*, proper to Chriſt only; not of *Aaron*, as they themſelves will confeſs; and the third Prieſthood, only remaining, is common to all the Faithful. But they are Miniſters of our High Prieſt. True; but not of his Prieſthood, as the *Levites* were to *Aaron*: For he performs that whole Office himſelf incommunicably. Yet Tithes remain, ſay they, ſtill unreleas'd, the Due of Chriſt; and to whom payable, but to his Miniſters? I ſay again, that no Man can ſo underſtand them, unleſs Chriſt in ſome Place or other ſo claim them. That Example of *Abraham* argues nothing but his voluntary Act; Honour once only done, but on what Conſideration, whether to a Prieſt or to a King, whether due the Honour, arbitrary that kind of Honour or not, will after all Contending be left ſtill in meer Conjecture: Which muſt not be permitted in the Claim of ſuch a needy and ſubtle ſpiritual Corporation pretending by Divine Right to the Tenth of all other Mens Eſtates; nor can it be allow'd by wiſe Men or the Verdict of Common Law. And the Tenth Part, though once declar'd holy, is declar'd now to be no holier then the other Nine, by that Command to *Peter*, *Acts* 10. 15, 28. Whereby all diſtinction of Holy and Unholy is remov'd from all things. Tithes therefore though claimed, and holy under the Law, yet are now releaſed and quitted both by that Command to *Peter*, and by this to all Miniſters, above cited, *Luke* 10. *Eating and drinking ſuch things as they gave you*: Made holy now by their free Gift only. And therefore St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 4. aſſerts his Power, indeed; but of what? Not of Tithes, but, *to eat and drink ſuch things as are given* in reference to this Command. Which he calls not holy Things or Things of the Goſpel, as if the Goſpel had any conſecrated Things in anſwer to Things of the Temple, *v.* 13, but he calls them *your Carnal Things*, *v.* 11, without changing their Property.

perty. And what Power had he? Not the Power of Force, but of Conſcience only, whereby he might lawfully and without ſcruple live on the Goſpel; receiving what was given him, as the Recompence of his Labour. For if Chriſt the Maſter hath profeſſed his Kingdom to be not of this World, it ſuits not with that Profeſſion, either in him or his Miniſters to claim temporal Right from ſpiritual Reſpects. He who refus'd to be the Divider of an Inheritance between two Brethren, cannot approve his Miniſters by pretended Right from him, to be Dividers of Tenths and Freeholds out of other Mens Poſſeſſions, making thereby the Goſpel but a Cloak of carnal Intereſt, and, to the contradiction of their Maſter, turning his Heavenly Kingdom into a Kingdom of this World, a Kingdom of Force and Rapine. To whom it will be one Day thunder'd more terribly then to *Gehazi*, for thus diſhonouring a far greater Maſter and his Goſpel, *is this a Time to receive Mony and to receive Garments and Olive-Yards and Vineyards and Sheep and Oxen?* The Leproſy of *Naaman* link'd with that Apoſtolic Curſe of *Periſhing* imprecated on *Simon Magus*, may be fear'd will *cleave to* ſuch *and to* their *Seed for ever*. So that when all is done, and Belly hath us'd in vain all her cunning Shifts, I doubt not but all true Miniſters, conſidering the Demonſtration of what hath been here prov'd, will be wiſe, and think it much more tolerable to hear that no Maintenance of Miniſters, whether Tithes or any other, can be ſettl'd by Statute; but muſt be given by them who receive Inſtruction; and freely given, as God hath ordain'd. And indeed what can be a more honourable Maintenance to them, then ſuch whether Alms or willing Oblations as theſe, which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable Sacrifices now remaining, muſt needs repreſent him who receives them much in the care of God and nearly related to him, when not by worldly Force and Conſtraint, but with religious Awe and Reverence, what is given to God, is given to him, and what to him, a accounted as given to God. This would be well enough, ſay they; but how many will ſo give? I anſwer, as many doubtleſs as ſhall be well taught, as many as God ſhall ſo move. Why are ye ſo Diſtruſtful both of your own Doctrin and of Gods Promiſes, fulfill'd in the Experience of thoſe Diſciples firſt ſent: *Luke* 22. 35. *When I ſent you without Purſe and Scrip and Shooes, lack'd ye any thing? And they ſaid, Nothing.* How then came ours, or who ſent them thus deſtitute, thus poor and empty both of Purſe and Faith? Who ſtile themſelves Embaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſeem to be his Tithe-gatherers, though an Office of their own ſetting up to his Diſhonour, his Exacters, his Publicans rather, not truſting, that he will maintain them in their Embaſſy, unleſs they bind him to his Promiſe by a Statute Law that we ſhall maintain them. Lay down for Shame that magnific Title, while ye ſeek Maintenance from the People: It is not the manner of Embaſſadours to ask Maintenance of them to whom they are ſent. But he, who is Lord of all Things, hath ſo ordain'd: Truſt him then; he doubtleſs will command the People to make good his Promiſes of Maintenance more honourably unask'd, unrak'd for. This they know, this they preach, yet believe not: But think it as impoſſible without a Statute-Law to live of the Goſpel, as if by thoſe Words they were bid go eat their Bibles, as *Ezekiel* and *John* did their Books; and ſuch Doctrines as theſe are as bitter to their Bellies: But will ſerve ſo much the better to diſcover Hirelings, who can have nothing, though but in Appearance, juſt and ſolid to anſwer for themſelves againſt what hath been here ſpoken, unleſs perhaps this one remaining Pretence, which we ſhall quickly ſee to be either falſe or uningenuous. They pretend that their Education either at School or Uuniverſity hath been very chargeable; and therefore ought to be repair'd in future by a plentiful Maintenance: Whenas it is well known, that the better half of them, and oft-times poor and pittiful Boys of no Merit or promiſing Hopes that might entitle them to the publick Proviſion but their Po-

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verty and the unjuſt Favour of Friends, have had the moſt of their Breeding both at Schools and Univerſity by Schollarſhips, Exhibitions and Fellowſhips at the publick Coſt; which might ingage them the rather to give freely as they have freely receiv'd. Or if they have miſſed of theſe Helps at the latter Place, they have after two or three Years left the Courſe of their Studies there, if they ever well began them and undertaken, though furniſh'd with little elſe but Ignorance, Boldneſs and Ambition, if with no worſe Vices, a Chaplainſhip in ſome Gentlemans Houſe, to the frequent imbaſing of his Sons with illiterate and narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon their own, who knows not, that ſeven Years Charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government of their Parents to the Licenſe of a Univerſity, but come ſeriouſly to ſtudy, is no more then may be well defray'd and re-imburs'd by one Years Revenue of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then means of Breeding from their Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it needs muſt be mechanic and uningenuous in them to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning of thoſe liberal Arts and Sciences, which they have learn'd (if they have indeed learn'd them, as they ſeldom have) to their own Benefit and Accompliſhment. But they will ſay, we had betaken us to ſome other Trade or Profeſſion, had we not expected to find a better Livelihood by the Miniſtery. This is that which I look'd for, to diſcover them openly neither true Lovers of Learning, and ſo very ſeldom guilty of it, nor true Miniſters of the Goſpel. So long ago out of Date, is that old *true Saying*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. *If a Man deſire a Biſhoprick, he deſires a good Work:* For now commonly he who deſires to be a Miniſter, looks not at the Work but at the Wages; and by that Lure or Loubel may be told from Pariſh to Pariſh all the Town over. But what can be plainer Simony, then thus to be at Charges beforehand to no other End then to make their Miniſtry doubly or trebly Beneficial? To whom it might be ſaid as juſtly as to that *Simon, Thy Money periſh with thee, becauſe thou haſt thought that the Gift of God may be purchas'd with Money: Thou haſt neither Part nor Lot in this Matter.* Next, it is a fond Error, though too much believ'd among us, to think that the Univerſity makes a Miniſter of the Goſpel; what it may conduce to other Arts and Sciences, I diſpute not now: But that which makes fit a Miniſter the Scripture can beſt inform us to be only from above; whence alſo we are bid to ſeek them; *Matth.* 9. 38. *Pray ye therefore to the Lord of the Harveſt, that he will ſend forth Labourers into his Harveſt.* Acts 20. 28. *The Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Over-ſeers.* Rom. 10. 15. *How ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?* By whom ſent? By the Univerſity, or the Magiſtrate, or their Belly? No ſurely: But ſent from God only, and that God who is not their Belly. And whether he be ſent from God, or from *Simon Magus*, the inward Senſe of his Calling and ſpiritual Ability will ſufficiently tell him; and that ſtrong Obligation felt within him which was felt by the Apoſtle, will often expreſs from him the ſame Words: 1 *Cor.* 9. 16. *Neceſſity is laid upon me, yea, woe is me if I preach not the Goſpel.* Not a beggarly Neceſſity, and the Woe fear'd otherwiſe of perpetual Want, but ſuch a Neceſſity as made him willing to preach the Goſpel *Gratis*, and to embrace Poverty rather then as a Woe to fear it. 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. *God hath ſet ſome in the Church, firſt Apoſtles*, &c. Eph. 4. 11. &c. *He gave ſome Apoſtles*, &c. *For the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Miniſtery, for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt, till we all come to the Unity of the Faith.* Whereby we may know that as he made them at the firſt, ſo he makes them ſtill, and to the Worlds End. 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. *Who hath alſo made us fit or able Miniſters of the New Teſtament.* 1 Tim. 4. 14. *The Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Propheſy and the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.* Theſe are all the Means which we read of requir'd in Scripture to the making of a Miniſter. All this is granted you will ſay: But yet that it

is alſo requiſite, he ſhould be train'd in other Learning; which can be no where better had then at Univerſities. I Anſwer, that what Learning either Human or Divine can be neceſſary to a Miniſter, may as eaſily and leſs chargeably be had in any private Houſe. How deficient elſe and to how little Purpoſe are all thoſe Piles of Sermons, Notes and Comments on all Parts of the Bible, Bodies and Marrows of Divinity, beſides all other Sciences, in our *Engliſh* Tongue; many of the ſame Books which in *Latin* they read at the Univerſity? And the ſmall Neceſſity of going thither to learn Divinity, I prove firſt from the moſt part of themſelves, who ſeldom continue there till they have well got through Logic, their firſt Rudiments; though, to ſay Truth, Logic alſo may much better be wanting in Diſputes of Divinity, then in the ſubtle Debates of Lawyers and Stateſmen, who yet ſeldom or never deal with Syllogiſms. And thoſe Theological Diſputations there held by Profeſſors and Graduates, are ſuch as tend leaſt of all to the Edification or Capacity of the People, but rather perplex and leaven pure Doctrin with Scholaſtical Traſh, then enable any Miniſter to the better Preaching of the Goſpel. Whence we may alſo compute, ſince they come to Reckonings, the Charges of his needful Library: Which, though ſome ſhame not to value at 600 *l.* may be competently furniſh'd for 60 *l.* If any Man for his own curioſity or delight be in Books further expenſive, that is not to be reckon'd as neceſſary to his Miniſterial either Breeding or Function. But Papiſts and other Adverſaries cannot be confuted without Fathers and Councels, immenſe Volums and of vaſt Charges. I will ſhew them therefore a ſhorter and a better way of Confutation, *Tit.* 1. 9. *Holding faſt the faithful Word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by ſound Doctrin, both to exhort and to convince Gain-ſayers:* Who are confuted as ſoon as heard, bringing that which is either not in Scripture or againſt it. To purſue them further through the obſcure and intangled Wood of Antiquity, Fathers and Councels fighting one againſt another, is needleſs, endleſs, not requiſite in a Miniſter, and refus'd by the firſt Reformers of our Religion. And yet we may be confident, if theſe Things be thought needful, let the State but erect in public good ſtore of Libraries, and there will not want Men in the Church, who of their own Inclinations will become able in this kind againſt Papiſt or any other Adverſary. I have thus at large examin'd the uſual Pretences of Hirelings, colour'd over moſt commonly with the Cauſe of Learning and Univerſities. As if with Divines Learning ſtood and fell; wherein for the moſt part their Pittance is ſo ſmall: And, to ſpeak freely, it were much better, there were not one Divine in the Univerſity; no School-Divinity known, the idle Sophiſtry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they who intended to be Miniſters, were train'd up in the Church only, by the Scripture and in the Original Languages thereof at School; without fetching the Compaſs of other Arts and Sciences, more then what they can well learn at ſecondary Leiſure and at Home. Neither ſpeak I this in Contempt of Learning or the Miniſtry, but hating the common Cheats of both; hating that they who have preach'd out Biſhops, Prelates and Canoniſts, ſhould, in what ſerves their own ends, retain their falſe Opinions, their *Phariſaical* Leaven, their Avarice and cloſely their Ambition, their Pluralities, their Non-reſidences, their odious Fees, and uſe their Legal and Popiſh Arguments for Tithes: That *Independents* ſhould take that Name, as they may juſtly from the true Freedom of Chriſtian Doctrin and Church-Diſciplin ſubject to no ſuperiour Judge but God only, and ſeek to be Dependents on the Magiſtrate for their Maintenance; which two things, Independence and State-hire in Religion, can never conſiſt long or certainly together. For Magiſtrates at one time or other, not like theſe at preſent, our Patrons of Chriſtian Liberty, will pay none but ſuch whom by their Committes of Examination, they find conformable to their Intereſt and Opinions: And Hirelings will ſoon frame themſelves to that Intereſt and thoſe

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Opinions which they ſee beſt pleaſing to their Pay-maſters; and to ſeem right themſelves, will force others as to the Truth. But moſt of all they are to be revil'd and ſham'd, who cry out with the diſtinct Voice of notorious Hirelings, that if ye ſettle not our Maintenance by Law, farewel the Goſpel: Then which nothing can be utter'd more falſe, more ignominious, and, I may ſay, more blaſphemous againſt our Saviour; who hath promis'd, without this Condition, both his Holy Spirit and his own Preſence with his Church to the Worlds End: Nothing more falſe (unleſs with their own Mouths they condemn themſelves for the unworthieſt and moſt mercenary of all other Miniſters) by the Experience of 300. Years after Chriſt, and the Churches at this day in *France*, *Auſtria*, *Polonia*, and other Places witneſſing the contrary under an adverſe Magiſtrate not a favourable: Nothing more ignominious, levelling or rather undervaluing Chriſt beneath *Mahomet*. For if it muſt be thus, how can any *Chriſtian* object it to a *Turk*, that his Religion ſtands by Force only; and not juſtly fear from him this Reply, yours both by Force and Money in the Judgment of your own Preachers. This is that which makes *Atheiſts* in the Land, whom they ſo much Complain of: Not the want of Maintenance or Preachers, as they alledge, but the many Hirelings and Cheaters that have the Goſpel in their Hands; Hands that ſtill crave, and are never ſatisfied. Likely Miniſters, indeed, to proclaim the Faith or to exhort our Truſt in God, when they themſelves will not truſt him to provide for them in the Meſſage whereon, they ſay, he ſent them; but threaten for want of temporal Means to deſert it; calling that want of Means, which is nothing elſe but the want of their own Faith; and would force us to pay the Hire of building our Faith to their covetous Incredulity. Doubtleſs, if God only be he who gives Miniſters to his Church till the Worlds End; and through the whole Goſpel never ſent us for Miniſters to the Schools of Philoſophy, but rather bids us beware of ſuch *vain Deceit*, *Col.* 2. 8. (which the Primitive Church, after two or three Ages not remembring, brought herſelf quickly to Confuſion) if all the Faithful be now *a holy and a royal Prieſthood*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 5, 9. Not excluded from the diſpenſation of things holieſt, after free election of the Church and Impoſition of Hands, there will not want Miniſters, elected out of all Sorts and Orders of Men, for the Goſpel makes no difference from the Magiſtrate himſelf to the meaneſt Artificer, if God evidently favour him with ſpiritual Gifts, as he can eaſily and oft hath done, while thoſe Batchelor-Divines and Doctors of the Tippet have been paſſed by. Heretofore in the firſt Evangelic Times (and it were happy for Chriſtendom if it were ſo again) Miniſters of the Goſpel were by nothing elſe diſtinguiſh'd from other Chriſtians but by their ſpiritual Knowledge and Sanctity of Life, for which the Church elected them to be her Teachers and Overſeers, though not thereby to ſeparate them from whatever Calling ſhe then found them following beſides, as the Example of *S. Paul* declares, and the firſt Times of Chriſtianity. When once they affected to be called a Clergy, and became as it were a peculiar Tribe of *Levites*, a Party, a diſtinct Order in the Common-wealth, bred up for Divines in babling Schools, and fed at the public Coſt, good for nothing elſe but what was good for nothing, they ſoon grew idle: That Idleneſs with fulneſs of Bread begat Pride and perpetual Contention with their Feeders the deſpis'd Laity, through all Ages ever ſince; to the perverting of Religion, and the diſturbance of all Chriſtendom. And we may confidently conclude, it never will be otherwiſe while they are thus upheld undepending on the Church, on which alone they anciently depended, and are by the Magiſtrate publicly maintain'd a numerous Faction of indigent Perſons, crept for the moſt part out of extream Want and bad Nurture, claiming by Divine Right and Freehold the Tenth of our Eſtates, to monopolize the Miniſtry as their Peculiar, which is free and open to all able Chriſtians elected by any Church. Under this Pretence exempt

from all other Imployment, and enriching themselves on the Public, they last of all prove common Incendiaries, and exalt their Horns against the Magistrate himself that maintains them, as the Priest of *Rome* did soon after against his Benefactor the Emperour, and the Presbyters of late in *Scotland*. Of which hireling Crew, together with all the Mischiefs, Dissentions, Troubles, Wars, meerly of their kindling, *Christendom* might soon rid her self and be happy, if Christians would but know their own Dignity, their Liberty, their Adoption, and let it not be wonder'd if I say, their spiritual Priesthood, whereby they have all equally Access to any Ministerial Function, whenever call'd by their own Abilities and the Church, though they never came near Commencement or University. But while Protestants, to avoid the due Labour of understanding their own Religion, are content to lodge it in the Breast, or rather in the Books of a Clergy-Man, and to take it thence by Scraps and Mammocks as he dispences it in his *Sunday's* Dole, they will be always learning and never knowing, always Infants, always, either his Vassals, as Laypapists are to their Priests, or at Odds with them, as reformed Principles give them some Light to be not wholly conformable, whence infinite Disturbances in the State, as they do, must needs follow. Thus much I had to say: And, I suppose, what may be enough to them who are not avaritiously bent otherwise, touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; then which nothing can more conduce to Truth, to Peace and all Happiness both in Church and State. If I be not heard nor believ'd, the Event will bear me Witness to have spoken Truth: And I in the mean while have born my Witness, not out of Season, to the Church and to my Countrey.

OF

Prelatical Episcopacy,

AND

Whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times by Vertue of those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that Purpose in some late Treatises:

One whereof goes under the Name of

JAMES ARCH-BISHOP OF ARMAGH.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

OF

Prelatical Epiſcopacy.

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an Order in the *Church* above a *Presbyter*, or as we commonly name him, the Miniſter of a Congregation, is either of divine Conſtitution, or of human. If only of human, we have the ſame human Priviledge, that all Men have ever had ſince *Adam*, being born free, and in the Miſtreſs Iſland of all the *Britiſh*, to retain this *Epiſcopacy*, or to remove it, conſulting with our own Occaſions, and Conveniences, and for the prevention of our own Dangers and Diſquiets, in what beſt manner we can deviſe, without running at a Loſs, as we muſt needs in thoſe ſtale and uſeleſs Records, of either uncertain or unſound Antiquity, which if we hold faſt to the Grounds of the Reformed *Church*, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, ſo oft as it would lead us to the broken Reed of *Tradition*. If it be of *Divine* Conſtitution, to ſatisfie us fully in that, the Scripture only is able, it being the only Book left us of *Divine* Authority, not in any thing more Divine then in the All-ſufficiency it hath to furniſh us, as with all other ſpiritual Knowledge, ſo with this in particular, ſetting out to us a perfect Man of *God* accompliſh'd to all the good Works of his Charge. Through all which Book can be no where, either by plain Text or ſolid Reaſoning, found any difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, ſave that they be two Names to ſignify the ſame Order. Notwithſtanding this Clearneſs, and that by all Evidence of Argument, *Timothy* and *Titus* (whom our Prelates claim to imitate only in the controuling part of their Office) had rather the Vicegerency of an Apoſtleſhip committed to them, then the ordinary Charge of a Biſhopric, as being Men of an extraordinary Calling, yet to verify that which St. *Paul* foretold of ſucceeding Times, when Men began to have itching Ears, then not contented with the plentiful and wholſom Fountains of the Goſpel, they began after their own Luſts to heap to themſelves Teachers, and as if the divine Scripture wanted a Supplement, and were to be eek'd out, they cannot think any Doubt reſolv'd, and any Doctrin confirm'd, unleſs they run to that indigeſted Heap and fry of Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatſoever Time, or the heedleſs Hand of blind Chance, hath drawn down from of old to this Preſent, in her huge Drag-net, whether Fiſh, or Sea-weed, Shells or Shrubbs, unpick'd, unchoſen, thoſe are the Fathers. Seeing therefore ſome Men, deeply converſant in Books, have had ſo little care of late to give the World a better account of their Reading, then by divulging needleſs Tractats ſtuffed with ſpecious Names of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*, with Fragments of old *Martyrologies* and *Legends*, to diſtract and ſtagger, the multitude of credulous Readers, and miſlead them from their ſtrong Guards and Places of Safety, under the Tuition of holy Writ, it came into my Thoughts to perſwade my ſelf, ſetting all Diſtances and nice Reſpects aſide, that I could do Religion and my Country no better Service for the time, then doing my utmoſt Endeavour to recal the People of God from this vain forraging after Straw, and to reduce them to their firm Stations under the Standard of the Goſpel: By making appear to them, *Firſt*, the Inſufficiency, *Next*, the Inconvenience, and *Laſtly*, the Impiety of theſe gay Teſtimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this I ſhall not ſtrive to be more Exact in Method, then as their Citations lead me.

2 Tim. 4.

Firſt, Therefore concerning *Ignatius*, ſhall be treated fully, when the Author ſhall come to inſiſt upon ſome Places in his Epiſtles. *Next*, to prove a Pag. 4

Succession of 27. *Bishops* from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius Bishop* of *Magnesia*, out of the 11. Act of the *Chalcedonian* Councel: This is but an obscure and single Witness, and for his faithful Dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of *Bishops*? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and false a *Bishop*, as *Leontius* of *Antioch*, that was a hundred Years his Predecessor? For neither the Praise of his Wisdom, or his Vertue hath left him memorable to Posterity, but only this doubtful Relation, which we must take at his Word; and how shall this Testimony receive Credit from his Word, whose very Name had scarce been thought on, but for this bare Testimony? But they will say he was a Member of the Councel, and that may deserve to gain him Credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with fair Allowance I might, that we may as justly suspect, there were some bad and slippery Men in that Councel, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations. Nor shall I need to plead at this Time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more Subtilty brought about, both anciently by other *Heretics*, and modernly by *Papists*, then to falsify the Editions of the Councels, of which we have none but from our Adversaries Hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole spurious Councels are thrust upon us, and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimate against the lawful Rejection of an urgent and free Disputer, but this I purpose not to take Advantage of, for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt Editions of Councels, when as we know that many Years e're this Time which was almost 500. Years after *Christ*, the Councels themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly Prelatism, and so far plung'd into worldly Ambition, as that it stood them upon long e're this to uphold their now well-tasted Hierachy, by what fair Pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other gross Corruptions by as ancient and suppos'd Authentic Traditions as Episcopacy. And what hope can we have of this whole Councel to warrant us a matter 400. Years at least above their time, concerning the Distinction of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, whenas we find them such blind Judges of Things before their Eyes in their Decrees of Precedency between *Bishop* and *Bishop*, acknowledging *Rome* for the Apostolic Throne, and *Peter* in that Sea for the Rock, the Basis and the Foundation of the Catholic Church and Faith, contrary to the Interpretation of more ancient Fathers; and therefore from a mistaken Text did they give to *Leo* as *Peters* Successor a kind of Preheminence above the whole Councel, as *Euagrius* expresses (for now the Pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himself by his Vicars incompetible Honours) and yet having thus yielded to *Rome* the universal Primacy for spiritual Reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnal and ambitious Decree to give the second Place of Dignity to *Constantinople* from Reason of State, because it was new *ROME*, and by like Consequence doubtless of earthly Priviledges annex'd to each other City, was the the BISHOP thereof to take his Place.

I may say again therefore, what hope can we have of such a Councel, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the Flesh. Much rather should we attend to what *Eusebius* the ancientest Writer extant of Church-history, notwithstanding all the Helps he had above these, confesses in the *4th Chap.* of his *3d* Book, that it was no easie Matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles, more then by what a Man might gather from the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the *Epistles* of St *Paul*, in which Number he reckons *Timothy* for Bishop of *Ephesus*. So as may plainly appear, that this Tradition of Bishoping *Timothy* over *Ephesus*, was but taken for granted out of that Place in St. *Paul*, which was only an intreating him
1 Tim. 1. 3. to tarry at *Ephesus*, to do something left him in Charge. Now if *Eusebius* a famous Writer thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed Bishops by the Apostles, much more may we think it difficult to *Leontius* an obscure

Bishop

Biſhop ſpeaking beyond his own Dioceſs: And certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determin what kind of Biſhops thoſe were, if they had ſo little means to know who they were; and much leſs Reaſon have we to ſtand to their definitive Sentence, ſeeing they have been ſo raſh to raiſe up ſuch lofty Biſhops and Biſhopricks out of Places in Scripture meerly miſunderſtood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after theſe Traditions of the Ancients, we hear the Ancients themſelves confeſſing, that what Knowledge they had in this Point was ſuch as they had gather'd from the Bible.

Since therefore Antiquity it ſelf hath turn'd over the Controverſy to that ſovereign Book, which we had fondly ſtraggl'd from, we ſhall do better not to detain this venerable Apparition of *Leontius* any longer, but diſmiſs him with his Liſt of ſeven and twenty, to ſleep unmoleſted in his former obſcurity.

Now for the Word πρωτὼς, it is more likely that *Timothy* never knew the word in that Senſe: It was the Vanity of thoſe next ſucceeding Times not to content themſelves with the ſimplicity of Scripture Phraſe, but muſt make a new *Lexicon* to name themſelves by, one will be call'd πρωτὼς, or *Antiſtes*, a word of Precedence, another would be term'd a *Gnoſtic* as *Clemens*, a third *Sacerdos*, or Prieſt and talks of Altars; which was a plain Sign that their Doctrin began to change their Expreſſions: But that Place of *Juſtin Martyr* ſerves rather to convince the Author, then to make for him, where the Name πρωτὼς τῶ ἀδελφῶν, the Preſident, or Paſtor of the Brethren (for to what End is he their Preſident but to teach them) cannot be limited to ſignify a Prelatical Biſhop, but rather communicates that Greek Appellation to every ordinary *Presbyter*: For there he tells what the Chriſtians had wont to do in their ſeveral Congregations, to read and expound, to pray and adminiſter, all which he ſays the πρωτὼς, or *Antiſtes* did. Are theſe the Offices only of a Biſhop, or ſhall we think that every Congregation where theſe things were done, which he attributes to this *Antiſtes*, had a *Biſhop*, preſent among them? Unleſs they had as many *Antiſtites* as *Prebyters*, which this Place rather ſeems to imply and ſo we may infer even from their own alledg'd Authority, *that Antiſtes was nothing elſe but Presbyter.*

As for that nameleſs Treatiſe of *Timothy*'s Martyrdom, only cited by *Photius* that liv'd almoſt 900. Years after *Chriſt*, it hanſomely follows in that Author, the Martyrdom of the ſeven Sleepers, that ſlept (I tell you but what mine Author ſays) three hundred ſeventy and two Years, for ſo long they had been ſhut up in a Cave without Meat, and were found living. This Story of *Timothy*'s *Epheſian* Biſhopric, as it follows in Order, ſo may, it for Truth, if it only ſubſiſt upon its own Authority, as it doth, for *Photius* only ſaith he read it, he does not aver it. The other legendary Piece found among the Lives of the Saints, and ſent us from the Shop of the *Jeſuites* at *Lovain*, does but bear the Name of *Polycrates*, how truly who can tell? And ſhall have ſome more Weight with us, when *Polycrates* can perſwade us of that which he affirms in the ſame Place of *Euſebius* 5. Book, that St. *John* was a Prieſt, and wore the golden Breaſt-plate: And why ſhould he convince us more with his Traditions of *Timothy*'s Epiſcopacy, then he could convince *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* with his Traditions concerning the Feaſts of *Eaſter*, who not regarding his irrefragible inſtances of Examples taken from *Philip* and his Daughters that were Propheteſſeſs: or from *Polycarpus*, no nor from St. *John* himſelf, excommunicated both him and all the *Aſian* Churches for celebrating their *Eaſter* judaically: He may therefore go back to the ſeven Biſhops his Kinſmen and make his moan to them that we eſteem his Traditional Ware, as lightly as *Victor* did.

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p. *Euſeb* l. 6. κεφ. κα.

Thoſe of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *John* of *Antioch* are Authorities of latter Times and therefore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities ſake to give in Evidence

Evidence concerning an Allegation, wherein Writers ſo much their Elders, we ſee ſo eaſily miſcarry. What if they had told us that *Peter*, who as they ſay, left *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, went afterwards to *Rome* and was Biſhop there, as this *Ignatius*, and *Irenæus* and all Antiquity with one Mouth deliver, there be never the leſs a number of learned and wiſe Proteſtants who have written and will maintain, that *Peters* being at *Rome* as Biſhop cannot ſtand with Concord of Scripture.

Now come the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* to ſhew us, *Firſt*, that *Oneſimus* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*; *next*, to aſſert the difference of Biſhop and *Presbyter*, wherein I wonder that Men, Teachers of the Proteſtant Religion, make no more difficulty of impoſing upon our Belief a ſuppoſititious Off-ſpring of ſome dozen Epiſtles, whereof five are rejected as ſpurious, containing in them Hereſies and Trifles, which cannot agree in Chronology with *Ignatius*, entitling him Arch-Biſhop of *Antioch Theopolis*, which Name of *Theopolis* that City had not till *Juſtinians* time long after, as *Cedrenus* mentions, which argues both the barbarous Time and the unskilful Fraud of him that foiſted this Epiſtle upon *Ignatius*. In the Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus* he condemns them for Miniſters of Satan, that ſay *Chriſt is God above all*. To the *Philippians* them that keep their *Eaſter*, as the *Aſian* Churches and *Polycarpus* did, and them that faſted upon any *Saturday*, or *Sunday*, except one he counts as thoſe that had ſlain the *Lord*. To thoſe of *Antioch* he ſalutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters and Exorciſts, as if theſe had been Orders of the Church in his Time: thoſe other Epiſtles leſs queſtion'd are yet ſo interlarded with Corruptions, as may juſtly endue us with a wholeſom Suſpition of the reſt. As to the *Trallians*, he writes, that *a Biſhop hath Power over all beyond all Government and Authority whatſoever*. Surely then no Pope can deſire more then *Ignatius* attributes to every Biſhop, but what will become then of the Arch-Biſhops and Primates in every Biſhop in *Ignatius*'s Judgment be as Supreme as a Pope? To the *Epheſians*, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for Epiſcopacy, there ſtands a line that caſts an ill hue upon all the Epiſtles, *let no Man err*, ſaith he, unleſs a Man be within the Rails or Encloſure of the Altar, he is depriv'd of the Bread of Life. I ſay not but that this may be ſtretch'd to a figurative Conſtruction, but yet it has an ill look, eſpecially being follow'd beneath with the mention of I know not what Sacrifices. In the other Epiſtle to *Smyrna* wherein is written that they ſhould follow their Biſhop as Chriſt did his Father, and the *Presbytery* as the Apoſtles: Not to ſpeak of the inſulſe and ill-lay'd Compariſon, this cited Place lies upon the very brim of a noted Corruption, which had they, that quote this Paſſage, ventur'd to let us read, all Men would have readily ſeen what Grain the Teſtimony had been of, where it is ſaid, that it is not lawful without a Biſhop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do Sacrifice. What can our Church make of theſe Phraſes but ſcandalous: And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of *God* in *Solomon*, judge by the Words themſelves. My Son, ſaith he, honour *God* and the King; but I ſay, honour *God* and the Biſhop, as High-prieſt, bearing the Image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Chriſt*, according to his Prieſting, and after him honour the King. Excellent *Ignatius* can ye blame the *Prelates* for making much of this Epiſtle? Certainly if this Epiſtle can ſerve you to ſet a Biſhop above a *Presbyter*, it may ſerve you next to ſet him above a King. Theſe, and other like Places in abundance through all thoſe ſhort Epiſtles, muſt either be adulterate, or elſe *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but moſt adulterate, and corrupt himſelf. In the midſt therefore of ſo many Forgeries where ſhall we fix to dare ſay this is *Ignatius*? As for his Stile who knows it? So diſfigur'd and interrupted as it is, except they think, that where they meet with any thing ſound and orthodoxal there they find *Ignatius*, and then they believe him not for his own Authority,

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but for a Truths ſake, which they derive from elſewhere: To what End then ſhould they cite him as Authentic for Epiſcopacy, when they cannot know what is Authentic in him, but by the *Judgment* which they brought with them, and not by any *Judgment* which they might ſafely learn from him. How can they bring Satisfaction from ſuch an Author, to whoſe very Eſſence the Reader muſt be feign to contribute his own Underſtanding. Had *God* ever intended, that we ſhould have ſought any part of uſeful Inſtruction from *Ignatius*, doubtleſs he would not have ſo ill provided for our Knowledge, as to ſend him to our Hands in this broken and disjointed Plight; and if he intended no ſuch thing, we do injuriouſly in thinking to taſte better the pure Evangelic *Manna* by ſeaſoning our Mouths with the tainted Scraps and Fragments of an unknown Table; and ſearching among the verminous and polluted Rags dropt overworn from the toiling Shoulders of Time, with theſe deformedly to quilt and interlace the intire, the ſpotleſs and undecaying Robe of Truth, the Daughter, not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in Chriſtian Hearts, between two grave and holy Nurſes, the Doctrin and Diſciplin of the Goſpel.

Next follows *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lions*, who is cited to affirm, *That* Polycarpus *was made Biſhop of* Smyrna *by the Apoſtles*: And this it may ſeem, none could better tell then he who had both ſeen and heard *Polycarpus*: But when did he hear him? Himſelf confeſſes to *Florinus*, when he was a Boy. Whether that Age in *Irenæus* may not be liable to many Miſtakings; and whether a Boy may be truſted to take an exact Account of the Manner of a Church-Conſtitution, and upon what Terms, and within what Limits, and with what kind of Commiſſion *Polycarpus* receiv'd his Charge, let a Man conſider, 'ere he be credulous. It will not be deny'd, that he might have ſeen *Polycarpus* in his Youth a Man of great Eminence in the Church, to whom the other *Presbyters* might give way for his *Virtue*, *Wiſdom* and the *Reverence* of his Age; and ſo did *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, even in his own City, give him a kind of Priority in adminiſtring the Sacrament, as may be read in *Euſebius*: But that we ſhall hence conclude a diſtinct and ſuperiour Order from the young Obſervation of *Irenæus*, nothing yet alledg'd can warrant us, unleſs we ſhall believe ſuch as would face us down, that *Calvin*, and, after him *Beza*, were Biſhops of *Geneva*, becauſe that in the unſettl'd State of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their Worth and Learning caſt a greater Share of Buſineſs upon them, and directed Mens Eyes principally towards them, and yet theſe Men were the Diſſolvers of Epiſcopacy. We ſee the ſame Neceſſity in State-affairs, *Brutus* that expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, was for the time forc'd to be as it were a King himſelf, till Matters were ſet in Orderas in a free Common-wealth. He that had ſeen *Pericles* lead the *Athenians* which way he liſted, haply would have ſaid he had been their Prince, and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent Man in a *Democracy*, and had no more at any time then a temporary and elective Sway, which was in the Will of the People when to abrogate. And it is moſt likely, that in the Church they which came after theſe Apoſtolic Men, being leſs in Merit but bigger in Ambition, ſtrove to invade thoſe Priviledges by Intruſion and Plea of Right, which *Polycarpus* and others like him poſſeſt from the voluntary Surrender of Men ſubdu'd by the Excellency of their Heavenly Gifts, which becauſe their Succeſſors had not, and ſo could neither have that Authority, it was their Policy to divulge that the Eminence which *Polycarpus* and his Equals enjoy'd, which was by Right of Conſtitution, not by free Will of Condeſcending. And yet thus far *Irenæus* makes againſt them as in that very Place to call *Polycarpus* an Apoſtolical *Presbyter*. But what Fidelity his Relations had in general, we cannot ſooner learn then by *Euſebius*, who, near the End of his third Book, ſpeaking of *Papias* a very Ancient Writer, one that had heard St. *John*, and was known to many that had ſeen, and been acquainted with, others of the Apoſtles, but being Pag. 8.

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of a ſhallow Wit, and not underſtanding thoſe Traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his Writings with many new Doctrines and fabulous Conceits, he tells us there, that diverſe Eccleſiaſtical Men, and *Irenæus* among the reſt, while they look'd at his Antiquity, became infected with his Errors. Now if *Irenæus* were ſo raſh as to take unexamin'd Opinions from an Author of ſo ſmall Capacity, when he was a Man, we ſhould be more raſh our ſelves to rely upon thoſe Obſervations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a ſufficient Reaſon to us why we need no longer muſe at the ſpreading of many idle Traditions ſo ſoon after the Apoſtles, whilſt ſuch as this *Papias* had the throwing them about, and the inconſiderate Zeal of the next Age, that heeded more the Perſon then the Doctrin, had the gathering them up. Wherever a Man, who had been any way converſant with the *Apoſtles*, was to be found, thither flew all the inquiſitive Ears, the Exerciſe of right Inſtructing was chang'd into the Curioſity of impertinent Fabling: Where the Mind was to be edified with ſolid *Doctrin*, there the Fancy was ſmooth'd with ſolemn Stories: With leſs Fervency was ſtudied what St. *Paul* or St. *John* had written, then was liſten'd to one that could ſay, here he taught, here he ſtood, this was his Stature, and thus he went habited, and oh happy this Houſe that harbour'd him, and that cold Stone whereon he reſted, this Village wherein he wrought ſuch a Miracle, and that Pavement bedew'd with the warm Effuſion of his laſt Blood, that ſprouted up into Eternal Roſes to crown his Martyrdom. Thus while all their Thoughts were pour'd out upon Circumſtances, and the gazing after ſuch Men as had ſate at Table with the *Apoſtles* (many of which *Chriſt* hath profeſt, yea though they had caſt out Devils in his Name, he will not know at the laſt Day) by this Means they loſt their Time, and truanted in the fundamental Grounds of ſaving Knowledge, as was ſeen ſhortly by their Writings. *Laſtly*, for *Irenæus*, we have Cauſe to think him leſs judicious in his Reports from hand to hand of what the *Apoſtles* did, when we find him ſo negligent in keeping the *Faith* which they writ, as to ſay in his third Book againſt Hereſies, that the Obedience of *Mary* was the Cauſe of Salvation to her ſelf and all Mankind, and in his fifth Book, that as *Eve* was ſeduc'd to fly *God*, ſo the Virgin *Mary* was perſwaded to obey *God*, that the Virgin *Mary* might be made the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*. Thus if *Irenæus*, for his nearneſs to the *Apoſtles*, muſt be the Patron of *Epiſcopacy* to us, it is no Marvel, though he be the Patron of *Idolatry* to the Papiſt for the ſame Cauſe. To the Epiſtle of thoſe Brethren of *Smyrna*, that write the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus*, and ſtile him an Apoſtolical and Prophetical Doctor, and Biſhop of the Church in *Smyrna*, I could be content to give ſome Credit for the great Honour and Affection which I ſee thoſe Brethren bear him, and not undeſervedly, if it be true, which they there ſay, that he was a Prophet, and had a Voice from Heaven to comfort him at his Death, which they could hear, but the reſt could not for the Noiſe and Tumult that was in the Place, and beſides, if his Body were ſo precious to the Chriſtians, that he was never wont to pull off his Shooes for one or other that ſtill ſtrove to have the Office, that they might come to touch his Feet, yet a light Scruple or two I would gladly be reſolv'd in; if *Polycarpus* (who, as they ſay, was a *Prophet* that never fail'd in what he foretold) had declar'd to his Friends, that he knew by Viſion, he ſhould die no other Death then Burning, how it came to paſs, that the Fire, when it came to Proof, would not do his Work, but ſtarting off like a full Sail from the Maſt, did but reflect a golden Light upon his unviolated Limbs, exhaling ſuch a ſweet Odour, as if all the Incenſe of *Arabia* had been burning, inſomuch that the when Bill-men ſaw that the Fire was over-aw'd, and could not do the Deed, one of them ſteps to him, and ſtabs him with a Sword, at which Wound ſuch Abundance of Blood guſh'd forth as quench'd the Fire. By all this Relation it appears not how the Fire was guilty of his Death,

and

and then how can his Propheſy be fulfill'd? Next, how the Standers by could be ſo ſoon weary of ſuch a glorious Sight and ſuch a fragrant Smell, as to haſten the Executioner to put out the Fire with the Martyrs Blood, unleſs perhaps they thought, as in all Perfumes, that the Smoke would be more odorous then the Flame? Yet theſe good Brethren ſay, he was Biſhop of *Smyrna*. No Man queſtions it, if Biſhop and *Presbyter* were anciently all one, and how does it appear by any thing in this Teſtimony that they were not? If among his other high Titles of Prophetical, Apoſtolical and moſt Admired of thoſe Times, he be alſo ſtyl'd Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna* in a kind of Speech, which the *Rhetoricians* call κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for his Excellence ſake, as being the moſt famous of all the *Smyrnian Presbyters*, it cannot be prov'd neither from this nor that other Place of *Irenæus*, that he was therefore in diſtinct and monarchial Order above the other *Presbyters*, it is more probable, that if the whole *Presbytery* had been as renown'd as he, they would have term'd every one of them ſeverally Biſhop of *Smyrna*. Hence it is that we read ſometimes of two Biſhops in one Place, and had all the *Presbyters* there been of like Worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accoſts us next (for *Polycrates* hath had his Anſwer) whoſe Teſtimony, ſtate but the Queſtion right, is of no more Force to deduce *Epiſcopacy* then the two former. He ſays, that the Church of *Smyrna* had *Polycarpus* plac'd there by *John*, and the Church of *Rome Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*, and ſo the reſt of the Churches did ſhew what Biſhops they had receiv'd by the Appointment of the *Apoſtles*. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture, that Biſhops or *Presbyters*, which were the ſame, were left by the *Apoſtles* in every Church, and they might perhaps give ſome ſpecial Charge to *Clement* or *Polycarpus* or *Linus*, and put ſome ſpecial Truſt in them for the Experience they had of their Faith and Conſtancy; it remains yet to be evinc'd out of this and the like Places, which will never be, that the Word Biſhop is otherwiſe taken, then in the Language of St. *Paul* and the *Acts*, for an Order above *Presbyters*. We grant them Biſhops, we grant them worthy Men, we grant them Plac'd in ſeveral Churches by the *Apoſtles*, we grant that *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* affirms this, but that they were plac'd in a ſuperiour Order above the *Presbytery*, ſhew from all theſe Words why we ſhould grant. 'Tis not enough to ſay, the *Apoſtle* left this Man Biſhop in *Rome*, and that other in *Epheſus*, but to ſhew when they altered their own Decree ſet down by St. *Paul* and made all the *Presbyters* Underlings to one Biſhop. But ſuppoſe *Tertullian* had made an Imparity where none was Originally, ſhould he move us, that goes about to prove an Imparity between God the Father, and God the Son, as theſe words import in his Book againſt *Praxeas*. The Father is the whole Subſtance, but the Son a Derivation and Portion of the whole, as he himſelf profeſſes, becauſe the Father is greater then me. Believe him now for a faithful Relater of Tradition, whom you ſee ſuch an unfaithful Expounder of the Scripture. Beſides in his Time all allowable Tradition was now loſt. For this ſame Author whom you bring to teſtifie the Ordination of *Clement* to the Biſhoprick of *Rome* by *Peter*, teſtifies alſo in the beginning of his Treatiſe concerning Chaſtity, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did then uſe to ſend forth his Edicts by the Name of *Pontifex Maximus* and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, Chief Prieſt and Biſhop of Biſhops. For ſhame then do not urge that Authority to keep up a Biſhop, that will neceſſarily ingage you to ſet up a *Pope*. As little can your Advantage be from *Hegeſippus* an Hiſtorian of the ſame time not extent but cited by *Euſebius*, his Words are, that in every City all Things ſo ſtood in his time as the Law and the *Prophets*, and our Lord did preach. If they ſtood ſo, then ſtood not Biſhops above *Presbyters*, for what our Lord and his Diſciples taught, *God* be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him:

And you may as well hope to perſwade us out of the ſame Author, that *James* the Brother of our Lord was a *Nazarite*, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the Holy of Holies, that his Food was not upon any thing that had Life, Fiſh or Fleſh, that he us'd no wollen Garments, but only Linnen, and ſo as he trifles on.

If therefore the Tradition of the Church were now grown ſo ridiculous, and diſconſenting from the Doctrin of the *Apoſtles*, even in thoſe Points which were of leaſt Moment to Mens particular Ends, how well may we be aſſur'd it was much more degenerated in point of *Epiſcopacy* and Precedency, things which could affor'd ſuch plauſible Pretences, ſuch commodious Traverſes for Ambition and Avarice to lurk behind.

Pag. 13. As for thoſe *Britain* Biſhops which you cite, take heed what you do, for our *Britain* Biſhops leſs ancient then theſe, were remarkable for nothing more then their Poverty, as *Sulp. Severus* and *Beda* can remember you of Examples good ſtore.

Pag. 16. *Laſtly* (for the fabulous *Metaphraſtes* is not worth an Anſwer) that Authority of *Clements Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his Works, and whereever it be extant, it is in Controverſy, whether it be *Clements* or no; or if it were it ſays only that St. *John* in ſome Places conſtituted Biſhops: Queſtionleſs he did, but where does *Clement* ſay he ſet them above *Presbyters*? No Man will gainſay the Conſtitution of *Biſhops*, but the raiſing them to a ſuperiour and diſtinct Order above *Presbyters*, ſeeing the Goſpel makes them one and the ſame Thing, a thouſand ſuch Allegations as theſe will not give Prelatical *Epiſcopacy*, one Chappel of Eaſe above a Pariſh Church. And thus much for this Cloud, I cannot ſay rather then Petty-fog of Witneſſes, with which Epiſcopal Men would caſt a miſt before us, to deduce their exalted *Epiſcopacy* from Apoſtolic Times. Now although, as all Men well know, it be the wonted ſhift of Error, and fond Opinion, when they find themſelves outlaw'd by the Bible, and forſaken of ſound Reaſon, to betake them with all ſpeed to their old ſtarting Hole of Tradition, and that wild and overgrown Covert of Antiquity, thinking to farm there at large Room, and find good Stabling, yet thus much their own deify'd Antiquity betrays them, to inform us, that Tradition hath had very ſeldom or never the Gift of Perſwaſion; as that which Church-Hiſtories report of thoſe *Eaſt* and *Weſtern Paſchaliſts* formerly ſpoken of, will declare, who would have thought, that *Polycarpus* on the one ſide could have err'd in what he ſaw St. *John* do, or *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome* on the other ſide, in what he or ſome of his Friends might pretend to have ſeen St. *Peter*, or St. *Paul* do, and yet neither of theſe could perſwade either when to keep *Eaſter*: The like frivolous Contention troubled the Primitive *Engliſh* Churches, while *Colmanus* and *Wilfride* on either ſide deducing their Opinions, the one from the undeniable Example of St. *John*, and the learned Biſhop *Anatolius*, and *Laſtly*, the Miraculous *Columba*: The other from St. *Peter*, and the *Nicene* Councel could gain no Ground each of other till King *Oſwy* perceiving no Likelihood of ending the Controverſy that way, was feign to decide it himſelf, good King, with that ſmall Knowledge, wherewith thoſe Times had furniſht him. So when thoſe pious *Greek Emperours* began, as *Cedrenus* relates, to put down Monks, and aboliſh Images, the old Idolaters finding themſelves blaſted, and driven back by the prevailing Light of the Scripture, ſent out their ſturdy *Monks* call'd the *Akrantites*, to alledge for Images the ancient Fathers *Dionyſius*, and this our objected *Irenæus*, nay they were ſo high flown in their Antiquity, that they undertook to bring the *Apoſtles*, and *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*, yea *Chriſt* himſelf, from certain Records that were then current to Patronize their Idolatry, yet for all this the worthy Emperour *Theophilus*, even in thoſe dark Times choſe rather to nouriſh himſelf and his People, with the ſincere Milk of the *Goſpel*, then to drink from the mixt Confluence of ſo many corrupt and poyſonous Waters, as Tradition

on would have perſwaded him to by moſt ancient ſeeming Authorities: In like manner all the reformed Churches abroad, unthroning *Epiſcopacy* doubtleſs were not Ignorant of theſe Teſtimonies alledg'd to draw it in a Line from the *Apoſtles* days; for ſurely the Author will not think he hath brought us now any new Authorities, or Conſiderations into the World, which the Reformers in other Places were not advis'd of, and yet we ſee, the Intereceſſion of all theſe Apoſtolic Fathers could not prevail with them to alter their reſolved Decree of reducing into Order their uſurping and over-provender'd *Epiſcopants*: And *God* hath bleſt their Work this hundred Years, with a proſperous and ſtedfaſt and ſtill happy Succeſs. And this may ſerve to prove the inſufficiency of theſe preſent *Epiſcopal* Teſtimonies not only in themſelves, but in the Account of thoſe ever that have been the Followers of Truth. It will next behoove us to conſider the Inconvenience we fall into, by uſing our ſelves to be guided by theſe kind of Teſtimonies. He that thinks it the Part of a well learned Man, to have read diligently the ancient Stories of the Church, and to be no ſtranger in the Volums of the Fathers, ſhall have all Judicious Men conſenting with him; not hereby to controul, and new fangle the Scripture, *God* forbid, but to mark how Corruption and *Apoſtacy* crept in by degrees, and to gather up, where ever we find the remaining Sparks of Original Truth, wherewith to ſtop the Mouths of our Adverſaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly paſs by that which is Orthodoxal in them, and ſtudiouſly cull out that which is commentitious, and beſt for their turns, not weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture, but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers, if we therefore, making firſt the Goſpel our Rule and Oracle, ſhall take the good which we light on in the Fathers, and ſet it to oppoſe the Evil which other Men ſeek from them, in this way of Skirmiſh we ſhall eaſily maſter all Superſtition and falſe Doctrin; but if we turn this our diſcreet and wary Uſage of them, into a blind Devotion towards them, and whatſoever we find written by them, we both forſake our own Grounds and Reaſons which led us at firſt to part from *Rome*, that is to hold to the Scriptures againſt all Antiquity; we remove our Cauſe into our Adverſaries own Court, and take up there thoſe caſt Principles which will ſoon cauſe us to ſoder up with them again, in as much as believing Antiquity for it ſelf in any one Point, we bring an Ingagement upon our ſelves of aſſenting to all that it charges upon us. For ſuppoſe we ſhould now, neglecting that which is clear in Scripture, that a Biſhop and *Presbyter* is all one both in Name and Office, and that what was done by *Timothy* and *Titus* executing an extraordinary Place, as Fellow Labourers with the *Apoſtles*, and of a univerſal Charge in planting Chriſtianity through divers Regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily Example, ſuppoſe, that neglecting this Clearneſs of the Text, we ſhould by the uncertain and corrupted Writings of ſucceeding Times, determine, that Biſhop and *Presbyter* are different, becauſe we dare not deny what *Ignatius*, or rather the *Perkin Warbeck* of *Ignatius* ſays, then muſt we be conſtrain'd to take upon our ſelves a thouſand Superſtitions and Falſities which the Papiſt will prove us down in from as good Authorities and as Ancient, as theſe that ſet a Biſhop above a *Presbyter*. And the plain Truth is, that when any of our Men, of thoſe that are wedded to Antiquity, come to diſpute with a Papiſt, and leaving the Scriptures, put themſelves without Appeal to the Sentence of *Synods* and Councels, uſing in the Cauſe of *Sion* the hir'd Souldiery of revolted *Iſrael*, where they give the *Romaniſt* one Buff, they receive two counter-Buffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true Biſhop ſhould be afraid to conquer in his Cauſe by ſuch Authorities as theſe, which if we admit for the Authorities ſake, we open a broad Paſſage for a multitude of Doctrins, that have no Ground in Scripture, to break in upon us.

Lastly, I do not know, it being undeniable, that there are but two Ecclesiastical Orders, Bishops and Deacons mention'd in the *Gospel*, how it can be less then Impiety to make a Demur at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting and parallelling the sacred Verity of St. *Paul* with the Offals and Sweepings of Antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly; as *Epicurus*'s Atoms to patch up a *Leucippean Ignatius*, enclining rather to make this Phantasm an Expounder, or indeed a Depraver of St. *Paul*, then St. *Paul* an Examiner and Discoverer of this Impostorship, nor caring how slightly they put off the Verdict of holy Text unsalv'd, that says plainly there be but Two Orders, so they maintain the Reputation of their imaginary Doctor that proclaims Three: Certainly, if *Christ's* Apostle have set down but Two, then according to his own Words, though he himself should unsay it, and not only the Angel of *Smyrna*, but an Angel from Heaven should bear us down that there be Three, St. *Paul* has doom'd him twice, let him be accur'st, for *Christ* hath pronounc'd that no Tittle of his Word shall fall to the Ground, and if one Jot be alterable it is as possible that all should perish; And this shall be our *Righteousness*, our ample Warrant, and strong Assurance both now and at the last day never to be asham'd of, against all the heaped Names of Angels and Martyrs, Councels and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our selves up to be taught by the pure and living Precept of *Gods* Word only, which without more Additions, nay with a forbidding of them hath within it self the Promise of eternal Life, the End of all our wearisom Labours, and all our sustaining Hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his *Ephod* and *Teraphim* of Antiquity, against the Brightness and Perfection of the *Gospel*, let him fear least he and his *Baal* be turn'd into *Bosheth*. And thus much may suffice to shew that the pretended *Episcopacy* cannot be deduced from the *Apostolical* Times.

The END.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON THE

Remonstrants Defence

AGAINST

SMECTYMNUUS.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

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THE PREFACE.

ALthough it be a certain Truth, that they who undertake a Religious Cauſe need not Care to be Men-pleaſers; yet becauſe the Satisfaction of tender and mild Conſciences is far different from that which is call'd Men pleaſing, to ſatisfie ſuch, I ſhall addreſs my Self in few Words to give Notice before-hand of ſomething in this Book, which to ſome Men perhaps may ſeem Offenſive, that when I have rendred a lawful Reaſon of what is done, I may truſt to have ſav'd the Labour of defending or excuſing hereafter. We all know, that in private and perſonal Injuries, yea, in publick Sufferings for the cauſe of Chriſt, his Rule and Example teaches us to be ſo far from a Readineſs to ſpeak Evil, as not to anſwer the Reviler in his Language, though never ſo much provok'd. Yet in the detecting and convincing of any notorious Enemy to Truth and his Countries Peace, eſpecially that is conceited to have a voluble and ſmart Fluence of Tongue, and in the vain Confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious Cling to worldly Reſpects, ſtands up for all the reſt to juſtifie a long Uſurpation and convicted Pſeudepiſcopy of Prelates, with all their Ceremonies, Liturgies and Tyrannies which God and Man are now ready to explode and hiſs out of the Land, I ſuppoſe, and more then ſuppoſe, it will be nothing diſagreeing from Chriſtian Meekneſs to handle ſuch a one in a rougher Accent, and to ſend home his Haughtineſs well beſpurted with his own Holy-Water. Nor to do thus are we Unauthoritied, either from the moral Precept of Solomon to anſwer him thereafter that prides him in his Folly; nor from the Example of Chriſt and all his Followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of thoſe that reſiſted ſound Doctrin, and by ſubtle Diſſimulations corrupted the Minds of Men, have wrought up their zealous Soul's into ſuch Vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly ſpoken; for who can be a greater Enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous Deceiver, then he who defending a Traditional Corruption uſes no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yielding to the Time a greater Part of his Cauſe, ſeeming to forego all that Mans Invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his Hold in Scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd Thread, not from divine Command, but from Apoſtolical Prudence or Aſſent, as if he had the Surety of ſome reuling Trench, creeps up by this Means to his relinquiſh'd Fortreſs of divine Authority again, and ſtill hovering between the Confines of that which he dares not be openly, and that which he will not be ſincerely, trains on the eaſy Chriſtian inſenſibly within the cloſe Ambuſhment of worſt Errors, and with a ſly Shuffle of counterfeit Principles chopping and changing till he have gleaned all the good ones out if their Minds, leaves them at laſt, after a ſlight reſemblance of ſweeping and garniſhing under the ſevenfold Poſſeſſion of a deſperate Stupidity. And therefore they that love the Souls of Men, which is the deareſt Love, and ſtirs up the nobleſt Jealouſie, when they meet with ſuch Colluſion, cannot be blam'd though they be tranſported with the Zeal of Truth to a well heated Fervency: eſpecially, ſeeing they which thus offend againſt the Souls of their Brethren, do it with Delight to their great Gain, Eaſe and Advancement in this World, but they that ſeek to diſcover and oppoſe their falſe Trade of Deceiving, do it not without a ſad and unwilling Anger, not without many Hazards, but without all private and perſonal Spleen, and without any thought of Earthly Reward, whenas this very Courſe they take, ſtops their hopes of Aſcending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this Life. And although in the ſerious uncaſing of a grand Impoſture (for to deal plainly with you Readers, Prelacy is no better) there be mixt here and there ſuch a grim Laughter, as may appear at the ſame time in an auſtere Viſage, it cannot be taxt of Levity or Inſolence: For even this Vein of Laughter (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a ſtrong and ſinewy Force in Teaching and Confuting; nor can there be a more proper Object of Indignation and Scorn together, then a falſe Prophet taken in the greateſt, deareſt and moſt dangerous Cheat, the Cheat of Souls: In the diſcloſing whereof if it be harmful to be Angry, and withal to caſt a lowring Smile, when the propereſt Object calls for both, it will be long enough e're any be able to ſay why theſe two moſt rational Faculties of human Intellect, Anger and Laughter were firſt ſeated in the Breaſt of Man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the ſofter ſpirited Chriſtian, for other Exceptioners there was no thought taken. Only, if it be aſk'd why this cloſe and ſuccinct manner of coping with the Adverſary was rather choſen, this was the Reaſon chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader without further amuſing himſelf in the Labyrinth of controverſal Antiquity, may come the ſpeedieſt way to ſee the Truth vindicated, and Sophiſtry taken ſhort at the firſt falſe Bound. Next, that the Remonſtrant himſelf as oft as he pleaſes to be Frolick and brave it out with others, may find no Gain of Money, and may learn not to inſult in ſo bad a Cauſe. But now he begins.

JOHN MILTON.

ANIMAD-

ANIMADVERSIONS
UPON THE
Remonstrants Defence,
AGAINST
SMECTYMNUUS.

Remonſtrant.

Sect. 1. p. 1. MY ſingle *Remonſtrance* is encountred with a plural *Adverſary*.

Anſwer.

Did not your ſingle *Remonſtrance* bring along with it a hot Scent of your more then ſingular Affection to ſpiritual Pluralities, your ſingleneſs would be leſs ſuſpected with all good Chriſtians then it is.

Remonſt. Their Names, Perſons, Qualities, Numbers, I care not to know.

Anſw. Their Names are known to the all-knowing Power above, and in the mean while doubtleſs they wreck not whether you or your *Nomenclator* know them or not.

Remonſt. But could they ſay my Name is *Legion*; for we are many.

Anſw. Wherefore ſhould you begin with the Devils Name deſcanting upon the number of your Opponents? Wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a By-wipe? Was it becauſe you would have Men take notice how you eſteem them, whom through all your Book ſo bountifully you call your Brethren? We had not thought, that *Legion* could have furniſht the *Remonſtrant* with ſo many Brethren.

Remonſt. My Cauſe, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undiſmay'd, &c.

Anſw. 'Ere a foot further we muſt be content to hear a preambling Boaſt of your Valour, what a St. *Dunſtan* you are to encounter *Legions*, either Infernal or Human.

Remonſt. My Cauſe, yea Gods.

Anſw. What Gods? Unleſs your Belly or the God of this World be he? Shew us any one Point of your *Remonſtrance* that do's not more concern Superiority, Pride, Eaſe and the Belly, then the Truth and Glory of God, or the Salvation of Souls.

Remonſt. My Cauſe, yea Gods, would bid me meet them undiſmay'd, and to ſay with Holy *David, though an Hoſt*, &c.

Anſw. Do not think to perſwade us of your undaunted Courage by miſapplying to your ſelf the Words of Holy *David*; we know you fear and are in an Agony at this preſent, leaſt you ſhould loſe that Superfluity of Riches and Honour which your Party uſurp. And whoſoever covets and ſo earneſtly labours to keep ſuch an incumbring Surcharge of earthly Things cannot but have an Earth-quake ſtill in his Bones. You are not arm'd *Remonſtrant*, nor any of your Band, you are not dieted, nor your Loins girt for ſpiritual Valour and Chriſtian Warfare, the Luggage is too great that follows your Camp; your Hearts are there, you march heavily. How ſhall we think

think you have not carnal Fear while we ſee you ſo ſubject to carnal Deſires.

Remonſt. I do gladly fly to the Bar. Pag. 2

Anſw. To the Bar with him then. Gladly you ſay. We believe you as gladly as your whole Faction wiſh'd and long'd for the Aſſembling of this Parliament, as gladly as your Beneficiaries the *Prieſts* came up to anſwer the Complaints and Outcries of all the Shires.

Remonſt. The *Areopagi?* Who were thoſe? Truly my Maſters I had thought this had been the Name of the Place, not of the Men.

Anſw. A ſoar-Eagle, would not ſtoop at a Fly, but ſure ſome *Pedagogue* ſtood at your Elbow and made it itch, with this parlous Criticiſm they urg'd you with a Decree of the ſage and ſevere Judges of *Athens*, and you cite them to appear for certain *Paragogical* Contempts, before a Capricious *Pædanty* of Hot-liver'd Grammarians. Miſtake not the Matter, courteous *Remonſtrant*, they were not making *Latins*: If in dealing with an out-landiſh Name they thought it beſt not to ſcrew the *Engliſh* Mouth to a harſh foreign Termination, ſo they kept the radical Word, they did no more then the eleganteſt Authors among the *Greeks*, *Romans* and at this Day the *Italians* in ſcorn of ſuch a Servility uſe to do. Remember how they mangle our *Britiſh* Names abroad; what Treſpaſs were it, if we in Requital ſhould as much neglect theirs? And our learned *Chaucer* did not ſtick to do ſo, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaræus*, K. *Sejes* for K. *Ceyx* the Husband of *Alcyone*, with many other Names ſtrangly Metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any Account of that in theſe kind of Words.

Remonſt. Leaſt the World ſhould think the Preſs had of late forgot to ſpeak any Language other then Libellous, this honeſt Paper hath broken through the Throng. At the beginning of his *Remonſtrance.*

Anſw. Mince the Matter while you will, it ſhew'd but green Practice in the Laws of diſcreet *Rhethoric* to blurt upon the Ears of the judicious *Parliament* with ſuch a preſumptuous and over-weening *Proem*: But you do well to be the Sewer of your own Meſs.

Remonſt. That which you miſcal the Preface, was a too Juſt Complaint of the ſhameful Number of Libels.

Anſw. How long is it that you and the Prelatical Troop have been in ſuch Diſtaſt with Libels? Ask your *Lyſimachus Nicanor*, what defaming Invectives have lately flown abroad againſt the Subjects of *Scotland* and our poor expulſed Brethren of *New-England*, the Prelates rather applauding, then ſhewing any diſlike: And this hath been ever ſo, in ſo much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his Diſcourſes complains of the Biſhops uneven Hand over theſe Pamphlets, confining thoſe againſt Biſhops to Darkneſs, but Licenſing thoſe againſt Puritans to be utter'd openly, though with the greater Miſchief of leading into Contempt, the Exerciſe of Religion in the Perſons of ſundry Preachers, and diſgracing the higher Matter in the meaner Perſon.

Remonſt. A Point no leſs eſſential to that propoſed *Remonſtrance.*

Anſw. We know where the Show wrings you, you fret and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a Death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-vizarded, thus uncas'd, to have the Periwigs pluk'd off that cover your Baldneſs, your inſide Nakedneſs thrown open to public View. The *Romans* had a time once every Year, when their Slaves might freely ſpeak their Minds, 'twere hard if the free-born People of *England*, with whom the Voice of Truth for theſe many Years, even againſt the Proverb, hath not been heard but in Corners, after all your *Monkiſh* Prohibitions and Expurgatorious Indexes, your Gags and Snaffles, your proud *Imprimatur* not to be obtain'd without the ſhallow Surview, but not ſhallow Hand, of ſome Mercenary, narrow-Soul'd and Illitterate Chaplain; when Liberty of Speaking, then which nothing is more

ſweet

ſweet to Man, was girded and ſtraight lac'd almoſt a broken-winded Tizzick, if now at a good Time, our Time of *Parliament*, the very Jubilee and Reſurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggriev'd and long perſecuted Truth, could not be ſuffer'd ſpeak, and though ſhe burſt out with ſome Efficacy of Words, could not be excus'd after ſuch an injurious Strangle of Silence, nor avoid the Cenſure of Libelling, 'twere hard, 'twere ſomething pinching in a Kingdom of free Spirits. Some Princes and great Statiſts, have thought it a prime of Piece neceſſary Policy to thruſt themſelves under Diſguiſe into a popular Throng, to ſtand the night long under Eaves of Houſes and low Windows, that they might hear every where the free Utterances of private Breaſts and amongſt them find out the precious Gem of Truth, as amongſt the numberleſs Pibbles of the Shore; whereby they might be the abler to diſcover and avoid that deceitful and cloſe couch'd Evil of Flattery that ever attends them and miſleads them and might skilfully know how to apply the ſeveral Redreſſes to each Malady of State, without truſting the diſloyal Information of Paraſites and Sycophants: Whereas now this Permiſſion of free Writing, were there no good elſe in it, yet at ſome times thus licens'd, is ſuch an unripping, ſuch an Anatomy of the ſhieſt and tendereſt particular Truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many Points the wiſer, but alſo preſents and carries home to Princes and Men moſt remote from vulgar Concourſe, ſuch a full inſight of every lurking Evil, or reſtrained Good among the Commons, as that they ſhall not need hereafter in old Cloaks and falſe Beards, to ſtand to the Courteſy of a Night-walking Cudgeller for Eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a Perfume the over-head Emptying of ſome ſalt Lotion. Who could be angry therefore, but thoſe that are guilty, with theſe free-ſpoken and plain-hearted Men that are the Eyes of their Country and the proſpective Glaſſes their Prince? But theſe are the Nettlers, theſe are the blabbing Books that tell, though not half your Fellows Feats. You love toothleſs Satyrs; let me inform you, a toothleſs Satyr is as improper as a toothed Sleekſtone and as bulliſh.

Remonſt. I beſeech you, Brethren, ſpend your *Logic* upon your own Works.

Anſw. The peremptory *Analyſis* that you call it, I believe will be ſo hardy as once more to unpin your ſpruce faſtidious Oratory, to rumple her Laces, her Frizzles and her Bobins, though ſhe wince and fling never ſo peeviſhly.

Remonſt. Thoſe verbal Exceptions are but light Froth, and will ſink alone.

Anſw. O rare Subtilty, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dreamt of, when I beſeech you, will light things ſink? When will light Froth ſink alone. Here in your Phraſe, the ſame day that heavy Plummets will ſwim alone. Truſt this Man, Readers if you pleaſe, whoſe Divinity would reconcile *England* with *Rome*, and his Philoſophy make Friends Nature with the *Chaos*, *ſine Pondere habentia Pondus*.

Remonſt. That Scum may be worth taking off which follows.

Anſw. Spare your Ladle, Sir, it will be as bad as the Biſhops Foot in the Broth; the Scum will be found upon your own *Remonſtrance*.

Remonſt. I ſhall deſire all indifferent Eyes to judg, whether theſe Men do not endeavour to caſt unjuſt Envy upon me.

Anſw. Agreed.

Remonſt. I had ſaid, that the Civil Policy, as in general Notion, hath ſome times varied, and that the Civil came from Arbitrary Impoſers, theſe gracious Interpreters would needs draw my Words to the preſent and particular Government of our Monarchy.

Anſw. And deſervedly have they done ſo; take up your *Logic* elſe and ſee: Civil Policy, ſay you, hath ſometimes varyed and came from Arbitrary Impoſers, what Propoſition is this? Biſhop *Downam* in his *Dialecticks* will tell

tell you it is a general Axiom, though the univerſal Particle be not expreſs'd, and you your ſelf in your Defence ſo explain in theſe Words as in general Notion. Hence is juſtly inferr'd, he that ſays Civil Policy is Arbitrary, ſays, that the Civil Polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The Inference is undeniable, *à Theſi ad Hypotheſin*, or from the General to the Particular, an evincing Argument in *Logic*.

Remonſt. Brethren, whiles ye deſire to ſeem godly, learn to be leſs malitious. Pag. 5.

Anſw. Remonſtrant, till you have better learnt your Principles of *Logic*, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

Remonſt. God bleſs all good Men from ſuch Charity.

Anſw. I never found that *Logical* Maxims were uncharitable before, yet ſhould a Jury of *Logicians* paſs upon you, you would never be ſaved by the Book.

Remonſt. And our Sacred Monarchy from ſuch Friends.

Anſw. Add, as the Prelates.

Remonſt. If Epiſcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Inſolence of the Perſons, not the Fault of the Calling.

Anſw. It was the Fault of the Perſons, and of no Calling; we do not count Prelacy a Calling.

Remonſt. The Teſtimony of a Pope (whom theſe Men honour highly.) Pag. 6.

Anſw. That ſlanderous Inſertion was doubtleſs a Pang of your incredible Charity, the Want whereof you lay ſo often to their Charge: A kind Token of your Favour lapp'd up in a *Parentheſis*, a piece of the Clergy-benevolence laid by to maintain the Epiſcopal Broil, whether the 1000. Horſe or no, Time will diſcover, for certainly had thoſe Cavaliers come on to play their Parts, ſuch a Ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the Hand of a Prelate, might have been of ſpecial Uſe and Safety to them that had car'd for ſuch a Ranſom.

Remonſt. And what ſays Antichriſt?

Anſw. Ask your Brethren, the Prelates, that hold Intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichriſt now? Good News! Take heed you be not ſhent for this, for 'tis verily thought, that had this Bill been put in againſt him in your Convocation, he would have been clear'd by moſt Voices.

Remonſt. Any thing ſerves againſt Epiſcopacy.

Anſw. See the Frowardneſs of this Man, he would perſwade us, that the Succeſſion and divine Right of Biſhopdom hath been unqueſtionable through all Ages, yet when they bring againſt him Kings, they were irreligious, Popes, they are Antichriſt, by what *Æra* of Computation, through what *Fairy* Land would the Man deduce this perpetual Bed-roll of uncontradicted Epiſcopacy? The Pope may as well boaſt his ungainſay'd Authority to them that will believe that all his Contradictors were either irreligious or heretical.

Remonſt. If the Biſhops, ſaith the Pope, be declar'd to be of divine Right, they would be exempted from Regal Power, and if there might be this Danger in thoſe Kingdoms, why is this enviouſly upbraided to thoſe of ours; who do gladly profeſs, *&c.* Pag. 7.

Anſw. Becauſe your diſſever'd Principles were but like the mangl'd Pieces of a gaſh'd Serpent, that now begun to cloſe and grow together *Popiſh* again. Whatſoever you now gladly profeſs out of Fear, we know what your Drifts were when you thought your ſelves ſecure.

Remonſt. It is a foul Slander to charge the Name of Epiſcopacy with a Faction, for the Fact imputed to ſome few.

Anſw. The more foul your Faction that hath brought a harmleſs Name into Obloquy, and the Fact may juſtly be imputed to all of ye that ought to have withſtood it and did not.

Remonſt. Fie Brethren, are ye the Presbyters of the Church of *England*,

and dare challenge Epiſcopacy of Faction.

Anſw. Yes, as oft as Epiſcopacy dares be factious.

Remonſt. Had you ſpoken ſuch a Word in the time of holy *Cyprian*, what had become of you?

Anſw. They had neither been hal'd into your *Gehenna* at *Lambeth*, nor ſtrappado'd with an Oath *ex Officio* by your Bow-men of the Arches: And as for *Cyprian*'s time, the Cauſe was far unlike, he indeed ſucceeded into an Epiſcopacy that began then to Prelatize, but his perſonal Excellence, like an Antidote, overcame the Malignity of that breeding Corruption, which was then a Diſeaſe that lay hid for a while under Shew of a full and healthy Conſtitution, as thoſe hydropic Humors, not diſcernable at firſt from a fair and juicy Fleſhineſs of Body, or that unwonted ruddy Colour which ſeems graceful to a Cheek otherwiſe pale, and yet ariſes from evil Cauſes, either of ſome inward Obſtruction or Inflammation, and might deceive the firſt Phyſicians till they had learnt the Sequel, which *Cyprian*'s days did not bring forth, and the Prelatiſm of Epiſcopacy, which began then to burgeon and ſpread, had as yet, eſpecially in famous Men, a fair though a falſe Imitation of Flouriſhing.

Pag. 8. *Remonſt.* Neither is the Wrong leſs to make Application of that which was moſt juſtly charged upon the Practices and Combinations of libelling Separatiſts, whom I deſervedly cenſur'd, *&c.*

Anſw. To conclude this Section, our *Remonſtrant*, we ſee, is reſolv'd to make good that which was formerly ſaid of his Book, that it was neither *Humble* nor a *Remonſtrance*, and this his Defence is of the ſame Complection. When he is conſtrain'd to mention the notorious Violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he ſleightly terms it a Fact imputed to ſome few; but when he ſpeaks of that which the *Parliament* vouchſafes to name the *City Petition*, which I, ſaith he (as if the State had made him public Cenſor) deſervedly cenſur'd. And how? As before for a Tumultuary and under-hand Way of procured Subſcriptions, ſo now in his Defence more bitterly, as the Practices and Combinations of libelling Separatiſts and the miſ-zealous Advocates thereof, juſtly to be branded for Incendiaries. Whether this be for the Honour of our cheif City to be noted with ſuch an Infamy for a Petition, which not without ſome of the Magiſtrates, and great Numbers of ſober and conſiderable Men, was orderly and meekly preſented: Although our great Clerks think that theſe Men, becauſe they have a Trade (as *Chriſt* himſelf and St. *Paul* had) cannot therefore attain to ſome good Meaſure of Knowledge and to a Reaſon of their Actions, as well as they that ſpend their Youth in loitering, bezzling and harlotting, their Studies in unprofitable Queſtions and barbarous Sophiſtry, their middle Age in Ambition and Idleneſs, their old Age in Avarice, Dotage and Diſeaſes: And whether this reflect not with a Contumely upon the *Parliament* it ſelf, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receiving, but of voting to a Commitment, after it had been advocated and mov'd for by ſome honourable and learned Gentlemen of the Houſe, to be call'd a Combination of libelling Separatiſts, and the Advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries, whether this appeach not the Judgment and Approbation of the *Parliament*, I leave to equal Arbiters.

Sect. 2. *Remonſt.* After the overflowing of your Gall you deſcend to Liturgy and Epiſcopacy.

Anſw. The Overflow being paſt, you cannot now in your own Judgment impute any Bitterneſs to their following Diſcourſes.

Pag. 9. *Remonſt.* Dr. *Hall*, whom you name, I dare ſay for Honours ſake.

Anſw. Y'are a merry Man, Sir, and dare ſay much.

Remonſt. And why ſhould I not ſpeak of Martyrs as the Authors and Uſers of this holy Liturgy?

Anſw.

Anſw. As the Authors? The Tranſlators you might perhaps have ſaid, for *Edward* the VI. as *Hayward* hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a King, that the order of the Service, and the uſe thereof in the *Engliſh* Tongue, is no other then the old Service was, and the ſame Words in *Engliſh* which were in *Latin*, except a few things omitted, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in *Engliſh*; theſe are his Words: Whereby we are left uncertain who the Author was, but certain that part of the Work was eſteem'd ſo abſurd by the Tranſlators thereof, as was to be aſham'd of in *Engliſh*. O but the Martyrs were the Refiners of it, for that only is left you to ſay. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fiſh, though they had drawn it, and rinc'd it with never ſo cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at Variance among themſelves about the Uſe either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonſt. Slight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſs God for ſuch Patrons of our good Cauſe.

Anſw. O Benedicite! Qui Color ater erat, nunc eſt contrarius atro. Are not theſe they which one of your Biſhops in Print ſcornfully terms the *Foxian* Confeſſors? Are not theſe they whoſe Acts and Monuments are not only ſo contemptible, but ſo hateful to the *Prelates*, that their Story was almoſt come to be a prohibited *Book*, which for theſe two or three Editions hath crept into the World by ſtealth, and at times of Advantage, not without the open Regret and Vexation of the Biſhops, as many honeſt Men, that had to do in ſetting forth the *Book*, will juſtify. And now at a dead lift for your *Liturgy* you bleſs God for them: Out upon ſuch Hypocriſy.

Remonſt. As if we were bound to make good every Word that falls from the Mouth of every Biſhop. Pag. 10.

Anſw. Your Faction then belike is a ſubtile *Janus*, and has two Faces: Your bolder Face to ſet forward any Innovations or Scandals in the Church, your cautious and wary Face to diſavow them if they ſucceed not, that ſo the Fault may not light upon the Function, leaſt it ſhould ſpoil the whole Plot by giving it an irrecoverable Wound. Wherefore elſe did you not long ago, as a good Biſhop ſhould have done, diſclaim and proteſt againſt them, wherefore have you ſat ſtill, and comply'd and hoodwink'd, till the general Complaints of the Land have ſqueez'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted Confeſſion of ſome Prelatical Riots both in this and other Places of your *Book*. Nay what if you ſtill defend them as follows?

Remonſt. If a Biſhop have ſaid that our *Liturgy* hath been ſo wiſely and charitably fram'd, as that the Devotion of it yieldeth no Cauſe of Offence to a very *Popes* Ear.

Anſw. O new and never-heard of Superarogative Heighth of Wiſdom and Charity in our *Liturgy!* Is the wiſdom of God or the charitable framing of Gods Word otherwiſe inoffenſive to the *Popes* Ear, then as he may turn it to the working of his myſterious Iniquity? A little Pully would have ſtretch'd your wiſe and charitable Frame it may be three Inches further, that the Devotion of it might have yielded no Cauſe of Offence to the very Devils Ear, and that had been the ſame Wiſdom and Charity ſurmounting to the higheſt Degree. For *Antichriſt* we know is but the Devils Vicar, and therefore pleaſe him with your *Liturgy*, and you pleaſe his Maſter.

Remonſt. Would you think it requiſite that we ſhould chide and quarrel when we ſpeak to the God of Peace?

Anſw. Fie, no Sir; but forecaſt our Prayers ſo that Satan and his Inſtruments may take as little Exception againſt them, as may be, leaſt they ſhould chide and quarrel with us.

Remonſt. It is no little Advantage to our Cauſe and Piety, that our *Liturgy* is taught to ſpeak ſeveral Languages for Uſe and Example.

Anſw. The Language of *Aſhdod* is one of them, and that makes ſo many *Engliſh*-Men have ſuch a ſmattering of their *Philiſtian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgy* hath run up and down the World like an *Engliſh* galloping *Nun*, proffering her ſelf, but we hear of none yet that bids Money for her.

Remonſt. As for that ſharp Cenſure of Learned Mr. *Calvin*, it might well have been forborn by him in *Aliena Republica.*

Anſw. Thus this Untheological *Remonſtrant* would divide the individual Catholic Church into ſeveral Republicks: Know therefore, that every worthy *Paſtor* of the Church of *Chriſt* hath univerſal Right to admoniſh over all the World within the Church; nor can that Care be alien'd from him by any Diſtance or Diſtinction of Nation, ſo long as in Chriſt all Nations and Languages are as one Houſhold.

Pag. 11. *Remonſt.* Neither would you think it could become any of our greateſt Divines to meddle with his Charge.

Anſw. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle ſo maliciouſly, as many of them have done, though that Patient and Chriſtian City hath born hitherto all their profane Scoffs with Silence.

Remonſt. Our *Liturgy* paſt the Judgment of no leſs reverent Heads then his own.

Anſw. It brib'd their Judgment with worldly Ingagements and ſo paſt it.

Remonſt. As for that unparallel'd Diſcourſe concerning the Antiquity of *Liturgies*; I cannot help your Wonder, but ſhall juſtify mine own Aſſertion.

Anſw. Your Juſtification is but a miſerable ſhifting off thoſe Teſtimonies of the Ancienteſt Fathers alledg'd againſt you, and the Authority of ſome Synodal Canons, which are no Warrant to us. We profeſs to decide our Controverſies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repreſs your vain Glory, there will be voluntarily beſtow'd upon you a ſufficient Conviction of your Novelties out of ſucceeding Antiquity.

Pag. 12. *Remonſt.* I cannot ſee how you will avoid your own Contradiction, for I demand, is this Order of Praying and Adminiſtration ſet or no, if it be not ſet, how is it an Order, and if it be a ſet Order both for Matter and Form.

Anſw. Remove that Form, leaſt you tumble over it, while you make ſuch haſt to clap a Contradiction upon others.

Remonſt. If the Forms were meerly Arbitrary, to what Uſe was the Preſcription of an Order?

Anſw. Nothing will cure this Mans Underſtanding, but ſome familiar and kitchin-Phyſic; which, with Pardon, muſt for Plainneſs ſake be adminiſtered to him. Call hither your Cook. The Order of Breakfaſt, Dinner and Supper, Anſwer me, is it ſet or no? Set. Is a Man therefore bound in the Morning to potcht Eggs and Vinegar, or at Noon to Brawn or Beef, or at Night to freſh Sammon and *French* Kickſhoes? May he not make his Meals in Order, though he be not bound to this, or that Viand? Doubtleſs the neat finger'd Artiſt will anſwer, yes, and help us out of this great Controverſy without more Trouble. Can we not underſtand an Order in Church-aſſemblies of praying, reading, expounding and adminiſtring, unleſs our Prayers be ſtill the ſame Cramb of Words?

Remonſt. What a poor Exception is this, that *Liturgies* were compos'd by ſome particular Men?

Anſw. It is a greater Preſumption in any particular Men to arrogate to themſelves that which God univerſally gives to all his Miniſters. A Miniſter that cannot be truſted to Pray in his own Words without being chew'd to, and feſcu'd to a formal Injunction of his rote-Leſſon, ſhould as little be truſted to Preach, beſides the vain Babble of Praying over the ſame things immediately again, for there is a large Difference in the Repetition of ſome Pathetical Ejaculation rais'd out of the ſudden Earneſtneſs and Vigour of the inflam'd Soul (ſuch as was that of *Chriſt* in the Garden) from the continual

Re-

Reherſal of our daily Oriſons, which if a Man ſhall kneel down in a Morning and ſay over, and preſently in another part of the Room kneel down again, and in other Words ask but ſtill for the ſame Things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot ſee how he will eſcape that *Heatheniſh* Battology of multiplying Words which *Chriſt* himſelf, that has the putting up of our Prayers told us, would not be acceptable in Heaven. Well may Men of eminent Gifts, ſet forth as many Forms and Helps to Prayer as they pleaſe, but to impoſe them upon Miniſters lawfully call'd and ſufficiently try'd, as all ought to be, 'ere they be admitted, is a ſupercilious Tyranny, impropriating the Spirit of God to themſelves.

Remonſt. Do we abridge this Liberty by ordaining a public Form. Pag. 13.

Anſw. Your Biſhops have ſet as fair to do it as they durſt for that old *Phariſaical* Fear that ſtill dogs them, the Fear of the People, though you will ſay you were none of thoſe, ſtill you would ſeem not to have joyn'd with the worſt, and yet keep alooff off from that which is beſt. I would you would either mingle or part, moſt true it is what *Savanarola* complains, that while he endeavour'd to reform the Church, his greateſt Enemies were ſtill theſe lukewarm ones?

Remonſt. And if the Lords Prayer be an ordinary and ſtinted Form, why not others?

Anſw. Becauſe there be no other Lords that can ſtint with like Authority.

Remonſt. If *Juſtin Martyr* ſaid that the Inſtructer of the People pray'd (as they falſly turn it) according to his Ability. Pag. 14.

Anſw. Ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ will be ſo render'd to the Worlds End, by thoſe that are not to learn *Greek* of the *Remonſtrants*, and ſo *Langus* renders it to his Face, if he could ſee, and this Ancient Father mentions no *Antiphonies*, or *Reſponſories* of the People here, but the only plain Acclamation of *Amen*.

Remonſt. The Inſtructer of the People pray'd according to his Ability, 'tis true, ſo do ours, and yet we have a *Liturgy*, and ſo had they.

Anſw. A quick Come-off. The Ancient us'd Pikes and Targets, and therefore Guns and great Ordnance, becauſe we uſe both.

Remonſt. Neither is this Liberty of powring out our ſelves in our Prayers ever the more impeach'd by a public Form.

Anſw. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious Number of *Liturgical* Tautologoes and Impertinencies.

Remonſt. The Words of the Councel are full and affirmative. Pag. 16.

Anſw. Set the grave Councels up upon their ſhelves again, and ſtring them hard, leaſt their various and jangling Opinions put their Leaves into a Flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot Seaſon to bid you the baſe through the wide and duſty Champain of the Councels; but ſhall take Councel of that which counſel'd them, Reaſon: And although I know there is an obſolete Reprehenſion now at your Tongues end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay, that Reaſon is the Gift of God in one Man as well as in a Thouſand; by that which we have taſted already of their Ciſterns, we may find that Reaſon was the only thing, and not any Divine Command, that mov'd them to enjoyn ſet Forms of *Liturgy*. *Firſt*, leaſt any thing in general might be miſſay'd in their public *Prayers* through Ignorance or want of Care, contrary to the Faith: And *Next*, leaſt the *Arians* and *Pelagians* in particular ſhould infect the People by their Hymns and Forms of Prayer. By the Leave of theſe Ancient Fathers, this was no ſolid Prevention of ſpreading Hereſy to debar the Miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt Talent, Prayer in the Congregation, unleſs they had forbid the Uſe of Sermons and Lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their Hands as our Homilies, or elſe, he that was heretically diſpos'd, had as fair an Opportunity of infecting in his Diſcourſe, as in his Prayer or Hymn. As inſufficiently, and to ſay Truth, as imprudently, did they provide by their contrived *Liturgies*, leaſt any thing ſhould be erroneouſly pray'd through Ignorance

norance or Want of Care in the Miniſters. For if they were careleſs and ignorant in their Prayers, certainly they would be more careleſs in their Preaching, and yet more careleſs in Watching over their Flock, and what Preſcription could reach to bound them in both theſe? What if Reaſon now illuſtrated by the Word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better Prevention then theſe Councels have left us againſt Hereſy, Ignorance or Want of Care in the Miniſtry, that ſuch Wiſdom and Diligence be us'd in the Education of thoſe that would be Miniſters, and ſuch ſtrict and ſerious Examination to be undergon 'ere their Admiſſion as St. *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large, and then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy Suſpicion over the Preachers of Gods Word, as to tutour their Unſoundneſs with the Abcy of a *Liturgy*, or to diet their Ignorance and Want of Care, with the limited Draught of a Mattin, and even Song-drench, and this may ſuffice after all your labourſom Scrutiny of the Councels.

Pag. 17. *Remonſt.* Our Saviour was pleas'd to make uſe in the Celebration of his laſt and heavenly Banket, both of the Faſhions and Words which were uſual in the *Jewiſh* Feaſts.

Anſw. What he pleas'd to make uſe of, does not juſtify what you pleaſe to force.

Remonſt. The ſet Forms of Prayer at the *Mincha*.

Anſw. We will not buy your Rabbinical Fumes, we have one that calls us to buy of him pure Gold try'd in the fire.

Remonſt. In the *Samaritan* Chronicle.

Anſw. As little do we eſteem your *Samaritan* Trumpery, of which People *Chriſt* himſelf teſtifies, *Ye worſhip you know not what*.

Pag. 18. *Remonſt.* They had their ſeveral Songs.

Anſw. And ſo have we our ſeveral Pſalms for ſeveral Occaſions, without Gramercy to your *Liturgy*.

Pag. 19. *Remonſt.* Thoſe Forms which we have under the Names of St. *James*, &c. Though they have ſome Interſertions which are plainly ſpurious, yet the Subſtance of them cannot be taxt for other then Holy and Ancient.

Anſw. Setting aſide the odd Coinage of your Phraſe, which no Mint-maſter of Language would allow for Sterling, that a thing ſhould be taxt for no other then Holy and Ancient, let it be ſuppos'd the Subſtance of them may ſavour of ſomething Holy or Ancient, this is but the Matter; the Form and the End of the Thing may yet render it either ſuperſtitious, fruitleſs or impious, and ſo, worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the ſame materially, that cloath a chaſt Matron, and yet ignominious for her to wear, the Subſtance of the Tempters Words to our Saviour were holy, but his Driſt nothing leſs.

Remonſt. In what Senſe we hold the *Roman* a true Church, is ſo clear'd, that this Iron is too hot for their Fingers.

Anſw. have a care it be not the Iron to ſear your own Conſcience.

Pag. 23. *Remonſt.* Ye need not doubt but that the Alteration of the *Liturgy*, will be conſidered by wiſer Heads then your own.

Anſw. We doubt it not becauſe we know your Head looks to be one.

Remonſt. Our *Liturgy* Symbolizeth not with *Popiſh* Maſs, neither as Maſs nor as *Popiſh*.

Anſw. A pretty ſlip-skin Conveyance to ſift Maſs into no Maſs and *Popiſh* into not *Popiſh*; yet ſaving this paſſing fine Sophiſtical boulting Hutch, ſo long as ſhe ſymbolizes in Form, and pranks her ſelf in the Weeds of *Popiſh* Maſs, it may be juſtly fear'd ſhe provokes the Jealouſy of God, no otherwiſe then a Wife, affecting whoriſh Attire, kindles a Diſturbance in the Eye of her diſcerning Husband.

Pag. 24. *Remonſt.* If I find Gold in the Channel; ſhall I throw it away becauſe it was ill laid?

Anſw.

Anſw. You have forgot that Gold hath been Anathematiz'd for the idolatrous Uſe, and to eat the good Creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in St. *Pauls* Account to have Fellowſhip with Devils, and to partake of the Devils Table. And thus you throttle your ſelf with your own Similies.

Remonſt. If the Devils confeſt the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaim that Truth?

Anſw. You ſifted not ſo clean before, but you ſhuffle as foully now: As if there were the like neceſſity of confeſſing Chriſt, and uſing the *Liturgy*: We do not diſclaim that Truth; becauſe we never believ'd it for his Teſtimony, but we may well reject a *Liturgy* which had no being that we can know of, but from the corrupteſt Times; if therefore the Devil ſhould be given never ſo much to *Prayer*, I ſhould not therefore ceaſe from that Duty, becauſe I learn'd it from him; but if he would commend to me a new *Pater Noſter*, though never ſo ſeeming Holy, he ſhould excuſe me the Form which was his, but the Matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I be ſaid to take it from him. 'Tis not the Goodneſs of Matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgy*, that will bear it out, if the Form, which is the Eſſence of it be fantaſtic and ſuperſtitious, the end ſiniſter, and the Impoſition violent.

Remonſt. Had it been compoſed into this Frame on purpoſe to bring Papiſts to our Churches.

Anſw. To bring them to our Churches? Alas what was that? Unleſs they had been firſt fitted by Repentance and right Inſtruction. You'l ſay the Word was there preach'd which is the Means of Converſion; you ſhould have given ſo much Honour then to the Word preach'd, as to have left it to Gods working without the Interloping of a *Liturgy* baited for them to bite at.

Remonſt. The Project hath been Charitable and Gracious.

Anſw. It was Phariſaical and Vain-glorious, a greedy Deſire to win Proſelites by conforming to them unlawfully, like the deſire of *Tamar*, who to raiſe up Seed to her Husband, ſet in the common Road, dreſt like a *Curtezan*, and he that came to her committed Inceſt with her. This was that which made the old Chriſtians Paganize, while by their ſcandalous and baſe Conforming to Heatheniſm they did no more, when they had done their utmoſt, but bring ſome *Pagans* to Chriſtianize; for true Chriſtians they neither were themſelves, nor could make others ſuch in this Faſhion.

Remonſt. If there be found ought in *Liturgy* that may indanger a Scandal, it is under careful Hands to remove it. Pag. 25.

Anſw. Such careful Hands as have ſhown themſelves ſooner bent to remove and expel the Men from the Scandals, then the Scandals from the Men, and to loſe a Soul rather then a Syllable or a Surplice.

Remonſt. It is Idoliz'd they ſay in *England*, they mean at *Amſterdam*.

Anſw. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

Remonſt. Multitudes of People they ſay diſtaſt it, more ſhame for thoſe that have ſo miſtaught them.

Anſw. More ſhame for thoſe that regard not the Troubling of Gods Church with things by themſelves confeſt to be Indifferent, ſince true Charity is afflicted, and burns at the Offence of every little one. As for the Chriſtian Multitude, which you affirm to be ſo miſtaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaim never ſo long to the contrary, that God hath now taught them to deteſt your *Liturgy* and *Prelacy*: God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your Hands that hunt and worry their Souls: Hence is it that a Man ſhall commonly find more ſavoury Knowledg in one Lay-man, then in a dozen of Cathedral *Prelates*, as we read in our Saviours Time that the common People had a reverent Eſteem of him, and held him a great Prophet whilſt the gown'd *Rabbies*, the incom-

parable

parable and invincible Doctors were of Opinion that he was a Friend of *Beelzebub.*

Pag. 26. *Remonſt.* If the Multitude diſtaſt wholſom Doctrin, ſhall we to humour them abandon it.

Anſw. Yet again? As if there were the like Neceſſity of ſaving Doctrin, and arbitrary, if not unlawful or inconvenient *Liturgy*: Who would have thought a Man could have thwack'd together ſo many incongruous Similitudes, had it not been to defend the motely Incoherence of a patch'd *Miſſal*?

Remonſt. Why did not other Churches conform to us, I may boldly ſay ours was, and is, the more noble Church.

Anſw. O *Laodicæan*, how vainly and how carnally doſt thou boaſt of Nobleneſs and Precedency! More lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

Pag. 27. *Remonſt.* The ſecond *Quære* is ſo weak, that I wonder it could fall from the Pens of Wiſemen.

Anſw. Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a Proffer againſt another Mans Weakneſs, but you leave your own ſide always open: Mark what follows.

Remonſt. Brethren, can ye think that our Reformers had any other Intentions then all other the Founders of *Liturgies*, the leaſt part of whoſe Care was the Help of the Miniſters Weakneſs.

Anſw. Do you not perceive the Nooſe you have brought your ſelf into,

Pag. 12. whilſt you were ſo brief to taunt other Men with weakneſs? Is it clean out of your Mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principal Scope of thoſe *Liturgy*-Founders was to prevent either the Malice or the Weakneſs of the Miniſters, their Malice of infuſing Hereſy in their Forms of *Prayer*, their Weakneſs, leaſt ſomething might be compoſed by them through Ignorance or Want of Care contrary to the Faith: Is it not now rather to be wondred that ſuch a weakneſs could fall from the Pen of ſuch a wiſe *Remonſtrant* Man?

Remonſt. Their main Driſt was the Help of the Peoples Devotion, that they knowing before the Matter that ſhould be ſued for.

Anſw. A ſollicitous Care, as if the People could be ignorant of the Matter to be pray'd for; ſeeing the Heads of public *Prayer* are either ever conſtant or very frequently the ſame.

Remonſt. And the Words wherewith it ſhould be cloath'd, might be the more prepar'd, and be ſo much the more intent and leſs diſtracted.

Anſw. As for the Words, it is more to be fear'd leaſt the ſame continually ſhould make them careleſs or ſleepy, then that Variety on the ſame known Subject ſhould diſtract; Variety (as both Muſic and *Rhethoric* teacheth us) erects and rouſes an Auditory, like the Maſterful running over many Cords and Diviſions; whereas if Men ſhould ever be thumming the Drone of one plain Song, it would be a dull Opiate to the moſt wakeful Attention.

Pag. 30. *Remonſt.* Tell me, is this *Liturgy* good or evil?

Anſw. It is Evil: Repair the *Acheloian* Horn of your *Dilemma* how you can, againſt the next puſh.

Remonſt. If it be Evil, it is unlawful to be us'd.

Anſw. We grant you, and we find you have not your Salve about you.

Remonſt. Were the Impoſition amiſs, what is that to the People?

Anſw. Not a little, becauſe they bear an equal Part with the *Prieſt* in many Places, and have their Cues and Verſets as well as he.

Pag. 31. *Remonſt.* The Ears and Hearts of our People look for a ſettl'd *Liturgy.*

Anſw. You deceive your ſelf in their Ears and Hearts, they look for no ſuch Matter.

Remonſt. The like Anſwer ſerves for *Homilies*, ſurely were they enjoyn'd to all, &c.

Anſw.

Anſw. Let it ſerve for them that will be ignorant, we know that *Hayward* their own Creature writes that for Defect of *Preachers*, *Homelies* were appointed to be read in Churches, while *Edw.* 6. reign'd.

Remonſt. Away then with the Book whilſt it may be ſupply'd with a more profitable Nonſence. Pa. 32.

Anſw. Away with it rather, becauſe it will be hardly ſupply'd with a more unprofitable Nonſence, then is in ſome Paſſages of it to be ſeen.

SECT. 3.

Remonſt. Thus their Cavils concerning *Liturgy* are vaniſh'd. Pa. 32.

Anſw. You wanted but *Hey-paſs*, to have made your Tranſition like a myſtical Man of *Sturbridge*. But for all your ſleight of hand our juſt Exceptions againſt *Liturgy* are not vaniſht, they ſtare you ſtill in the Face.

Remonſt. Certainly had I done ſo, I had been no leſs worthy to be ſpit upon for my ſaucy Uncharitableneſs, then they are now for their uncharitable Falſhood.

Anſw. We ſee you are in Choler, therefore till you cool a while we turn us to the ingenuous Reader. See how this *Remonſtrant* would inveſt himſelf conditionally with all the Rheum of the Town, that he might have ſufficient to beſpaul his Brethren. They are accus'd by him of uncharitable Falſhood, whereas their only Crime hath been, that they have too credulouſly thought him if not an over-logical, yet a well-meaning Man; but now we find him either groſly deficient in his Principles of *Logic*, or elſe purpoſely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocal Sophiſtry, ſcattering among his Periods ambiguous Words, whoſe Interpretation he will afterwards diſpenſe according to his pleaſure; laying before us univerſal Propoſitions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a Limitation: For ſay *Remonſtrant*.

Remonſt. Epiſcopal Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Perſons.

Anſw. Chooſe you whether you will have this Propoſition prov'd to you to be Ridiculous, or Sophiſtical: For one of the two it muſt be. Step again to Biſhop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently Catechize you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will ſhew you that this Axiom Epiſcopal Government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious Perſons, is as much as to ſay, they that cry down Epiſcopacy abroad, are either weak or factious Perſons. He will tell you, that this Axiom contains a Diſtribution and that all ſuch Axioms are general. And *Laſtly*, that a Diſtribution in which any Part is wanting, or abundant is faulty and fallacious. If therefore diſtributing by the adjuncts of Faction and Weakneſs the Perſons that decry Epiſcopacy, you made your Diſtribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of Fraud, intended towards the Honourable Court, to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your Honeſty and ſuffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemn them of uncharitable Falſhood, that attributed to you more Skill then you had, thinking you had been able to make a Diſtribution, as it ought to be, general and full, and ſo any Man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large Word (abroad) and ſo take again either your manifeſt Leaſing, or manifeſt Ignorance.

Remonſt. Now come theſe Brotherly Slanderers. Pa. 43.

Anſw. Go on diſſembling *Joab*, as ſtill your Uſe is, call Brother and ſmite, call Brother and ſmite, till it be ſaid of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a Man had better be your Hog then your Brother.

Remonſt. Which never came within the Verge of my Thoughts.

Anſw. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Dioceſs of your Thoughts.

Remonſt. Brethren, if you have any Remainders of Modeſty or Truth cry Godmercy.

Anſw. Remonſtrant, if you have no ground-work of *Logick*, or Plain-dealing in you, learn both as faſt as you can.

Remonſt. Of the ſame ſtrain is their witty Deſcant of my Confoundedneſs.

Anſw. Speak no more of it, it was a fatal Word, that God put into your Mouth when you began to ſpeak for Epiſcopacy, as boding Confuſion to it.

Pa. 35. *Remonſt.* I am ſtill and ſhall ever be thus Self-confounded, as confidently to ſay that he is no peaceable and right affected Son of the Church of *England*, that doth not wiſh well to *Liturgy* and *Epiſcopacy*.

Anſw. If this be not that ſaucy Uncharitableneſs, with which in the foregoing Page, you voluntarily inveſted your ſelf with Thought to have ſhifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge, who now themſelves are deliberating whether *Liturgy* and *Epiſcopacy*, be to be well wiſh'd to, or no.

Remonſt. This they cannot but rank amongſt my notorious —— ſpeak out, Maſters, I would not have that Word ſtick in your Teeth or in your Throat.

Anſw. Take your Spectacles Sir, it ſticks in the Paper, and was a pectoral Roll we prepar'd for you to ſwallow down to your Heart.

Pa. 36. *Remonſt.* Wanton Wits muſt have leave to play with their own Stern.

Anſw. A Meditation of yours doubtleſs obſerv'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiſcopal Kittens*.

Remonſt. Pa. 18. *Remonſt.* As for that Form of Epiſcopal Government, ſurely could thoſe look with my Eyes, they would ſee Cauſe to be aſhamed of this their Injurious Miſconceit.

Anſw. We muſt call the Barber for this wiſe Sentence: One Mr. *Ley* the other day writ a Treatiſe of the *Sabbath*, and in his *Preface* puts the Wiſdom of *Balaams* Aſs upon one of our Biſhops, bold Man for his Labour; but we ſhall have more reſpect to our *Remonſtrant* and liken him to the Aſſes Maſter, though the Story ſay he was not ſo quick-ſighted as his Beaſt. Is not this *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, the Man whoſe Eyes are open, that ſaid to the *Parliament*, ſurely could thoſe look with my Eyes; boaſt not of your Eyes, 'tis fear'd you have *Balaams* Diſeaſe, a Pearl in your Eye, *Mammons* Preſtriction.

Pa. 37. *Remonſt.* Alas! We could tell you of *China*, *Japan*, *Peru*, *Braſil*, *New England*, *Virginia*, and a Thouſand others that never had any *Biſhops* to this Day.

Anſw. O do not foil your Cauſe thus, and trouble *Ortelius*, we can help you and tell you where they have been ever ſince *Conſtantine's* Time at leaſt, in a Place call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, in the ſpecious and rich Countries of *Crapulia*, *Pamphagonia*, *Turonia* and in the Dukedom of *Orgilia* and *Variana* and their *Metropolis* of *Ucalegonium*. It was an Overſight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of theſe venerable Monuments to deduce Epiſcopacy by: Knowing that *Mercurius Britanicus* had them forth-comming.

SECT. 4.

Remonſt. Hitherto they have flouriſh'd, now I hope they will ſtrike.

Anſw. His former Tranſition was in the Fair about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

Pa. 43. *Remonſt.* As if Arguments were *Almanacks*.

Anſw. You will find ſome ſuch as will prognoſticate your Date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solſtice* the *Æquator* calls for you, to reduce to you the Ancient and Equal Houſe of *Libra*.

Remonſt.

Remonſt. Truly, Brethren, you have not well taken the heighth of the *Pole.*

Anſw. No marvel, there be many more that do not take well the heighth of your *Pole*; but will take better the Declination of your Altitude.

Remonſt. He that ſaid I am the Way, ſaid that the old Way was the good Way. Pag. 46.

Anſw. He bids ask of the old Paths, or for the old Ways, where or which is the good Way; which implies that all old Ways are not Good; but that the good Way is to be ſearcht with diligence among the old Ways, which is a Thing that we do in the oldeſt Records we have, the Goſpel. And if others may chance to ſpend more time with you in canvaſſing latter Antiquity, I ſuppoſe it is not for that they ground themſelves thereon; but that they endeavour by ſhewing the Corruptions, Incertainties and Diſagreements of thoſe Volums, and the Eaſineſs of erring, or overſlipping in ſuch a boundleſs and vaſt Search, if they may not convince thoſe that are ſo ſtrongly perſwaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous Minds from that over-awfull Eſteem of thoſe more Ancient then Truſty Fathers, whom Cuſtom and fond Opinion, weak Principles, and the Neglect of ſounder and ſuperior Knowledge hath exalted ſo high, as to have gain'd them a blind Reverence: Whoſe Books in Bigneſs and Number ſo endleſs and immeaſurable, I cannot think that either God or Nature, either divine or human Wiſdom did ever mean ſhould be a Rule or Reliance to us in the Deciſion of any weighty and poſitive Doctrin. For certainly, every Rule and Inſtrument of neceſſary Knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be ſo in Proportion, as may be weilded and manag'd by the Life of Man without penning him up from the Duties of human Society, and ſuch a Rule and Inſtrument of Knowledge perfectly is the Holy Bible. But he that ſhall bind himſelf to make Antiquity his rule, if he read but part, beſides the difficulty of choice, his Rule is deficient and utterly unſatisfying; for there may be other Writers of another Mind which he hath not ſeen, and if he undertake all, the Length of Mans Life cannot extend to give him a full and requiſite Knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why do we therefore ſtand worſhipping and admiring this unactive and liveleſs *Coloſſus*, that like a carved Giant terribly menacing to Children and Weaklings lifts up his Club, but ſtrikes not, and is ſubject to the muting of every Sparrow. If you let him reſt upon his *Baſis*, he may perhaps delight the Eyes of ſome with his huge and mountainous Bulk and the quaint Workmanſhip of his maſſie Limbs; but if ye go about to take him in Pieces, ye mar him; and if you think like *Pigmees*, to turn and wind him whole as he is, beſides your vain Toil and Sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own Heads. Go therefore and uſe all your Art, apply your Sledges, your Levers and your Iron Crows to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the Deluſion of Novices and unexperienc'd Chriſtians. We ſhall adhere cloſe to the Scriptures of God which he hath left us as the juſt and adequate Meaſure of Truth, fitted and proportion'd to the diligent Study, Memory and Uſe of every faithful Man, whoſe every Part contenting and making up the harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat Inſtruction, is able to ſet out to us a perfect Man of God or *Biſhop* throughly furniſh'd to all the good Works of his Charge: And with this Weapon, without ſtepping a Foot further, we ſhall not doubt to batter and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzars* Image, and crumble it like the Chaff of the Summer threſhing Floors, as well the Gold of thoſe Apoſtolick Succeſſors that you boaſt of, as your *Conſtantinian* Silver, together with the Iron, the Braſs and the Clay of thoſe muddy and ſtrawy Ages that follow. Tim. 2. 3. 16. 17.

Remonſt. Let the boldeſt Forehead of them all deny, that Epiſcopacy hath continued thus long in our Iſland, or that any till this Age contradicted it. Pag. 49.

Anſw. That bold Forehead you have cleanly put upon your ſelf, 'tis you

who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no Forehead of ours dares do ſo much: You have row'd your ſelf fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis* either of Impudence, or Nonſence, and now betake you to whether you pleaſe.

Remonſt. As for that Supply of acceſſory Strength which I not beg.

Anſw. Your whole *Remonſtrance* does nothing elſe but beg it and your Fellow-*Prelates* do as good as whine to the *Parliament* for their Fleſh-pots of *Egypt*, making ſad Orations at the Funeral of your dear *Prelacy*, like that doubty *Centurian Afranius* in *Lucian*, who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* Speech, ſtepping up after the Battel to bewail the ſlain *Severianus*, falls into a pittiful Condolement, to think of thoſe coſtly Suppers and drinking Banquets, which he muſt now taſte of no more; and by then he had done, lack'd but little to lament the dear-loved Memory and calamitous Loſs of his Capon and Whitebroth.

Remonſt. But raiſe and evince from the Light of Nature and Rules of juſt Policy, for the Continuance of thoſe Things which long Uſe and many Laws have firmly eſtabliſh'd as neceſſary and beneficial.

Anſw. Open your Eyes to the Light of Grace, a better Guide then Nature. Look upon the mean Condition of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, without that acceſſory Strength you take ſuch Pains to raiſefrom the Light of Nature and Policy: Take Divine Councel, *Labour not for the Things that Periſh*; you would be the Salt of the Earth, if that Savour be not found in you, do not think much that the Time is now come to throw you out and tread you under Foot. Hark how *S. Paul*, writing to *Timothy*, informs a true *Biſhop*. *Biſhop* (ſaith he) *muſt not be greedy of filthy Lucre, and having Food and Rayment, let us be therewith content: But they* (ſaith he, meaning more eſpecially in that place *Biſhop*) *that will be rich fall into Temptation and a Snare and into many fooliſh and hurtful Luſts, which drown Men in Deſtruction and Perdition: For the Love of Money is the Root of all Evil, which while ſome coveted after, they have erred from the Faith.* How can we therefore expect ſound Doctrin, and the Solution of this our Controverſie from any Covetous and Honour-hunting *Biſhop*, that ſhall plead ſo ſtifly for theſe Things, while *S. Paul* thus exhorts every *Biſhop*: *But thou O Man of God fly theſe Things.* As for the juſt Policy, that long Uſe and Cuſtom, and thoſe many Laws which you ſay have conferr'd theſe Benefits upon you, it hath been nothing elſe but the ſuperſtitious Devotion of *Princes* and great Men that knew no better, or the baſe Importunity of Begging *Friars*, haunting and haraſing the Death-beds of Men departing this Life in a blind and wretched Condition of Hope to merit Heaven for the Building of *Churches*, *Cloyſters* and *Covents*. The moſt of your vaunted Poſſeſſions and thoſe proud Endowments that ye as ſinfully waſt, what are they but the black Revenues of *Purgatory*, the Price of abuſed and murder'd Souls, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals* and *Indulgences* to mortal Sin: How can ye chooſe but inherit the Curſe that goes along with ſuch a Patrimony. Alas! If there be any Releaſment, any Mitigation, or more tolerable Being for the Souls of our miſguided Anceſtors, could we imagin there might be any Recovery to ſome Degree of Eaſe left for as many of them as are loſt; there cannot be a better Way then to take the miſbeſtowed Wealth which they were cheated of, from theſe our *Prelates*, who are the true Succeſſors of thoſe that popt them into the other World, with this Conceit of meriting by their Goods, which was their final undoing: And to beſtow their beneficent Gifts upon Places and Means of Chriſtian Education; and the faithful Labourers in Gods Harveſt, that may inceſſantly warn the Poſterity of *Dives*, leaſt they come where their miſerable Fore-Father was ſent by the Couſenage and Miſleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

Remonſt. It will ſtand long enough againſt the Battery of their Paper-pellets.

Anſw.

Anſw. That muſt be try'd without a ſquare Cap in the Councel, and if Pellets will not do, your own Cannons ſhall be turn'd againſt you.

Remonſt. They cannot name any Man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Epiſcopacy*, till this preſent Age.

Anſw. What an over-worn and bed-rid Argument is this, the laſt Refuge ever of old Falſhood, and therefore a good Sign, I truſt, that your Caſtle cannot hold out long. This was the Plea of *Judaiſm* and Idolatry againſt *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, of *Papacy* againſt Reformation: And perhaps to the Frailty of Fleſh and Blood in a Man deſtitute of better Enlight'ning, may for ſome while be pardonable; for what has fleſhly Apprehenſion other to ſubſiſt by then Succeſſion, Cuſtom and Viſibility, which only hold, if in his Weakneſs and Blindneſs he be loth to looſe, who can blame? But in a *Proteſtant* Nation, that ſhould have thrown off theſe tatter'd Rudiments long ago, after the many Strivings of Gods Spirit and our fourſcore Years Vexation of him in this our Wilderneſs ſince Reformation began, to urge theſe rotten Principles, and twit us with the preſent Age, which is to us an Age of Ages, wherein God is manifeſtly come down among us to do ſome remarkable Good to our Church or State, is as if a Man ſhould tax the renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with Innovation, and that new Creature for an upſtart Novelty; yea the new *Jeruſalem*, which without your admired Link of Succeſſion deſcends from Heaven, could not 'ſcape ſome ſuch like Cenſure. If you require a further Anſwer, it will not misbecome a Chriſtian to be either more magnanimous or more devout then *Scipio* was, who inſtead of other Anſwer to the frivolous Accuſations of *Petilius* the *Tribune*; *This Day*, Romans (ſaith he) *I fought with* Hannibal *proſperouſly*; *Let us all go and thank the Gods that gave us ſo great a Victory*: In like Manner will we now ſay, not caring otherwiſe to anſwer this Un-proteſtant-like Objection: In this Age, *Britains*, God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred Years of *Popiſh* Corruption; in this Age he hath freed us from the intolerable Yoke of *Prelates* and *Papal* Diſciplin; in this Age he hath renew'd our *Proteſtation* againſt all thoſe yet remaining Dregs of Superſtition: Let us all go every true proteſted *Britain* throughout the 3. *Kingdoms*, and render Thanks to God the Father of Light, and Fountain of Heavenly Grace, and to his Son CHRIST our Lord: Leaving this *Remonſtrant* and his Adherents to their own Deſigns, and let us recount, even here without Delay, the Patience and Long-ſuffering that God hath us'd towards our Blindneſs and Hardneſs time after time. For he being equally near to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free Power to turn his benefic and fatherly Regard to what Region or Kingdom he pleaſes, hath yet ever had this Iſland under the ſpecial indulgent Eye of his Providence; and pitying us the firſt of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous Pollutions, ſent firſt to us a healing Meſſenger to touch ſoftly our Sores, and carry a gentle Hand over our Wounds: He knock'd once and twice and came again, opening our drouſy Eye-lids leiſurely by that glimmering Light which *Wickleff* and his Followers diſpers'd, and ſtill taking off by degrees the inveterate Scales from our nigh-periſh'd Sight, purg'd alſo our deaf Ears and prepar'd them to attend his ſecond warning Trumpet in our Grandſires Days. How elſe could they have been able to have receiv'd the ſudden Aſſault of his reforming Spirit warring againſt human Principles and carnal Senſe, the Pride of Fleſh that ſtill cried up Antiquity, Cuſtom, Canons, Councels and Laws, and cryed down the Truth for Novelty, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs and Sacrilege: Whenas we that have liv'd ſo long in abundant Light, beſides the ſunny Reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our Hearts rivetted with thoſe old Opinions and ſo obſtructed and benumm'd with the ſame fleſhly Reaſonings which in our Foreſathers ſoon melted and gave way againſt the Morning Beam of *Reformation*. If God had left undone this whole Work

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ſo contrary to Fleſh and Blood, till theſe Times, how ſhould we have yielded to his heavenly Call, had we been taken, as they were, in the Starkneſs of our Ignorance, that yet after all theſe ſpiritual Preparatives and Purgations have our earthly Apprehenſions ſo clamm'd and furr'd with the old Leaven. O if we freeze at Noon after their early Thaw, let us fear leaſt the Sun for ever hide himſelf, and turn his orient Steps from our ingrateful *Horizon* juſtly condemn'd to be Eternally benighted. Which dreadful Judgment, O thou the ever-begotten Light, and perfect Image of the Father, intercede may never come upon us, as we truſt thou haſt; for thou haſt open'd our difficult and ſad Times, and given us an unexpected Breathing after our long Oppreſſions; thou haſt done Juſtice upon thoſe that tyranniz'd over us, while ſome Men waver'd and admir'd a vain Shadow of Wiſdom in a Tongue nothing ſlow to utter Guile, though thou haſt taught us to admire only that which is good, and to count that only praiſe-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou haſt diſcover'd the Plots and fruſtrated the Hopes of all the wicked in the Land; and put to ſhame the Perſecutors of thy Church; thou haſt made our falſe *Prophets* to be found a Lie in the Sight of all the People, and chas'd them with ſudden Confuſion and Amazement before the redoubl'd Brightneſs of thy deſcending Cloud that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy Walk through the midſt of thy Sanctuary, amidſt thoſe golden *Candleſticks*, which have long ſuffer'd a Dimneſs amongſt us through the Violence of thoſe that had ſeiz'd them, and were more taken with the Mention of their Gold then of their ſtarry Light; teaching the Doctrin of *Balaam* to caſt a ſtumbling-block before thy Servants, commanding them to eat things ſacrific'd to Idols, and forcing them to Fornication. Come therefore, O thou that haſt the ſeven Stars in thy right Hand, appoint thy choſen *Prieſts* according to their Orders and Courſes of old, to miniſter before thee, and duly to dreſs and pour out the conſecrated Oyl into thy holy and ever-burning Lamps; thou haſt ſent out the Spirit of Prayer upon thy Servants over all the Land to this Effect, and ſtirr'd up their Vows as the Sound of many Waters about thy Throne. Every one can ſay, that now certainly thou haſt viſited this Land, and haſt not forgotten the utmoſt Corners of the Earth in a time when Men had thought that thou waſt gone up from us to the fartheſt End of the Heavens, and hadſt left to do marvelouſly among the Sons of theſe laſt Ages. O perfect and accompliſh thy glorious Acts; for Men may leave their Works unfiniſh'd, but thou art a God, thy Nature is Perfection; ſhouldſt thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to deſtroy us in this Wilderneſs, though we deſerve, yet thy great Name would ſuffer in the Rejoycing of thine Enemies and the deluded Hope of all thy Servants. When thou haſt ſettl'd Peace in the Church and righteous Judgment in the Kingdom, then ſhall all thy Saints addreſs their Voices of Joy and Triumph to thee, ſtanding on the Shore of that Red Sea into which our Enemies had almoſt driven us. And he that now for haſte ſnatches up a plain ungarniſh'd Preſent as a Thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferr'd in Regard of thy ſo many late Deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp and ſing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it ſhall no more be ſaid, as in Scorn, this or that was never held ſo till this preſent Age, when Men have better learnt, that the Times and Seaſons paſs along under thy Feet to go and come at thy Bidding, and as thou didſt dignify our Fathers days with many Revelations above all their foregoing Ages, ſince thou took'ſt the Fleſh, ſo thou canſt vouchſafe to us (though unworthy) as large a Portion of thy Spirit as thou pleaſeſt; for who ſhall prejudice thy all-governing Will? Seeing the Power of thy Grace is not paſt away with the Primitive Times, as fond and faithleſs Men imagin, but thy Kingdom is now at hand and thou ſtanding at the Door. Come forth out of thy Royal Chambers, O Prince of all the

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Kings of the Earth put on the viſible Robes of thy imperial Majeſty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the Voice of thy Bride calls thee, and all Creatures ſigh to be renew'd.

SECT. 5.

Remonſt. Neglect not the Gift which was given thee by *Prophecy* and by laying on the Hands of *Presbytery*.

Anſw. The *Engliſh* Tranſlation expreſſes the Article (*the*) and renders it the *Presbytery* which you do Injury to omit.

Remonſt. Which I wonder ye can ſo preſs, when *Calvin* himſelf takes it of the Office, and not of the Men. Pag. 50.

Anſw. You think then you are fairly quit of this Proof, becauſe *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with *Calvin*'s Name unleſs we be convinc'd with *Calvin*'s Reaſon; the Word πρεσβυτέριον is a collective Noun ſignifying a certain number of Men in one Order, as the Word *Privy Councel* with us, and ſo *Beza* interprets, that knew *Calvin*'s Mind doubtleſs, with whom he liv'd. If any among us ſhould ſay the Privy Councel ordain'd it, and thereby conſtrain us to underſtand one Mans Authority, ſhould we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping Irons to the Text, and done your utmoſt to cram a *Presbytery* into the Skin of one Perſon, 'twill be but a Piece of frugal Non-ſenſe. But if your Meaning be with a violent and bold *Hyperbaton* to tranſpoſe the Text, as if the Words lay thus in Order, neglect not the Gift of *Presbytery*; this were a Conſtruction like a *Harquebuſs* ſhot over a File of Words twelve deep without Authority to bid them ſtoop, or to make the Word *Gift* like the River *Mole* in *Surrey*, to run under the bottom of a long Line and ſo ſtart up to govern the whole *Presbytery*, as in immediate *Syntaxis*, a Device ridiculous enough to make good that old Wives Tale, of a certain Queen of *England* that ſunk at *Charing-croſs* and roſe up at *Queen-hithe*. No marvel though the *Prelates* be a troubleſom Generation, and which way ſoever they turn them, put all things into a foul Diſcompoſure, when to maintain their Domineering they ſeek thus to rout and diſ-aray the wiſe and well-couch'd Order of St. *Paul*'s own Words, uſing either a certain Textual Riot to chop off the Hands of the Word *Presbytery*, or elſe a like kind of *Simony* to clap the Word *Gift* between them. Beſides, if the *Verſe* muſt be read according to this Tranſpoſition, μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τῆς Πρεσβυτερίου, it would be improper to call Ordination χάρισμα, whenas it is rather only χάρισμα an outward Teſtimony of Approbation, unleſs they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papiſts* do: But ſurely the *Prelates* would have St. *Paul*'s Words ramp one over another, as they uſe to climb into their Livings and *Biſhopricks*.

Remonſt. Neither need we give any other Satisfaction to the Point then from St. *Paul* himſelf, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. *Stir up the Gift of God which is in thee by the Impoſition of my Hands*; mine, and not others.

Anſw. Y'are too quick; this laſt Place is to be underſtood by the former, as the Law of Method, which bears chief Sway in the Art of Teaching, requires, that cleareſt and plaineſt Expreſſions be ſet foremoſt to the End they may enlighten any following Obſcurity; and wherefore we ſhould not attribute a right Method to the Teachableneſs of Scripture, there can be no Reaſon given: To which Method, if we ſhall now go contrary, beſides the Breaking of a *Logical* Rule, which the *Remonſtrant* hitherto we ſee hath made little account of, we ſhall alſo put a manifeſt Violence and Impropriety upon a known Word againſt his common Signification, in binding a Collective to a ſingular Perſon. But if we ſhall as *Logic* (or indeed Reaſon) inſtructs us, expound the latter Place by the former cited, and underſtand (by the Impoſition of my Hands) that is, of mine chiefly as an *Apoſtle*, with the joynt Authority

rity and Aſſiſtance of the *Presbytery*, there is nothing more ordinary, or kindly in Speech, then ſuch a Phraſe as expreſſes only the Chief in any Action and underſtands the reſt. So that the Impoſition of S. *Pauls* Hands, without more Expreſſion in this Place cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbytery* affirm'd by the former Text.

Remonſt. In the mean while ſee, Brethren, how you have with *Simon* fiſh'd all Night and caught nothing.

Anſw. If we fiſhing with *Simon* the Apoſtle can catch Nothing; ſee what you can catch with *Simon Magus*; for all his Hooks and fiſhing Implements he bequeath'd among you.

SECT. 13.

Remonſt. We do again profeſs; that if our Biſhops challenge any other Power then was delegated to, and required of, *Timothy* and *Titus*, we ſhall yield them Uſurpers.

Anſw. Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Biſhop* with *Timothy*, who was an extrordinary Man foretold and promis'd to the Church by many Prophecies and his Name joyn'd as collateral with St. *Paul*, in moſt of his Apoſtolic Epiſtles, even where he writes to the *Biſhops* of other Churches, as thoſe in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Biſhop* of any particular Place; for that wherein it is ſaid in the third Verſe of the firſt *Epiſtle*: *As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, will be ſuch a Gloſs to prove the Conſtitution of a *Biſhop* by, as would not only be not ſo good as a *Burdeaux* Gloſs; but ſcarce be receiv'd to varniſh a Vizard of *Modona*. All that can be gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy*, is that he was either an *Apoſtle*, or an *Apoſtles* extroardinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any Place. The like may be ſaid of *Titus*, (as thoſe words import in the 5. Verſe) that he was for that cauſe left in *Creet*, that he might ſupply, or proceed to ſet in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apoſtolic Manner had begun, for which he had his particular Commiſſion, as thoſe words ſound, (*as I had appointed thee.*) So that what he did in *Creet*, cannot ſo much be thought the Exerciſe of an ordinary Function, as the Direction of an inſpired Mouth. No leſs alſo may be gather'd from the 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

Remonſt. You deſcend to the Angels of the ſeven *Aſian* Churches, your ſhift is that the Angel is here taken collectively, not individually.

Anſw. That the Word is collective appears plainly, *Revel.* 2.

Firſt, Becauſe the Text it ſelf expounds it ſo; for having ſpoken all the while as to the Angel the ſeventh Verſe concludes that this was ſpoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the ſame Tenor all the Way; for we ſee not where he particularizes, then certainly he muſt begin collectively, elſe the Conſtruction can be neither *Grammatical* nor *Logical*.

Secondly, if the word *Angel* be Individual; then are the Faults attributed to him Individual: But they are ſuch as for which God threatens to remove the Candleſtick out of his Place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the Light of his Truth: And we cannot think he would do ſo for one *Biſhop*'s Fault. Therefore thoſe Faults muſt be underſtood Collective, and by conſequence the Subject of them Collective.

Thirdly, an Individual cannot branch it ſelf into Subindividuals; but this Word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verſe. *Fear none of thoſe Things which thou ſhalt ſuffer; behold the Devil ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon.* And the like from other Places of this and the following Chapter may be obſerv'd. Therefore it is no individual Word but a Collective.

Fourthly, in the 24. Verſe this Word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronoun Plural*, which could not be, unleſs it were a Collective, as for the ſuppo-

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ſed Manuſcript of *Tecla* and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, we cannot preſer them before the more receiv'd Reading, and we hope you will not againſt the Tranſlation of your Mother the Church of *England*, that paſs'd the Reviſe of your chiefeſt *Prelates*: Beſides this, you will lay an unjuſt Cenſure upon the much praiſed *Biſhop* of *Thyatira*, and reckon him among thoſe that had the Doctrin of *Jeſabel*, when the Text ſays, *he only ſuffer'd her*. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable Conjunction, as we know your ſo much call'd for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the *Biſhop*, if you comprehend him in the Name of *Angel*, otherwiſe you leave his Caſe very doubtful.

Remonſt. Thou ſuffereſt they Wife JESABEL: Was ſhe Wife to the whole Company, or to one *Biſhop* alone? Pag. 105.

Anſw. Not to the whole Company doubtleſs, for that had been worſe then to have been the *Levites* Wife in *Gibeah*: But here among all thoſe that conſtantly read it otherwiſe, whom you trample upon, your Good Mother of *England* is down again in the Throng, who with the reſt reads it, *that Woman* JESABEL: But ſuppoſe it were Wife, a Man might as well interpret that word Figuratively, as her Name *JESABEL*, no Man doubts to be a borrow'd Name.

Remonſt. Yet what makes this for a Dioceſan *Biſhop*? Much every way. Pag. 111.

Anſw. No more then a ſpecial Endorſement could make to puff up the Foreman of a Jury. If we deny you more Precedence, then as the *Senior* of any Society, or deny you this Priority to be longer then Annual. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you think to do from the Title of Eminence, *Angel*: Alas! Your Wings are too Short. 'Tis not Ordination nor Juriſdiction that is Angelical, but the Heavenly Meſſage of the Gotpel, which is the Office of all Miniſters alike; in which Senſe *John* the *Baptiſt* is call'd an *Angel*, which in Greek ſignifies a Meſſenger, as oft as it is meant by a Man, and might be ſo render'd here without Treaſon to the *Hierarchy*; but that the whole Book ſoars to a Prophetic Pitch in Types and Allegories. Seing then the Reaſon of this borrow'd Name, is meerly to ſignifie the Preaching of the Goſpel, and that this Preaching equally appertains to the whole *Miniſtery*; hence may be drawn a fifth Argument, that if the Reaſon of this borrowed Name, Angel, be equally Collective and Communicative to the whole Preaching Miniſtery of the Place, then muſt the Name be Collectively, and Communicatively taken; but the Reaſon, that is to ſay, the Office of Preaching and Watching over the Flock is equally Collective and Communicative. Therefore the borrow'd Name it ſelf, is to be underſtood as equally Collective and Communicative to the whole Preaching Miniſtery of the Place; and if you will contend ſtill for a Superiority in one Perſon, you muſt ground it better then from this Metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe Head that fell into the Water, and ſay, Alas! Maſter, for it was borrow'd, unleſs you have, as good a Faculty to make Iron ſwim, as you had to make light Froth ſink. Matth. 11.

Remonſt. What is, if this be not Ordination and Juriſdiction? Pag. 124.

Anſw. Indeed in the Conſtitution and Founding of a Church, that ſome Men inſpir'd from God ſhould have an extraordinary Calling to appoint, to order and diſpoſe, muſt needs be. So *Moſes*, though himſelf no Prieſt, ſanctify'd and ordain'd *Aaron* and his Sons; but when all needful Things be ſet and regulated by the Writings of the Apoſtles, whether it be not a meer Folly to keep up a ſuperiour Degree in the Church only for Ordination and Juriſdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apoſtles were the Builders, and as it were the Architects of the Chriſtian Church; wherein conſiſted their Excellence above ordinary Miniſters? A Prelate would ſay in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them and ſending from about them to all Countries their Biſhops and Arch-Biſhops, as their

Deputies, with a kind of Legantine Power. No, no, vain Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new Edifice, which for the time muſt board and overlook the higheſt Battlements, but if the Structure once finiſh'd, any Paſſenger ſhould fall in Love with them, and pray that they might ſtill ſtand, as being a ſingular Grace and Strengthning to the Houſe, who would otherwiſe think, but that the Man were preſently to be laid hold on and ſent to his Friends and Kindred. The Eminence of the Apoſtles conſiſted in their powerful Preaching, their unwearied Labouring in the Word, their unquenchable Charity, which, above all earthly Reſpects, like a working Flame, had ſpun up to ſuch a Height of pure Deſire, as might be thought next to that Love which dwels in God to ſave Souls, which, while they did, they were contented to be the Off-ſcouring of the World and to expoſe themſelves willingly to all Afflictions, perfecting thereby their Hope through Patience to a Joy unſpeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the Laying on of Hands, an outward Sign or Symbol of Admiſſion? It creates nothing, it confers nothing; it is the inward Calling of God that makes a Miniſter, and his own painful Study and Diligence that manures and improves his Miniſterial Gifts. In the Primitive Times, many, before ever they had receiv'd Ordination from the Apoſtles, had done the Church noble Service, as *Apollos*, and others; it is but an orderly Form of receiving a Man already fitted, and committing to him a particular Charge, the Employment of Preaching is as holy, and far more excellent, the Care alſo and Judgment to be us'd in the winning of Souls, which is thought to be ſufficient in every worthy Miniſter, is an Ability above that which is requir'd in Ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a Miniſter, that would not be found fit to be made Miniſters themſelves, as it will not be deny'd, that he may be the competent Judge of a neat Picture, or elegant Poem, that cannot limb the like. Why therefore we ſhould conſtitute a ſuperiour Order in the Church to perform an Office, which is not only every Miniſters Function, but inferiour alſo to that which he has a confeſs'd Right to, and why this Superiority ſhould remain thus uſurp'd, ſome wiſe *Epimenides* tell us. Now for Juriſdiction, this dear Saint of the *Prelates*, it will be beſt to conſider, *Firſt*, what it is: That Sovereign Lord, who in the Diſcharge of his Holy Anointment from God the Father, which made him ſupreme Biſhop of our Souls, was ſo humble as to ſay, Who made me a Judge or a Divider over ye, hath taught us, that a Church-mans Juriſdiction is no more but to watch over his Flock in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, to deal by ſweet and efficacious Inſtructions, gentle Admonitions, and ſometimes rounder Reproofs: Againſt Negligence or Obſtinacy will be requir'd a rouſing Volley of Paſtorly Threatnings, againſt a perſiſting Stubbornneſs or the Fear of a reprobate Senſe, a timely Separation from the Flock by that interdictive Sentence, leaſt his Converſation unprohibited or unbranded might breath a peſtilential Murrain into the other Sheep. In ſumm, his Juriſdiction is to ſee to the Thriving and Proſpering of that which he hath planted: What other Work the *Prelates* have found for Chancellours and Suffragans, Delegates and Officials, with all the Hell-peſtering Rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an Invaſion upon the temporal Magiſtrate, and affected by them as Men that are not aſham'd of the Enſign and Banner of Antichriſt. But true Evangelical Juriſdiction or Diſciplin is no more, as was ſaid, then for a Miniſter to ſee to the Thriving and Proſpering of that which he hath planted. And, which is the worthieſt Work of theſe two, to plant, as every Miniſters Office is equally with the Biſhops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiſcerning *Prelates* call Juriſdiction, and would appropriate to themſelves as a Buſineſs of higher Dignity? Have Patience therefore a little, and hear a Law-caſe: A certain Man, of large Poſſeſſions, had a fair Garden, and kept therein an honeſt and laborious Servant, whoſe Skill and Profeſſion was to

ſet

ſet or ſow all wholſom Herbs and delightful Flowers, according to every Seaſon, and whatever elſe was to be done in a well-husbanded Nurſery of Plants and Fruits; now, when the Time was come that he ſhould cut his Hedges, prune his Trees, look to his tender Slips, and pluck up the Weeds that hinder'd their Growth, he gets him up by Break of Day, and makes Account to do what was needful in his Garden, and who would think that any other ſhould know better then he, how the Days Work was to be ſpent? Yet for all this there comes another ſtrang Gardner that never knew the Soil, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to ſet the leaſt Pot-herb that grew there, much leſs had endur'd an hours Sweat or Chilneſs, and yet challenges as his Right the binding or unbinding of every Flower, the clipping of every Buſh, the weeding and worming of every Bed both in that and all other Gardens thereabout; the honeſt Gardner, that ever ſince the Day-peep till now the Sun was grown ſomewhat rank, had wrought painfully about his Banks and Seed-plots, at this commanding Voice, turns ſuddenly about with ſome Wonder, and although he could have well beteem'd to have thank'd him of the Eaſe he profer'd, yet loving his own Handiwork, modeſtly refus'd him, telling him withal, that for his part, if he had thought much of his own Pains, he could for once have committed the Work to one of his Fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well known to be a Matter of leſs Skill and leſs Labour to keep a Garden handſom, then it is to plant it or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himſelf. No, ſaid the Stranger, this is neither for you nor your Fellows to meddle with, but for me only that am for this Purpoſe in Dignity far above you, and the Proviſion which the Lord of the Soil allows me in this Office is, and that with good Reaſon, ten fold your Wages; the Gardner ſmil'd and ſhook his Head, but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the End of this Parliament.

Remonſt. If in time you ſhall ſee wooden Chalices and wooden Prieſts, thank your ſelves. Pag. 127.

Anſw. It had been happy for this Land if your Prieſts had been but only wooden, all *England* knows they have been to this Iſland not Wood, but Wormwood, that have infected the third Part of our Waters, like that Apoſtate Star in the *Revelations*; that many Souls have dy'd of their Bitterneſs; and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that Sort among you, and their Number increaſing daily, as their Lazineſs, their Tavern-hunting, their Neglect of all ſound Literature, and their Liking of *Doltiſh* and *Monaſtical* Schoolmen daily increas'd. What ſhould I tell you how the Univerſities, that Men look ſhould be Fountains of Learning and Knowledge, have been poyſon'd and chok'd under your Governance? And if to be wooden be to be baſe, where could there be found among all the Reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, a baſer Brood of flattering and time-ſerving Prieſts, according as God pronounces by *Iſaiah*, the Prophet, that teacheth Lies he is the Tail. As for your young Scholars that petition for Biſhopricks and Deaneries to encourage them in their Studies, and that many Gentlemen elſe will not put their Sons to Learning, away with ſuch young Mercenary Striplings and their Simoniacal Fathers, God has no need of ſuch, they have no Part or Lot in his Vineyard, they may as well ſue for *Nunneries*, that they may have ſome convenient Stowage for their wither'd Daughters, becauſe they cannot give them Portions anſwerable to the Pride and Vanity they have bred them in: This is the Root of all our Miſchief, that which they alledge for the Incouragement of their Studies, ſhould be cut away forthwith as the very Bait of Pride and Ambition, the very Garbage that draws together all the Fowls of Prey and Ravin in the Land to come, and gorge upon the Church; how can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, while ſhe ſhall think to intice Men to the pure Service of God by the ſame Means that were us'd to tempt our Saviour

to the Service of the Devil, by laying before him Honour and Preferment. Fit Profeſſors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that Godlineſs with Content is great Gain, whenas their Godlineſs of Teaching had not been but for Worldly Gain. The Heathen Philoſophers thought, that Vertue was for it's own ſake ineſtimable and the greateſt Gain of a Teacher to make a Soul Vertuous; ſo *Xenophon* writes of *Socrates* who never bargain'd with any for Teaching them; he fear'd not leaſt thoſe who had receiv'd ſo high a Benefit from him, would not of their own Free-will return him all poſſible Thanks. Was moral Vertue ſo lovely and ſo alluring, and Heathen Men ſo enamour'd of her, as to teach and ſtudy her with greateſt neglect and contempt of Worldly Profit and Advancement; and is Chriſtian Piety ſo homely and ſo unpleaſant and Chriſtian Men ſo cloy'd with her, as that none will ſtudy and teach her, but for Lucre and Preferment! O ſtale-grown Piety! O Goſpel rated as cheap as thy Maſter, at thirty Pence, and not worth the Study unleſs thou canſt buy thoſe that will ſell thee! O Race of *Capernaitans*, ſenſleſs of Divine Doctrin, and capable only of Loaves and Belly-cheer! But they will grant perhaps, Piety may Thrive, but Learning will Decay: I would fain ask theſe Men at whoſe hands they ſeek inferior Things, as Wealth, Honour, their dainty Fair, their lofty Houſes? No doubt but they will ſoon anſwer that all theſe Things they ſeek at Gods Hands. Do they think then, that all theſe meaner and ſuperfluous Things come from God, and the divine Gift of Learning from the Den of *Plutus*, or the Cave of *Mammon*? Certainly never any clear Spirit nurſt up from brighter Influences with a Soul inlarg'd to the Dimenſions of ſpacious Art and high Knowledg ever enter'd there but with Scorn, and thought it ever foul Diſdain to make Pelf or Ambition the Reward of his Studies, it being the greateſt Honour, the greateſt Fruit and Proficiency of Learned Studies to deſpiſe theſe Things. Not Liberal Science, but Illiberal muſt that needs be that mounts in Contemplation meerly for Money. And what would it avail us to have a Hireling Clergy, though never ſo Learned? For ſuch can have neither true Wiſdom nor Grace and then in vain do Men truſt in Learning, where theſe be wanting. If in leſs noble and almoſt mechanic Arts according to the Definitions of thoſe Authors, he is not eſteem'd to deſerve the Name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that bears not a generous Mind above the peaſantly Regard of Wages and Hire; much more muſt we think him a moſt imperfect and incompleat Divine, who is ſo far from being a Contemner of filthy Lucre; that his whole Divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and bruitiſh Hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Biſhoprick, which poor and low pitch'd Deſires, if they do but mix with thoſe other Heavenly Intentions, that draw a Man to this Study, it is juſtly expected that they ſhould bring forth a baſe born Iſſue of Divinity like that of thoſe imperfect and putrid Creatures, that receive a crawling Life from two moſt unlike Procreants the Sun and Mud. And in matters of Religion, there is not any Thing more intollerable, then a learned Fool, or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coop'd up at his empty Speculations, a Sot, an Ideot for any uſe that Mankind can make of him, or elſe ſowing the World with nice and idle Queſtions, and with much toil and difficulty wading to his Auditors up to the Eye-brows in deep Shallows that wet not the Inſtep: A plain unlearned Man that lives well by that Light which he has, is better and wiſer and edifies others more towards a godly and happy Life then he: The other is ſtill uſing his ſophiſticated Arts and bending all his Studies how to make his inſatiate Avarice and Ambition ſeem Pious and Orthodoxal by painting his lewd and deceitful Principles with a ſmooth and gloſſy Varniſh in a Doctrinal Way to bring about his wickedeſt Purpoſes. Inſtead of the great harm therefore, that theſe Men fear upon the diſſolving of Prelates, what an Eaſe and Happineſs

pineſs will it be to us, when tempting Rewards are taken away, that the cunningeſt and moſt dangerous Mercenaries will ceaſe of themſelves to frequent the Fold, whom otherwiſe ſcarce all the Prayers of the Faithful could have kept back from devouring the Flock? But a true Paſtor of Chriſt's ſending hath this eſpecial Mark, that for greateſt Labours, and greateſt Merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could ſo ſubſiſt, or a very common and reaſonable Supply of human Neceſſaries: We cannot therefore do better then to leave this Care of ours to God, he can eaſily ſend Labourers into his Harveſt, that ſhall not cry, give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming Allowance; nor will he ſuffer true Learning to be wanting, where true Grace and Obedience to him abounds: For if he give us to know him aright, and to practice this our Knowledge in right eſtabliſht Diſciplin, how much more will he repleniſh us with all Abilities in Tongues and Arts, that may conduce to his Glory and our Good? He can ſtir up rich Fathers to beſtow exquiſite Education upon their Children and ſo dedicate them to the Service of the Goſpel; he can make the Sons of Nobles his Miniſters and Princes to be his *Nazarites*; for certainly there is no Imployment more Honourable, more Worthy to take up a great Spirit, more requiring a generous and free Nature, then to be the Meſſenger and Herald of heavenly Truth from God to Man, and by the faithful Work of holy Doctrin, to procreate a Number of faithful Men, making a kind of Creation like to Gods, by infuſing his Spirit and Likeneſs into them, to their Salvation, as God did into him, ariſing to what climat ſoever he turn him, like that Son of Righteouſneſs that ſent him, with healing in his Wings and new Light to break in upon the chill and gloomy Hearts of his Hearers, raiſing out of darkſom Barreneſs a delicious and fragrant Spring of ſaving Knowledge and good Works. Can a Man thus imploy'd, find himſelf diſcontented, or diſhonour'd for want of Admittance to have a pragmatical Voice at Seſſions and Jayl Deliveries? Or becauſe he may not as a Judge ſit out the wrangling Noiſe of litigious Courts, to ſhreeve the Purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortify'd Sinners and not their Souls, or be diſcourag'd though Men call him not Lord, whenas the due Performance of his Office would gain him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary Title of Father? Would he tug for a Barony to ſit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no Man can take from him the Gift of Wiſdom and ſound Doctrin which leaves him free, though not to be a Member, yet a Teacher and Perſwader of the Parliament? And in all wiſe Apprehenſions the perſwaſive Power in Man to win others to Goodneſs by Inſtruction is greater and more Divine then the compulſive Power to reſtrain Men from being Evil by Terrour of the Law; and therefore Chriſt left *Moſes* to be the Lawgiver, but himſelf came down amongſt us to be a Teacher, with which Office his Heavenly Wiſdom was ſo well pleas'd, as that he was angry with thoſe that would have put a Piece of Temporal Judicature into his Hand, diſclaiming that he had any Commiſſion from above for ſuch Matters.

Such a high Calling therefore as this ſends not for thoſe droſſy Spirits that need the Lure and Whiſtle of earthly Preferment, like thoſe Animals that fetch and carry for a Morſel, no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her Precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe Preferment. And let not thoſe wretched Fathers think they ſhall impoveriſh the Church of willing and able Supply, though they keep back their Sordid Sperm, begotten in the Luſtineſs of their Avarice, and turn them to their Malting-kilns, rather let them take heed what Leſſons they inſtil into that Lump of Fleſh which they are the Cauſe of, leaſt thinking to offer him as a Preſent to God, they diſh him out for the Devil. Let the Novice learn firſt to renounce the World, and ſo give himſelf to God, and not therefore give himſelf to God, that he may cloſe the better with the World, like that falſe Shepherd *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively perſonates our Prelates, whoſe whole

whole Life is a Recantation of their Paſtoral Vow, and whoſe Profeſſion to forſake the World, as they uſe the Matter, bogs them deeper into the World: Thoſe our admired *Spencer* inveighs againſt, not without ſome Preſage of theſe reforming Times.

The Time was once, and may again return
(For oft may happen that hath been beforn)
When Shepherds had none inheritance
Ne of Land, nor Fee in Sufferance,
But what might ariſe of the bare Sheep,
(Were it more or leſs) which they did keep,
Well ywis was it with Shepherd tho'
Nought having, naught feared they to forego
For Pan *himſelf was their Inheritance*
And little them ſerved for their Maintenance,
The Shepherds God ſo well them Guided,
That of naught they were unprovided
Butter enough, Honey, Milk and Whay,
And their Flock Fleeces them to array.
But tract of Time and long Proſperity
(That Nurſe of Vice, this of Inſolency)
Lulled the Shepherds in ſuch Security
That not content with loyal Obeyſance
Some gan to gape for greedy Governance,
And match themſelves with mighty Potentates
Lovers of Lordſhips and Troublers of States,
Tho gan Shepherds Swains to look aloft
And leave to live hard and learn to lig ſoft.
Tho under colour of Shepherds ſome while
There crept in Wolves full of Fraud and Guile
That often devoured their own Sheep,
And often the Shepherd that did them keep,
This was the firſt Source of Shepherds Sorrow
That now nill be quit with Bale, nor borrow.

By all this we may conjecture, how little we need fear that the unguilding of our Prelates will prove the woodening of our Prieſts. In the mean while, let no Man carry in his Head either ſuch narrow, or ſuch evil Eyes, as not to look upon the Churches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia* and that envied City *Geneva*: Where in the Chriſtian World doth Learning more flouriſh then in theſe Places? Not among your beloved *Jeſuits*, nor their Favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and inſtance in what kind of Learning you pleaſe. And how in *England* all noble Sciences attending upon the Train of Chriſtian Doctrin, may flouriſh more then ever; and how the able Profeſſors of every Art may with ample Stipends be honeſtly provided. And *Finally*, how there may be better Care had that their Hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the Courſes are ſo many and ſo eaſie, that I ſhall paſs them over.

Sect. 14. Pag. 129. *Remonſt.* It is God that makes the Biſhop, the King that gives the Biſhoprick, what can you ſay to this?

Anſw. What you ſhall not long ſtay for: We ſay it is God that makes a Biſhop, and the Devil that makes him take a Prelatical Biſhoprick, as for the Kings Gift, regal Bounty may be excuſable in giving, where the Biſhops Covetuouſneſs is damnable in taking.

Remonſt.

Remonſt. Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earneſtly wiſh'd themſelves in our Condition. Page. 137.

Anſw. I cannot blame them, they were not only eminent, but ſupereminent Divines, and for Stomach much like to *Pompey* the Great, that could indure no equal.

Remonſt. The *Babylonian* Note ſounds well in your Ears, down with it, down with it even to the Ground. Pag. 139.

Anſw. You miſtake the Matter, it was the *Edomitiſh* Note, but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angel. It is faln, it is faln.

Remonſt. But the God of Heaven will, we hope, vindicate his own Ordinance ſo long perpetuated to his Church.

Anſw. Go rather to your God of this World, and ſee if he can vindicate your Lordſhips, your temporal and ſpiritual Tyrannies and all your Pelf: For the God of Heav'n is already come down to vindicate his own Ordinance from your ſo long perpetuated Uſurpation.

Remonſt. If yet you can bluſh. Pag. 141. Sect. 15.

Anſw. This is a more *Edomitiſh* Conceit then the former, and muſt be ſilenc'd with a counter Quip of the ſame Country. So often and ſo unſavourily has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, down with it, down with it for ſhame. A Man would think you had eaten over Liberally of *Eſaus* red Pottage, and from thence dream continually of bluſhing; or perhaps, to heighten your Fancy in Writing, are wont to ſit in your Doctors Scarlet, which through your Eyes infecting your pregnant Imaginative with a red Suffuſion, begets a continual Thought of Bluſhing, that you thus perſecute ingenuous Men over all your Book, with this one over-tir'd rubrical Conceit ſtill of Bluſhing; but if you have no Mercy upon them, yet ſpare your ſelf, leaſt you bejade the good Galloway, your own Opiniaſter Wit, and make the very Conceit it ſelf bluſh with Spur-galling.

Remonſt. The Scandals of our inferiour Miniſters I deſir'd to have had leſs Public. Sect. 16. Pag. 148.

Anſw. And what your Superiour Arch-biſhop or Biſhops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath*! Say you. O dauber! And therefore remove not Impieties from *Iſrael*. *Conſtantine* might have done more juſtly to have puniſh'd thoſe Clergical Faults which he could not conceal, than to leave them unpuniſh'd, that they might remain conceal'd: Better had it been for him that the Heathen had heard the Fame of his Juſtice, than of his wilful Connivence and Partiality; and ſo the Name of God and his Truth had been leſs Blaſphem'd among his Enemies and the Clergy amended, which daily by this Impunity grew worſe and worſe. But, O to publiſh it in the Streets of *Aſcalon*! Sure ſome Colony of Puritans have taken *Aſcalon* from the *Turk* lately, that the *Remonſtrant* is ſo afraid of *Aſcalon*. The Papiſts we know condole ye, and neither *Conſtantinople*, nor your Neighbors of *Morocco* trouble you. What other *Aſcalon* can you allude to?

Remonſt. What a Death it is to think of the Sport and Advantage theſe watchful Enemies, theſe oppoſite Spectators will be ſure to make of our Sin and Shame? *Remonſt.* Pag. 37.

Anſw. This is but to fling and ſtruggle under the inevitable Net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remonſt. No one Clergy in the whole Chriſtian World yeilds ſo many eminent Scholars, learned Preachers, grave, holy and accompliſh'd Divines, as this Church of *England* doth at this Day. *Remonſt.* Pag. 38.

Anſw. Ha, ha, ha.

Remonſt. And long, and ever may it thus flouriſh.

Anſw. O peſtilent Imprecation! Flouriſh as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remonſt. But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath*!

Anſw.

Anſw. Forbid him rather, Sacred Parliament, to violate the Senſe of Scripture, and turn that which is ſpoken of the Afflictions of the Church under her *Pagan* Enemies to a pargetted Concealment of thoſe Prelatical crying Sins; for from theſe is Prophaneneſs gone forth into all the Land; they have hid their Eyes from the Sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themſelves and not their Flocks, with Force and Cruelty have they rul'd over Gods People:
Pet. 1.5. They have fed his Sheep (contrary to that which St. *Peter* writes) not of a ready Mind, but for filthy Lucre, not as Examples to the Flock, but as being Lords over Gods Heritage; and yet this Dauber would daub ſtill with his untemper'd Morter: But hearken what God ſays by the Prophet *Ezekiel*,
Ezek. 13. Say unto them that daub this Wall with untempered Morter, that it ſhall fall, there ſhall be an overflowing Shower, and ye, O great Hailſtones, ſhall fall, and a ſtormy Wind ſhall rend it, and I will ſay unto you, the Wall is no more, neither they that daub'd it.

Pa. 159. *Remonſt.* Whether of us ſhall give a better Account of our Charity to the God of Peace, I appeal?

Anſw. Your Charity is much to your Fellow Offenders, but nothing to the numberleſs Souls that have been loſt by their falſe Feeding; uſe not therefore ſo ſillily the Name of Charity, as moſt commonly you do, and the peaceful Attribute of God to a prepoſterous End.

Sect. 17. *Remonſt.* In the next Section, like ill-bred Sons, you ſpit in the Face of your Mother, the Church of *England*.

Anſw. What ſhould we do or ſay to this *Remonſtrant?* That by his idle and ſhallow Reaſonings ſeems to have been converſant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Biſhopricks. We acknowledge and believe the Catholic Reform'd Church, and if any Man be diſpos'd to uſe a Trope or Figure, as St. *Paul* once did, in calling her the Common Mother of us all, let him do as his own *Rhetoric* ſhall perſwade him. If therefore we muſt needs have a Mother, and if the Catholic Church only be, and muſt be ſhe, let all Genealogy tell us if it can, what we muſt call the Church of *England*, unleſs we ſhall make every *Engliſh* Proteſtant a kind of Poetical *Bacchus*, to have two Mothers: But mark, Readers, the crafty Scope of theſe *Prelates*, they endeavour to impreſs deeply into weak and ſuperſtitious Fancies the aweful Notion of a Mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicite Obedience to whatſoever they ſhall decree or think fit. And if we come to ask a Reaſon of ought from our dear Mother, ſhe's inviſible, under the Lock and Key of the *Prelates*, her ſpiritual Adulterers, they only are the *Internuntio's* or the Go-betweens of this trim-deviſed Mummery: Whatſoever they ſay, ſhe ſays, muſt be a deadly Sin of Diſobedience not to believe. So that we, who by Gods ſpecial Grace, have ſhaken off the Servitude of a great Male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope ſhould now, if we be not betimes aware of theſe wilely Teachers, ſink under the Slavery of a Female Notion, the cloudy Conception of a Demy-Iſland Mother, and while we think to be obedient Sons, ſhould make our ſelves rather the Baſtards or the *Centaures* of their ſpiritual Fornications.

Remonſt. Take heed of the Ravens of the Valley.

Anſw. The Ravens we are to take heed on are your ſelves, that would peck out the Eyes of all knowing Chriſtians.

Remonſt. Sit you merry Brethren.

Anſw. So we ſhall when the Furies of Prelatical Conſciences will not give them leave to do ſo.

Sect. 18. *Queries.* Whether they would not jeopard their Ears rather, &c.
Pa. 160. *Anſw.* A Puniſhment that awaits the Merits of your bold Accomplices for the lopping and ſtigmatizing of ſo many freeborn Chriſtians.

Pa. 161. *Remonſt.* Whether the profeſſed Slovenlineſs in Gods Service, &c.

Anſw. We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice, but theſe days are paſt;

paſt; and for your Prieſt under the Goſpel that thinks himſelf the purer or the cleanlier in his Office for his new waſh'd Surplice, we eſteem him for Sanctity little better then *Apollonius Thyanæus* in his white Frock, or the Prieſt of *Iſis* in his Lawn Sleeves, and they may all for Holineſs lye together in the Suds.

Remonſt. Whether it were not moſt lawful and juſt to puniſh your Preſumption and Diſobedience.

Anſw. The Puniſhing of that which you call our Preſumption and Diſobedience lies not now within the Execution of your Fangs, the merciful God above and our juſt Parliament will deliver us from your *Epheſian* Beaſts, your cruel *Nimrods*, with whom we ſhall be ever fearleſs to encounter.

Remonſt. God give you Wiſdom to ſee the Truth, and Grace to follow it.

Anſw. I wiſh the like to all thoſe that reſiſt not the Holy Ghoſt, for of ſuch God commands *Jeremy*, ſaying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up Cry or Prayer for them, neither make Interceſſion to me. for I will not hear thee; and of ſuch St. *John* ſaith, He that bids them God ſpeed is Partaker of their evil Deeds.

To the POSTSCRIPT.

Remonſt. A goodly *Paſquin* borrow'd for a great Part out of *Sions* Plea, or the Breviate conſiſting of a *Rhapſody* of Hiſtories.

Anſw. How wittily you tell us what your wonted Courſe is upon the like Occaſion: The Collection was taken, be it known to you, from as Authentic Authors in this kind, as any in a Biſhops Library; and the Collector of it ſays moreover, that if the like Occaſion come again, he ſhall leſs need the Help of Breviates or Hiſtorical *Rhapſodies* then your Reverence to eek out your Sermonings ſhall need repair to *Poſtils* or *Polianthea's*.

Remonſt. They were Biſhops, you ſay true, but they were *Popiſh* Biſhops. Pa. 164.

Anſw. Since you would bind us to your Juriſdiction by their Canon-Law, ſince you would inforce upon us the old Riff-raff of *Sarum* and other *Monaſtical* Relicks, ſince you live upon their unjuſt Purchaſes, alledge their Authorities, boaſt of their Succeſſion, walk in their Steps, their Pride, their Titles, their Covetouſneſs, their Perſecuting of Gods People, ſince you diſclaim their Actions and build their Sepulchres, it is moſt juſt that all their Faults ſhould be imputed to you and their Iniquities viſited upon you.

Remonſt. Could you ſee no Colledges, no Hoſpitals built? Pag. 166.

Anſw. At that *Primero* of Piety the Pope and Cardinals are the better Gameſters, and will cog a Die into Heaven before you.

Remonſt. No Churches re-edified?

Anſw. Yes, more Churches then Souls.

Remonſt. No learned Volums writ?

Anſw. So did the miſcreant Biſhop of *Spalatto* write learned Volums againſt the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done, ye write them in your Cloſets and unwrite them in your Courts, hot Volumiſts and cold Biſhops: A Swaſhbuckler againſt the Pope and a Dormouſe againſt the Devil, while the whole Dioceſs be ſown with Tares, and none to reſiſt the Enemy but ſuch as let him in at the Poſtern, a rare Superintendent at *Rome* and a Cypher at Home. Hypocrites, the Goſpel faithfully preach'd to the Poor, the deſolate Pariſhes viſited and duly fed, Loiterers thrown out, Wolves driven from the Fold had been a better Confutation of the Pope and Maſs then whole *Hecatontomes* of Controverſies, and all this careering with Spear in Reſt, and thundring upon the ſteel Cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*.

Remonſt. No ſeduc'd Perſons reclaim'd?

Anſw. More reclaim'd Perſons ſeduc'd.

Remonſt. No Hoſpitality kept?

Anſw. *Bacchanalia's* good Store in every Biſhops Family, and good Gleeking.

Remonſt. No great Offenders puniſh'd?

Anſw. The Trophies of your high Commiſſion are renown'd.

Remonſt. No good Offices done for the Public?

Anſw. Yes, the good Office of reducing Monarchy to Tyranny, of breaking Pacifications, and calumniating the People to the King.

Remonſt. No Care of the Peace of the Church?

Anſw. No, nor of the Land, witneſs the two Armies in the *North*, that now lies plunder'd and over-run by a *Liturgy*.

Remonſt. No Diligence in preaching?

Anſw. Scarce any Preaching at all.

Remonſt. No Holineſs in living?

Anſw. No.

Remonſt. Truly, Brethren, I can ſay no more, but that the Fault is in your Eyes.

Anſw. If you can ſay no more then this, you were a proper *Remonſtrant* to ſtand up for the whole Tribe.

Remonſt. Wipe them, and look better.

Anſw. Wipe your fat Corpulencies out of our Light.

Remonſt. Yea, I beſeech God to open them rather that they may ſee Good.

Anſw. If you mean good *Prelates*, let be your Prayer, ask not Impoſſibilities.

Remonſt. As for that Proverb, the Biſhops Foot hath been in it, it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*, or ſome Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

Anſw. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

Pag. 167. *Remonſt.* I doubt not but they will ſay, the Biſhops Foot hath been in your Book, for I am ſure it is quite ſpoil'd by this juſt Confutation: For your Proverb, *Sapit Ollam.*

Anſw. Spoil'd, quoth he? Indeed it is ſo ſpoil'd, as a good Song is ſpoil'd by a lewd Singer, or, as the Saying is, God ſends Meat, but the Cooks work their Wills; in that Senſe we grant your Biſhops Foot may have ſpoil'd it, and made it *ſapere Ollam*, if not *ſapere Aulam*, which is the ſame in old *Latine*, and perhaps in plain *Engliſh*. For certain your Confutation hath atchiev'd nothing againſt it, and left nothing upon it but a foul Taſte of your skillet-foot, and a more perfect and diſtinguiſhable Odour of your Socks then of your Night-cap. And how the Biſhop ſhould confute a Book with his Foot, unleſs his Brains were dropt into his great Toe, I cannot meet with any Man that can reſolve me, only they tell me, that certainly ſuch a Confutation muſt needs be gouty. So much for the Biſhops Foot.

Remonſt. You tell us of *Bonner's* Broth, it is the Faſhion in ſome Countries to ſend in their Keal in the laſt Service, and this, it ſeems, is the Manner amongſt our *Smectymnuans*.

Anſw. Your latter Service at the high Altar you mean; but ſoft *Sir*, the Feaſt was but begun, the Broth was your own, you have been inviting the Land to it theſe fourſcore Years, and ſo long we have been your *Slaves* to ſerve it up for you, much againſt our Wills, we know you have the Beef to it ready in your Kitchens, we are ſure it was almoſt ſod before this Parliament begun; what Direction you have given ſince to your Cooks to ſet it by in the Pantry till ſome fitter time we know not, and therefore your dear Jeſt is loſt; this Broth was but your firſt *Service*: Alas, *Sir*, why do you delude your Gueſts? Why do not thoſe goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your ſtately Chargers? Doubtleſs, if need be, the Pope, that owes you for mollifying the Matter ſo well with him and making him a true Church, will furniſh you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

Remonſt. Learned and Worthy Dr. *Moulin* ſhall tell them.

Anſw.

Answ. Moulin says in his Book of the Calling of Pastors, that because Bishops were the Reformers of the *English* Church, therefore they were left remaining: This Argument is but of small Force to keep you in your Cathedrals. For first it may be deny'd that Bishops were our first Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them and his egregious Labours are not to be neglected, besides our Bishops were in this Work but the Disciples of Priests, and began the Reformation before they were Bishops: But what though *Luther* and other *Monks* were the Reformers of other Places, does it follow therefore that *Monks* ought to continue? No, though *Luther* had taught so: And, *Lastly, Moulin's* Argument directly makes against you, for if there be nothing in it, but this, Bishops were left remaining because they were the Reformers of the Church, by as good a Consequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, because they have been the most certain Deformers and Ruiners of the Church. Thus you see how little it avails you to take Sanctuary among those Churches which in the general Scope of your Actions formerly you have disregarded and despis'd, however your fair Words would now smooth it over otherwise.

Remonst. Our Bishops, some whereof being crown'd with Martyrdom, subscrib'd the Gospel with their Blood. Pag. 168.

Answ. You boast much of Martyrs to uphold your Episcopacy, but if you would call to Mind what *Eusebius* in his 5. *l.* recites from *Apolinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you should then hear it esteem'd no other then an old Heretical Argument, to prove a Position True, because some that held it were Martyrs: This was that which gave Boldness to the *Marcionists* and *Cataphryges* to avouch their impious Heresies for pious Doctrin, because they could reckon many Martyrs of their Sect, and when they were confuted in other Points, this was ever their last and stoutest Plea.

Remonst. In the mean Time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable and pertinent Humiliation, then yet you know, and a less mistaken Charitableness, with that Peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.

AN

APOLOGY

Against a *Pamphlet*, called a

Modest Confutation

Of the *Animadversions* upon the *Remonstrant*

AGAINST

SMECTYMNUUS.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

THE PREFACE.

IF Readers, to that ſame great Difficulty of well doing what we certainly know, were not added in moſt Men as great a Careleſneſs of Knowing what they and others ought to do, we had been long 'ere this, no doubt but all of us much farther on our way to ſome Degree of Peace and Happineſs in this Kingdom. But ſince our Sinful Neglect of Practiſing that which we know to be undoubtedly True and Good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods juſt Anger, ſo great a Difficulty now to know that which otherwiſe might be ſoon learnt, and hath divided us by a Controverſie of great Importance indeed, but of no hard Solution which is the more our Puniſhment, I reſolv'd (of what ſmall Moment ſoever I might be thought) to ſtand on that ſide where I ſaw both the plain Authority of Scripture leading, and the Reaſon of Juſtice and Equity perſwading; with this Opinion which eſteems it more unlike a Chriſtian to be a cold Neuter in the Cauſe of the Church, then the Law of *Solon* made it puniſhable after a Sedition in the State. And becauſe I obſerve that Fear and dull Diſpoſition, Lukewarmneſs and Sloth are not ſeldomer wont to cloak themſelves under the affected Name of Moderation, then true and lively Zeal is cuſtomarily diſparag'd with the Term of Indiſcretion, Bitterneſs and Choler, I could not to my thinking Honour a good Cauſe more from the Heart then by defending it earneſtly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithſtanding any falſe Name that could be invented to wrong, or undervalue an honeſt Meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to ſingle forth more then once, ſuch of them as were thought the chief and moſt nominated Oppoſers on the other ſide, whom no Man elſe undertook: If I have done well either to be confident of the Truth, whoſe Force is beſt ſeen againſt the ableſt Reſiſtance, or to be jealous and tender of the Hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping Authority of great Names titl'd to falſe Opinions, or that it be lawful to attribute ſomewhat to Gifts of Gods imparting, which I boaſt not, but thankfully acknowledge and fear alſo leaſt at my certain Account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few, or if, laſtly, it be but Juſtice not to defraud of due Eſteem the weariſom Labours and ſtudious Watchings, wherein I have ſpent and tir'd out almoſt a whole Youth, I ſhall not diſtruſt to be acquitted of Preſumption. Knowing, that if heretofore all Ages have receiv'd with Favour and good Acceptance the earlieſt Induſtry of him that hath been Hopeful, it were but hard Meaſure now, if the Freedom of any timely Spirit ſhould be oppreſt merely by the big and blunted Fame of his elder Adverſary; and that his Sufficiency muſt be now ſentenc'd, not by pondering the Reaſon he ſhews, but by calculating the Years he brings. However, as my Purpoſe is not, nor hath been formerly, to look on my Adverſary abroad, through the deceiving Glaſs of other Mens great Opinion of him, bnt at Home, where I may find him in the proper Light of his own worth, ſo now againſt the Rancor of an evil Tongue, from which I never thought ſo abſurdly, as that I of all Men ſhould be exempt, I muſt be forc'd to proceed from the unfeigned and diligent Inquiry of mine own Conſcience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more true Account of my ſelf abroad then this modeſt Confuter, as he calls himſelf, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I ſhall be ſenſible of two Things, which to me will be nothing pleaſant; the one is, that not unlikely I ſhall be thought too much a Party in mine

own

own Cauſe, and therein to ſee leaſt; the other, that I ſhall be put unwillingly to moleſt the Public View with the Vindication of a private Name; as if it were worth the while, that the People ſhould care whether ſuch a one were thus, or thus. Yet thoſe I intreat who have found the Leaſure to read that Name, however of ſmall Repute, unworthily defam'd, would be ſo good and ſo patient as to hear the ſame Perſon not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the beſt Apology againſt falſe Accuſers is Silence and Sufferance and honeſt Deeds ſet againſt diſhoneſt Words. And that I could at this time moſt eaſily and ſecurely, with the leaſt Loſs of Reputation uſe no other Defence, I need not deſpair to win Belief. Whether I conſider both the fooliſh Contriving and ridiculous Aiming of theſe his ſlanderous Bolts, ſhot ſo wide of any Suſpicion to be faſtn'd on me, that I have oft with inward Contentment perceiv'd my Friends congratulating themſelves in my Innocence, and my Enemies aſham'd of their Partners Folly. Or whether I look at theſe preſent Times wherein moſt Men now ſcarce permitted the Liberty to think over their own Concernments have remov'd the Seat of their Thoughts more outward to the Expectation of public Events. Or, whether the Examples of Men, either Noble or Religious, who have ſat down lately with a meek Silence and Sufferance under many libellous Endorſements, may be a Rule to others, I might well appeaſe my ſelf to put up any Reproaches in ſuch an honourable Society of Fellow-ſufferers uſing no other Defence. And were it that Slander would be content to make an end where it firſt fixes, and not ſeek to caſt out the like Infamy upon each thing that hath but any Relation to the Perſon traduc'd, I ſhould have pleaded againſt this Confuter by no other Advocates, then thoſe which I firſt commended, Silence and Sufferance and ſpeaking Deeds againſt faltering Words. But when I diſcern'd his Intent was not ſo much to ſmite at me, as through me to render odious the Truth which I had written, and to ſtain with Ignominy that Evangelic Doctrin which oppoſes the Tradition of Prelacy, I conceiv'd my ſelf to be now not as mine own Perſon, but as a Member incorporate into that Truth whereof I was perſwaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a Partaker. Whereupon I thought it my Duty, if not to my ſelf, yet to the religious Cauſe I had in hand, not to leave on my Garment the leaſt Spot, or Blemiſh in good Name ſo long as God ſhould give me to ſay that which might wipe it off. Leaſt thoſe Diſgraces which I ought to ſuffer, if it ſo befal me, for my Religion, through my default Religion be made liable to ſuffer for me. And, whether it might not ſomething reflect upon thoſe Reverent Men whoſe Friend I may be thought in writing the Animadverſions, was not my laſt Care to conſider, if I ſhould reſt under theſe Reproaces, having the ſame common Adverſary with them, it might be counted ſmall Credit for their Cauſe to have found ſuch an Aſſiſtant, as this Babler hath deviſ'd me. What other Thing in his Book there is of Diſpute, or Queſtion, in anſwering thereto I doubt not to be juſtifi'd; except there be, who will condemn me to have waſted Time in throwing down that which could not keep it ſelf up. As for others, who, notwithſtanding, what I can alledge have yet Decreed to miſ-interpret the Intents of my Reply. I ſuppoſe they would have found as many Cauſes to have miſ-conceiv'd the Reaſons of my Silence.

J. MILTON.

AN

† Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui Lumen ademptum.

AN

†APOLOGY, &c.

TO begin therefore an Apology for thoſe Animadverſions which I writ againſt the *Remonſtrant* in Defence of *Smectymnuus*, ſince the Preface, which was purpoſely ſet before them, is not thought Apologetical enough, it will be beſt to acquaint ye, Readers, before other Things, what the Meaning was to write them in that Manner, which I did. For I do not look to be ask'd, wherefore I writ the Book, it being no Difficulty to anſwer that I did it to thoſe Ends which the beſt Men propoſe to themſelves when they write. But wherefore in that Manner neglecting the main Bulk of all that ſpecious Antiquity, which might ſtun Children, but not Men, I choſe rather to obſerve ſome kind of military Advantages to await him at his Foragings, at his Watrings, and when ever he felt himſelf ſecure to ſolace his Vein in Deriſion of his more ſerious Opponents. And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the Remembrance of that which he hath licenc'd himſelf to utter contemptuouſly of thoſe reverend Men provoke me to do that over again which ſome expect I ſhould excuſe as too freely done; ſince I have two Provocations, his lateſt inſulting in his ſhort Anſwer, and their final Patience. I had no Fear but that the Authors of *Smectymnuus* to all the ſhew of Solidity which the *Remonſtrant* could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpoſe to return a ſufficing Anſwer and were able enough to lay the duſt and pudder in Antiquity, which he and his, out of Stratagem, are wont to raiſe; but when I ſaw his weak Arguments headed with ſharp Taunts and that his Deſign was, if he could not refute them, yet at leaſt with Quips and ſnaping Adagies to vapour them out, which they bent only upon the Buſineſs were minded to let paſs, by how much I ſaw them taking little Thought for their own Injuries, I muſt confeſs I took it as my Part the leſs to endure that my reſpected Friends through their own unneceſſary Patience ſhould thus lye at the Mercy of a coy flurting Stile; to be girded with Frumps and curtal Gibes, by one who makes Sentences by the Statute, as if all above three Inches long were confiſcate. To me it ſeem'd an Indignity, that whom his whole Wiſdom could not move from their Place, them his impetuous Folly ſhould preſume to ride over. And if I were more warm then was meet in any Paſſage of that Book, which yet I do not yield, I might uſe therein the Patronage of no worſe an Author then *Gregory Nyſſen*, who mentioning his ſharpneſs againſt *Eunomius* in the Defence of his Brother *Baſil*, holds himſelf irreprovable in that it *was not for himſelf, but in the Cauſe of his Brother*; *and in ſuch Caſes*, ſaith he, *perhaps it is worthier Pardon to be angry, then to be cooler.* And whenas this Confuter taxes the whole Diſcourſe of Levity, I ſhall ſhew ye, Readers, whereſoever it ſhall be objected in particular that I have anſwer'd with as little Lightneſs as the *Remonſtrant* hath given Example. I have not been ſo light as the Palm of a Biſhop which is the lighteſt Thing in the World, when he brings out his Book of Ordination: For then contrary to that which is wont in releaſing out of Priſon, any one that will pay his Fees is layd hands on. Another Reaſon, it would not be amiſs though the *Remonſtrant* were told, wherefore he was in that unuſual manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the Heads of his Admirers the Conceit that all who are not Prelatical, are groſs-headed, thick witted, illiterate, ſhallow. Can nothing then but Epiſcopacy

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teach Men to ſpeak good *Engliſh*, to pick and order a ſet of Words judiciouſly? Muſt we learn from Canons and quaint Sermonings interlin'd with barbarous *Latin* to illumin a Period, to wreath an *Enthimema* with maſtrous Dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it obſerv'd, that a Jeſuit's *Italian* when he writes, is ever naught, though he be born and bred a *Florentine*, ſo to think that from like Cauſes we may go near to obſerve the ſame in the Stile of a Prelate. For doubtleſs that indeed according to Art is moſt Eloquent, which returns and approaches neareſt to Nature from whence it came; and they expreſs Nature beſt, who in their Lives leaſt wander from her ſafe leading, which may be call'd regenerate Reaſon. So that how he ſhould be truly Eloquent who is not withal a good Man, I ſee not. Nevertheleſs as oft as is to be dealt with Men who pride themſelves in their ſuppoſed Art, to leave them unexcuſable wherein they will not be better'd, there be of thoſe that eſteem Prelacy a Figment, who yet can pipe, if they can dance, nor will be unfurniſh'd to ſhew that what the Prelates admire and have not, others have and admire not. The Knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withſtand the Perverters of the Goſpel were thoſe other Motives which gave the *Animadverſions* no leave to remit a continual Vehemence throughout the Book. For as in Teaching, doubtleſs the Spirit of Meekneſs is moſt powerful, ſo are the meek only fit Perſons to be taught: As for the proud, the obſtinate, and falſe Doctors of Mens Devices, be taught they will not; but diſcover'd and laid open they muſt be. For how can they admit of Teaching, who have the Condemnation of God already upon them for refuſing Divine Inſtruction; that is, to be *fill'd with their own Devices*, as in the *Proverbs* we may read; therefore we may ſafely imitate the Method that God uſes; *with the froward to be froward, and to throw Scorn upon the Scorner*, who if any thing, nothing elſe will heal. And if *the Righteous ſhall laugh at the Deſtruction of the Ungodly*, they may alſo laugh at their pertinacious and incurable Obſtinacy, and at the ſame time be mov'd with Deteſtation of their ſeducing Malice, who imploy all their Wits to defend a Prelacy Uſurpt, and to deprave that juſt Government, which Pride and Ambition partly by fine Fetches and Pretences, partly by Force, hath ſhoulder'd out of the Church. And againſt ſuch kind of Deceivers openly and earneſtly to proteſt, leaſt any one ſhould be inquiſitive wherefore this or that Man is forwarder then others, let him know that this Office goes not by Age or Youth, but to whomſoever God ſhall give apparently the Will, the Spirit, and the Utterance. Ye have heard the Reaſons for which I thought not my ſelf exempted from aſſociating with good Men in their Labours toward the Churches Welfare: To which if any one brought Oppoſition, I brought my beſt Reſiſtance. If in Requital of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the Reputation of my Friends, I have gain'd a Name beſtuck, or as I may ſay, bedeck'd with the Reproaches and Reviles of this modeſt Confuter, it ſhall be to me neither ſtrange nor unwelcome; as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an Account, what induc'd me to write thoſe *Animadverſions* in that Manner as I writ them, I come now to ſee what the Confutation hath to ſay againſt them; but ſo as the Confuter ſhall hear, *firſt*, what I have to ſay againſt his Confutation. And becauſe he pretends to be a great Conjector at other Men by their Writings, I will not fail to give ye, Readers, a preſent Taſte of him from his own Title; hung out like a toling Sign-poſt to call Paſſengers, not ſimply *a Confutation* but *a Modeſt Confutation* with a Laudatory of it ſelf obtruded in the very firſt Word. Whereas a modeſt Title ſhould only inform the buyer what the Book contains without further Inſinuation, this officious *Epithet* ſo haſtily aſſuming the Modeſty which others are to judge of by Reading, not the Author to anticipate to himſelf by foreſtalling, is a ſtrong Preſumption that his Modeſty ſet there to Sale in the Frontiſpice, is

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not much addicted to bluſh. A ſurer Sign of his loſt Shame he could not have given, then ſeeking thus unſeaſonably to prepoſſeſs Men of his Modeſty. And ſeeing he hath neither kept his Word in the Sequel, nor omitted any kind of Boldneſs in Slandering, 'tis manifeſt his Purpoſe was only to rub the Forehead of his Title with this word *Modeſt*, that he might not want Colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole Confutation. *Next*, what can equally Savour of Injuſtice, and plain Arrogance, as to prejudice and fore-condemn his Adverſary in the Title for *Slanderous and Scurrilous*, and as the *Remonſtrants* Faſhion is, for *Frivolous*, *Tedious and Falſe*, not ſtaying till the Reader can hear him prov'd ſo in the following Diſcourſe; which is one Cauſe of a Suſpicion that in ſetting forth this Pamphlet the *Remonſtrant* was not unconſulted with, thus his firſt Addreſs was *an humble Remonſtrance by a dutiful Son of the Church*, almoſt as if he had ſaid her White-boy. His *next* was *a Defence* (a Wonder how it ſcap'd ſome praiſing Adjunct) *againſt the frivolous and falſe Exceptions of* Smectymnuus, ſitting in the Chair of his Title Page upon his poor caſt Adverſaries both as a Judge and Party, and that before the Jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His laſt was *a ſhort Anſwer to a tedious Vindication*; ſo little can he ſuffer a Man to meaſure either with his Eye or Judgment, what is ſhort or what tedious without his pre-occupying Direction: And from hence is begotten this *modeſt Confutation againſt a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous Libel*. I conceive, Readers, much may be gueſt at the Man and his Book, what Depth there is by the framing of his Title, which being in this *Remonſtrant* ſo raſh, and unadviſed as ye ſee, I conceit him to be near a Kin to him, who ſet forth a Paſſion Sermon with a formal *Dedicatory* in great Letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his Praiſe and Glory, yet to inſcribe him in a void Place with Flouriſhes, as a Man in Complement uſes to trick up the Name of ſome Eſquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramont at Common Law, to be his Book-patron with the appendant Form of a ceremonious Preſentment, will ever appear among the Judicious to be but an inſulſe and frigid Affection. As no leſs was that before his Book againſt the *Browniſts* to write a Letter to a *Proſopopœa*, a certain *Rhetoriz'd* Woman whom he calls Mother, and complains of ſome that laid Whoredom to her Charge; and certainly had he folded his Epiſtle with a Superſcription to be deliver'd to that female Figure by any Poſt or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had been a moſt miraculous Greeting. We find the Primitive Doctors as oft as they write to Churches, ſpeaking to them as to a number of faithful Brethren and Sons, and not to make a cloudy Tranſmigration of Sexes, in ſuch a familiar way of Writing as an Epiſtle ought to be, leaving the Track of common Addreſs, to run up, and tread the Air in *Metaphorical* Compellations, and many fond Utterances, better let alone. But I ſtep again to this Emblazoner of his Title Page (whether it be the ſame Man or no I leave it in the midſt) and here *I* find him pronouncing without Reprieve thoſe *Animadverſions* to be *a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous Libel*. To which *I*, Readers, that are neither ſlanderous, nor ſcurrilous, will anſwer in what Place of his Book he ſhall be found with Reaſon, and not Ink only in his Mouth. Nor can it be a Libel more then his own, which is both nameleſs, and full of Slanders, and if in this, that it freely ſpeaks of things amiſs in Religion, but eſtabliſh'd by Act of State, *I* ſee not how *Wickleffe* and *Luther*, with all the firſt Martyrs and Reformers, could avoid the *I*mputation of Libelling. *I* never thought the human Frailty of erring in Caſes of Religion, Infamy to State, no more then to a Councel; it had therefore been neither Civil, nor Chriſtianly, to derogate the Honour of the State for that Cauſe, eſpecially when *I* ſaw the Parliament it ſelf piouſly and magnanimouſly bent to ſupply and reform the Defects and Overſights of their Forefathers, which to the godly and repentant Ages of the *Jews*, were often Matter of humble confeſſing and bewailing, not of confi-

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dent Aſſerting and Maintaining. Of the State therefore *I* found good reaſon to ſpeak all honourable Things, and to joyn in Petition with good Men that petition'd: But againſt the Prelates who were the only ſeducers and miſ-leaders of the State, to conſtitute the Government of the Church not rightly, me thought *I* had not Vehemence enough. And thus, Readers, by the Example which he hath ſet me, *I* have given ye two or three Notes of him out of his Title Page; by which his Firſtlings fear not to gueſs boldly at his whole Lump, for that gueſs will not fail ye; and although *I* tell him keen Truth, yet he may bear with me, ſince I am like to chaſe him into ſome good Knowledge, and others, I truſt, ſhall not miſ-ſpend their leiſure. For this my aim is, if I am forc'd to be unpleaſing to him whoſe Fault it is, I ſhall not forget at the ſame Time to be uſeful in ſome Thing to the ſtander by.

As therefore he began in the Title, ſo in the next Leaf he makes it his firſt buſineſs to tamper with his Reader, by ſycophanting and miſnaming the Work of his Adverſary. He calls it *a Mime thruſt forth upon the Stage to make up the Breaches of thoſe ſolemn Scenes between the* Prelates *and the* Smectymnuans. Wherein while he is ſo over-greedy to fix a Name of ill Sound upon another, note how ſtupid he is to expoſe himſelf, or his own Friends to the ſame Ignominy; likening thoſe grave Controverſies to a piece of Chirurgery or Scene-work, where his own *Remonſtrant*, whether in Buskin or Sock muſt of all right be counted their chief Player, be it boaſting *Thraſo* or *Davus*, *that troubles all things*, or one who can ſhift into any ſhape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath reſembl'd the whole Argument to a Comedy, for *Tragical*, he ſays, *were too Ominous*. Nor yet doth he tell us, what a *Mime* is, whereof we have no Pattern from Ancient Writers except ſome Fragments, which contain many acute and wiſe Sentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the *Mimes* of *Sophron* were of ſuch Reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on, and after make them his Pillow. *Scaliger* deſcribes a *Mime* to be a Poem, imitating any Action to ſtir up Laughter. But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abuſively taxt to be a *Mime*. For if every Book which may by chance excite to Laugh here and there, muſt be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for thoſe his Writings hath obtain'd the Sirname of Divine, be eſteem'd as they are by that Detractor in *Athenæus*, no better then *Mimes*. Becauſe there is ſcarce one of them, eſpecially wherein ſome notable Sophiſter lies ſweating and turmoyling under the inevitable and mercileſs Dilemmas of *Socrates*, but that he who reads, were it *Saturn* himſelf, would be often rob'd of more then a Smile. And whereas he tells us, that *Scurrilous Mime was a perſonated grim lowring Fool*, his fooliſh Language unwittingly writes Fool upon his own Friend, for he who was there *Perſonated*, was only the *Remonſtrant*; the Author is ever diſtinguiſh'd from the Perſon he introduces. But in an ill Hour hath his unfortunate Raſhneſs ſtumbl'd upon the mention of *Miming*. That he might at length ceaſe, which he hath not yet ſince he ſtept in, to gall and hurt him whom he would aid. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he ſo uncircumſpect, as not to foreſee, that no ſooner would that word *Mime* be ſet Eye on in the Paper, but it would bring to Mind that wretched Pilgrimage over *Minſhew's* Dictionary, call'd, *Mundus alter & idem*, the idleſt and paltrieſt *Mime* that ever mounted upon Bank. Let him ask the *Author of thoſe toothleſs Satyrs* who was the Maker, or rather the Anticreator of that univerſal Foolery, who he was, who like that other Principle of the *Maniches*, the *Arch-evil-one*, when he had look'd upon all that he had made and mapt out, could ſay no other, but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very fooliſh. That grave and noble Invention which the greateſt and ſublimeſt Wits in ſundry Ages, *Plato* in *Critias*, and our two famous Country-men, the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* choſe, I may not ſay, as a Field, but as a mighty Continent

wherein to diſplay the Largneſs of their Spirits, by teaching this our World better and exacter Things, then were yet known, or us'd, this petty Prevaricator of *America*, the Zany of *Columbus* (for ſo he muſt be till his Worlds End) having rambl'd over the huge *Topography* of his own vain Thoughts, no marvel, if he brought us home nothing but a meer tankard Drollery, a venerous Parjetory for a Stew. Certainly, he that could indure with a ſober Pen to ſit and deviſe Laws for Drunkards to carouſe by, I doubt me whether the very Soberneſs of ſuch a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*, were not ſtark drunk. Let him go now and brand another Man injuriouſly with the Name of *Mime*, being himſelf the looſeſt and moſt extravagant *Mime*, that hath been heard of; whom no leſs then almoſt half the World could ſerve for Stage-room to play the *Mime* in. And let him adviſe again with Sir *Francis Bacon*, whom he cites to confute others, what it is to *turn the Sins of Chriſtendom into a mimical Mockery, to rip up the ſaddeſt Vices with a laughing Countenance*, eſpecially, where neither Reproof nor better Teaching is adjoyn'd. Nor is my meaning, Readers, to ſhift off a blame from my ſelf, by charging the like upon my Accuſer, but ſhall only deſire that Sentence may be reſpited, till I can come to ſome Inſtance, whereto I may give anſwer.

Thus having ſpent his firſt Onſet not in confuting, but in a reaſonleſs defaming of the Book, the Method of his Malice hurries him to attempt the like againſt the Author: not by Proofs and Teſtimonies, but *having no certain notice of me*, as he profeſſes, *further then what he gathers from the Animadverſions*, blunders at me for the reſt, and flings out ſtray Crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent, ſuck from any Thing that I have written; but from his own ſtuf'd Magazin and Hoard of ſlanderous Inventions, over and above that which he converted to Venom in the drawing. To me, Readers, it happens as a ſingular Contentment, and let it be to good Men no ſlight Satisfaction, that the Slanderer here confeſſes, he has *no further notice of me then his own Conjecture*. Although it had been honeſt to have inquir'd, before he utter'd ſuch infamous Words, and I am credibly inform'd he did enquire, but finding ſmall Comfort from the Intelligence which he receiv'd, whereon to ground the Falſities which he had provided, thought it his likelieſt Courſe under a pretended Ignorance to let drive at random, leaſt he ſhould loſe his odd Ends, which from ſome penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would fain apply. Not caring to burthen me with thoſe Vices, whereof, among whom my Converſation hath been, I have been ever leaſt ſuſpected; perhaps not without ſome Subtlety to caſt me into Envy, by bringing on me a Neceſſity to enter into mine own Praiſes. "In which Argument I know every wiſe Man is more unwillingly drawn to ſpeak, then the moſt repining Ear can be averſe to hear. Nevertheleſs, ſince I dare not wiſh to paſs this Life unperſecuted of ſlanderous Tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is Woful, I ſhall rely on his Promiſe to free the Innocent from cauſeleſs Aſperſions: Whereof nothing ſooner can aſſure me, then if I ſhall feel him now aſſiſting me in the juſt Vindication of my ſelf, which yet I could defer, it being more meet that to thoſe other Matters of public Debatement in this Book I ſhould give Attendance, *firſt*, but that I fear it would but harm the Truth, for me to Reaſon in her behalf, ſo long as I ſhould ſuffer my honeſt Eſtimation to ly unpurg'd from theſe inſolent Suſpicions. And if I ſhall be large, or unwonted in juſtifying my ſelf to thoſe who know me not, for elſe it would be needleſs, let them conſider, that a ſhort Slander will oft-times reach further then a long Apology: And that he who will do juſtly to all Men, muſt begin from knowing how, if it ſo happen, to be not unjuſt to himſelf. I muſt be thought, if this Libeller (for now he ſhews himſelf to be ſo) can find Belief, after an inordinat and riotous Youth, ſpent at *the Univerſity*, to have been at length *vomited out thence*. For which commodious Lye, that he may be incourag'd in the Trade,

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another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt Occaſion to acknowledge publicly with all grateful Mind, that more then ordinary Favour and Reſpect which I found above any of my Equals, at the Hands of thoſe curteous and learned Men, the Fellows of that Colledge wherein I ſpent ſome Years: who at my parting, after I had taken two Degrees, as the Manner is, ſignifi'd many ways, how much better it would content them that I would ſtay; as by many Letters full of Kindneſs and loving Reſpect both before that Time, and long after I was aſſur'd of their ſingular good Affection towards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe to all ſuch as were for their Studious and Civil Life worthy of Eſteem, I could not wrong their Judgments, and upright Intentions, ſo much as to think I had that Regard from them, for other Cauſe then that I might be ſtill encourag'd to proceed in the honeſt and laudable Courſes, of which they apprehended I had given good Proof. And to thoſe ingenuous and friendly Men who were ever the Countenancers of vertuous and hopeful Wits, I wiſh the beſt and happieſt Things, that Friends in Abſence wiſh one to another. As for the common Approbation or Diſlike of that Place, as now it is, that I ſhould Eſteem or Diſ-eſteem my ſelf or any other the more for that, too ſimple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he think to obtain with me, or any right Diſcerner. Of ſmall Practice were that Phyſitian who could not judge by what both ſhe or her Siſter, hath of long time vomited, that the worſer Stuff ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her Stomack, but the better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſy. She vomits now out of Sickneſs, but 'ere it be well with her, ſhe muſt vomit by ſtrong Phyſick. In the mean while that *Suburb Sink*, as this rude Scavinger calls it, and more then ſcurrilouſly taunts it with the *Plague*, having a worſe Plague, in his middle Entrail, that *Suburb* wherein I dwell, ſhall be in my Account a more honourable Place then his Univerſity. Which as in the time of her better Health, and mine own younger Judgment I never greatly admir'd, ſo now much leſs. But he follows me to the City, ſtill uſurping and forging beyond his Book Notice, which only he affirms to have had; *and where my Morning haunts are he wiſſes not.* 'Tis Wonder, that being ſo rare an *Alchimiſt* of *Slander*, he could not extract that, as well as the Univerſity Vomit, and the *Suburb Sink* which his Art could diſtil ſo cunningly, but becauſe his *Limbeck* fails him, to give him and Envy the more Vexation, I'le tell him. Thoſe morning Haunts are where they ſhould be, at Home, not ſleeping or concocting the Surfeits of an irregular Feaſt, but up and ſtirring, in Winter often 'ere the Sound of any Bell awake Men to Labour, or to Devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier to read good Authors, or cauſe them to be read, till the Attention be weary, or Memory have his full Fraught. Then with uſeful and generous Labours preſerving the bodies Health and Hardineſs; to render lightſom, clear and not lumpiſh Obedience to the Mind, to the Cauſe of Religion, and our Countries Liberty, when it ſhall require firm Hearts in ſound Bodies to ſtand and cover their Stations, rather then to ſee the Ruin of our Proteſtation, and the Inforcement of a ſlaviſh Life. Theſe are the Morning Practices; proceed now to the Afternoon; *in Play-houſes*, he ſays, *and the Bordelloes.* Your 'ntelligence, unfaithful Spy of *Canaan*? he gives in his Evidence, that *there he hath trac'd me.* Take him at his Word, Readers, but let him bring good Sureties, 'ere ye diſmiſs him, that while he pretended to dogg others, he did not turn in for his own Pleaſure; for ſo much in effect he concludes againſt himſelf, not contented to be caught in every other Gin, but he muſt be ſuch a Novice, as to be ſtill hamper'd in his own Hemp. In the *Animadverſions*, ſaith he, I find the mention of old Cloaks, falſe Beards, night Walkers and ſalt Lotion; therefore the *Animadverter* haunts *Play-houſes* and *Bordelloes*; for if he did not, how could he ſpeak of ſuch Gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a Child, and yet to meddle with edg'd Tools, I turn

his *Antiſtrephon* upon his own Head; the Confuter knows that theſe Things are the Furniture of Playhouſes and *Bordelloes*, therefore by the ſame Reaſon the *Confuter himſelf hath been trac'd in thoſe Places.* Was it ſuch a diſſolute Speech, telling of ſome *Politicians* who were wont to eave-drop in Diſguiſes, to ſay they were often liable to a night-walking Cudgeler or the emptying of a Urinal? What if I had writ as your Friend, the Author of the aforeſaid *Mimo-Mundus alter & idem*, to have been raviſh'd like ſome young *Cephalus* or *Hylas*, by a Troop of camping Houſewives in *Viraginia*, and that he was there forc'd to ſwear himſelf an uxorious Varlet, then after a long Servitude to have come into *Aphrodiſia*, that pleaſant Country that gave ſuch a ſweet Smell to his Noſtrils among the ſhameleſs *Curtezans* of *Deſvergonia*? Surely he would have then concluded me as conſtant at the *Bordello* as the Galley-ſlave at his Oar. But ſince there is ſuch Neceſſity to the Hear-ſay of a Tire, a Periwig or a Vizzard, that Plays muſt have been ſeen, what Difficulty was there in that? When in the Colleges ſo many of the young Divines, and thoſe in next Aptitude to Divinity, have been ſeen ſo oft upon the Stage wreething and unboning their Clergy-limbs to all the antic and diſhoneſt Geſtures of *Trinculoes*, Buffoons and Bawds; proſtituting the Shame of that Miniſtry, which either they had or were nigh having, to the Eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies with their Grooms and *Madamoiſelles*. There while they acted and over-acted, among other young Scholars, I was a Spectator; they thought themſelves gallant Men, and I thought them Fools, they made Sport, and I laugh'd, they miſpronounc'd, and I miſlik'd, and to make up the *Atticiſm*, they were out, and I hiſs'd. Judge now whether ſo many good Text-men were not ſufficient to inſtruct me of falſe Beards and Vizzards, without more Expoſitors: And how can this Confuter take the Face to object to me the ſeeing of that which his reverent *Prelates* allow, and incite their young Diſciples to act. For if it be unlawful to ſit and behold a Mercenary *Comedian* perſonating that which is leaſt unſeemly for a Hireling to do, how much more blameful is it to indure the Sight of as vile Things acted by Perſons either enter'd, or preſently to enter into the Miniſtry, and how much more foul and ignominious for them to be the Actors.

But becauſe, as well by this upbraiding to me the *Bordelloes* as by other ſuſpitious Glancings in his Book, he would ſeem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whoſe Cuſtom of Life were not honeſt, but licentious: I ſhall intreat to be born with though I digreſs, and, in a Way not often trod, acquaint ye with the Sum of my Thoughts in this Matter through the Courſe of my Years and Studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the Noſe of the Envious, as it were in Skirmiſh to change the compact Order, and inſtead of outward Actions to bring inmoſt Thoughts into Front. And I muſt tell you, Readers, that by this ſort of Men I have been already bitten at; yet ſhall they not for me know how ſlightly they are eſteem'd, unleſs they have ſo much Learning as to read what in *Greek* Ἀπυγγελία is, which, together with Envy, is the common Diſeaſe of thoſe who cenſure Books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him, whoſe outward Garment hath been injur'd and ill bedited; for having no other Shift, what Help but to turn the Inſide outwards, eſpecially if the Lining be of the ſame, or, as it is ſometimes, much better. So if my Name and outward Demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I muſt make Tryal if the Diſcovery of my inmoſt Thoughts can. Wherein of two Purpoſes, both honeſt and both ſincere, the one perhaps I ſhall not miſs; although I fail to gain Belief with others of being ſuch as my perpetual Thoughts ſhall here diſcloſe me, I may yet not fail of Succeſs in perſwading ſome to be ſuch really themſelves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I feign. I had my Time, Readers, as others have, who have good Learning beſtow'd upon them, to be ſent to thoſe Places, where the Opinion

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was, it might be ſooneſt attain'd: And, as the Manner is, was not unſtudied in thoſe Authors which are moſt commended; whereof ſome were grave Orators and Hiſtorians, whoſe Matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my Age then was ſo I underſtood them; others were the ſmooth *Elegiac* Poets whereof the Schools are not ſcarce. Whom both for the pleaſing Sound of their numerous Writing, which in Imitation I found moſt eaſy, and moſt agreeable to Natures Part in me, and for their Matter, which what it is there be few who know not, I was ſo allur'd to read, that no Recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then thoſe Years with me which are excus'd, though they be leaſt ſevere, I may be ſav'd the Labour to remember ye. Whence having obſerv'd them to account it the chief Glory of their Wit, in that they were ableſt to judge, to praiſe, and by that could eſteem themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe high Perfections, which under one or other Name they took to celebrate, I thought with my ſelf by every Inſtinct and Preſage of Nature, which is not wont to be falſe, that what imbolden'd them to this Task might with ſuch Diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what Judgment, Wit or Elegance was my Share would herein beſt appear, and beſt value it ſelf by how much more wiſely and with more Love of Vertue, I ſhould chooſe (let rude Ears be abſent) the Object of not unlike Praiſes. For albeit theſe Thoughts to ſome will ſeem vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third Sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in ſerious. Nor blame it, Readers, in thoſe Years to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a Reward, as the nobleſt Diſpoſitions above other things in this Life have ſometimes preferr'd. Whereof not to be ſenſible, when good and fair in one Perſon meet, argues both a groſs and ſhallow Judgment, and withal an ungentle and ſwainiſh Breaſt. For by the firm Settling of theſe Perſwaſions I became, to my beſt Memory, ſo much a Proficient, that if I found thoſe Authors any where ſpeaking unworthy Things of themſelves, or unchaſte of thoſe Names which before they had extoll'd, this Effect it wrought with me, from that Time forward their Art I ſtill applauded, but the Men I deplor'd; and above them all preferr'd the two famous Renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*, who never write but Honour of them to whom they devote their Verſe, diſplaying ſublime and pure Thoughts, without Tranſgreſſion. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this Opinion, that he who would not be fruſtrate of his Hope to write well hereafter in laudable Things, ought himſelf to be a true Poem, that is, a Compoſition and Pattern of the beſt and honourableſt Things; not preſuming to ſing high Praiſes of Heroic Men or famous Cities, unleſs he have in himſelf the Experience and the Practice of all that which is praiſe-worthy. Theſe Reaſonings, together with a certain Niceneſs of Nature, an honeſt Haughtineſs and Self-eſteem, either of what I was, or what I might be (which let Envy call Pride) and *laſtly*, that Modeſty, whereof though not in the Title Page, yet here I may be excus'd to make ſome beſeeming Profeſſion, all theſe uniting the Supply of their natural Aid together, kept me ſtill above thoſe low Deſcents of Mind, beneath which he muſt deject and plunge himſelf that can agree to ſaleable and unlawful Proſtitutions. *Next* (for hear me out now Readers) that I may tell ye, whether my younger Feet wander'd; I betook me among thoſe lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in ſolemn *Cantos* the Deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; and from hence had in Renown over all *Chriſtendom*. There I read it in the Oath of every Knight, that he ſhould defend to the Expence of his beſt Blood, or of his Life, if it ſo befel him, the Honour and Chaſtity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble Vertue, Chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the Defence of which ſo many Worthies by ſuch a dear Adventure of themſelves had ſworn. And if I found in the Story afterward any of them by Word or Deed breaking that Oath, I judg'd it the ſame Fault of the Poet, as

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that which is attributed to *Homer*; to have written undecent Things of the Gods. Only this my Mind gave me, that every free and gentle Spirit without that Oath ought to be born a Knight, nor needed to expect the gilt Spur, or the laying of a Sword upon his ſhoulder to ſtir him up both by his Councel and his Arm to ſecure and protect the Weakneſs of any attempted Chaſtity. So that even thoſe Books which to many others have been the Fuel of Wantonneſs and looſe Living, I cannot think how, unleſs by Divine Indulgence prov'd to me ſo many Incitements as you have heard, to the love and ſtedfaſt Obſervation of that Vertue which abhors the Society of *Bordelloes*. Thus from the Laureat Fraternity of Poets, riper Years and the ceaſeleſs round of Study and Reading lead me to the ſhady Spaces of Philoſophy, but chiefly to the divine Volums of *Plato* and his equal *Xenophon*. Where, if I ſhould tell ye, what I learnt, of Chaſtity and Love, I mean that which is truly ſo, whoſe charming Cup is only Vertue which ſhe bears in her hand to thoſe who are worthy. The reſt are cheated with a thick intoxicating Potion which a certain Sorcereſs, the Abuſer of Loves Name, carries about; and how the firſt and chiefeſt Office of Love begins and ends in the Soul, producing thoſe happy Twins of her Divine Generation, Knowledge and Vertue, with ſuch abſtracted Sublimities as theſe, it might be worth your liſtning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a ſtill time, when there ſhall be no chiding; not in theſe Noiſes, the Adverſary as ye know, barking at the door; or ſearching for me at the *Burdelloes* where it may be he has loſt himſelf, and raps up without pitty the ſage and rheumatick old *Prelateſs* with all her young *Corinthian Laity* to inquire for ſuch a one. Laſt of all not in time, but as Perfection is laſt, that Care was ever had of me, with my earlieſt Capacity not to be negligently train'd in the Precepts of Chriſtian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath been to ſhew that though Chriſtianity had been but ſlightly taught me, yet a certain Reſervedneſs of natural Diſpoſition and moral Diſcipline learnt out of the nobleſt Philoſophy was enough to keep me in Diſdain of far leſs Incontinences then this of the *Burdello*. But having had the Doctrin of holy Scripture unfolding thoſe chaſt and high Myſteries with timelieſt Care infus'd, that *the Body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the Body*, thus alſo I argu'd to my ſelf; that if Unchaſtity in a Woman, whom S. *Paul* terms the Glory of Man, be ſuch a Scandal and Diſhonour, then certainly in a Man, who is both the Image and Glory of God, it muſt, though commonly not ſo thought, be much more deflouring and diſhonourable. In that he Sins both againſt his own Body which is the perfecter Sect, and his own Glory which is in the Woman, and that which is worſt, againſt the Image and Glory of God, which is in himſelf. Nor did I ſlumber over that Place expreſſing ſuch high Rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with thoſe celeſtial Songs to others inapprehenſible, but not to thoſe who were not defil'd with Women, which doubtleſs means Fornication: For Marriage muſt not be call'd a Defilement. Thus large I have purpoſely been, that if I had been juſtly taxt with this Crime, it may come upon me after all this my Confeſſion, with a ten-fold Shame. But if I have hitherto deſerv'd no ſuch opprobrious Word, or Suſpicion, I may hereby ingage my ſelf now openly to the faithful Obſervation of what I have profeſt. I go on to ſhew you the unbridl'd Impudence of this looſe Railer, who having once begun his Race regards not how far he flies out beyond all Truth and Shame; who from the ſingle Notice of the *Animadverſions*, as he proteſts, will undertake to tell ye the very Cloaths I wear, though he be much miſtaken in my Wardrope. And like a Son of *Belial*, without the Hire of *Jaſabel*, charges me *of Blaſpheming God and the King*, as ordinarily as he imagins *me to drink Sack and Swear*, meerly becauſe this was a ſhred in his common Place-Book, and ſeem'd to come off roundly, as if he were ſome Empirick of falſe Accuſations to try his Poyſons upon

upon me, whether they would work or no. Whom what ſhould I endeavour to refute more, whenas that Book which is his only Teſtimony returns the Lie upon him; not giving him the leaſt Hint of the Author to be either a Swearer, or a Sack-drinker. And for the Readers, if they can believe me, principally for thoſe Reaſons, which I have alledg'd, to be of Life and Purpoſe neither diſhoneſt, nor unchaſt, they will be eaſily induc'd to think me ſober both of Wine and of Word; but if I have been already ſucceſsleſs in perſwading them, all that I can further ſay will be but Vain; and it will be better Thrift to ſave two tedious Labours, mine of Excuſing and theirs of needleſs Hearing.

Proceeding further I am met with a whole Ging of Words and Phraſes not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a ſly Depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo, worſe then the Ghoſt of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his Friend *Æneas*. Here I ſcarce know them, and he that would, let him repair to the Place in that Book where I ſet them. For certainly this Tormenter of Semicolons is as good at diſmembring and ſlitting Sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have been at ſtigmatizing and ſlitting Noſes. By ſuch handy craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that Odour which being his own muſt needs offend his Sence of Smelling, ſince he will needs beſtow his Foot among us, and not allow us to think he wears a Sock, I ſhall endeavour it may be offenceleſs to other Mens Ears. The *Remonſtrant* having to do with grave and reverend Men his Adverſaries, thought it became him to tell them in ſcorn, that *the Biſhops Foot had been in their Book and Confuted it*, which when I ſaw him arrogate, to have done that with his Heels that ſurpaſt the beſt Conſideration of his Head, to ſpurn a Confutation among reſpected Men, I queſtion'd not the Lawfulneſs of moving his Jollity to bethink him, what Odor a Sock would have in ſuch a painful Buſineſs. And this may have chanc'd to touch him more nearly then I was aware; for indeed a Biſhops Foot that hath all his Toes, maugre the Gout, and a Linen Sock over it, is the apteſt Emblem of the Prelate himſelf. Who being a Pluraliſt may under one Surplice, which is alſo Linnen, hide four Benefices beſides the Metropolitan Toe, and ſends a fouler ſtench to Heaven then that which this young Queaſineſs reaches at. And this is the immediate Reaſon here, why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfect an Hypocrit as *Caiaphas*, 'ere he be a High Prieſt, cries out, *horid Blaſphemy!* And like a recreant *Jew* calls for *Stones*. I beſeech ye Friends, 'ere the Brick-bats flye, reſolve me and your ſelves, is it Blaſphemy, or any what diſagreeing from Chriſtian Meekneſs, when as Chriſt himſelf ſpeaking of unſavory Traditions, ſcruples not to name the *Dunghil* and the *Jakes*, for me to anſwer a ſlovenly Wincer of a Confutation, that, if he would needs put his Foot to ſuch a ſweaty Service, the Odour of his Sock was like to be neither Muſk, nor Benjamin? Thus did that fooliſh Monk in a barbarous Declamation accuſe *Petrarch* of Blaſphemy for diſpraiſing the *French* Wines. But this which follows is plain Bedlam Stuff, this is the *Demoniack Legion* indeed, which the *Remonſtrant* fear'd had been againſt him, and now he may ſee is for him. *You that love Chriſt*, ſaith he, *and know this Miſcreant Wretch, Stone him to Death, leaſt you ſmart for his Impunity*. What thinks the *Remonſtrant?* Does he like that ſuch words as theſe ſhould come out of his Shop, out of his *Trojan* Horſe? To give the watch Word, like *a Guiſian of Paris*, to a Mutiny or Maſſacre; to proclaim a *Cruſada* againſt his Fellow Chriſtian now in this troublous and divided Time of the Kingdom? If he do, I ſhall ſay that to be the *Remonſtrant* is no better then to be a *Jeſuit*. And that if he and his Accomplices could do, as the Rebels have done in *Ireland*, to the Proteſtants, they would do in *England* the ſame to them that would no Prelates. For a more Seditious and Butcherly Speech no Cell of *Loyola* could have Belch'd againſt one, who in all his Writing ſpake not, that any Mans Skin ſhould be rais'd.

rais'd. And yet this curſing *Shimei*, a Hurler of Stones, as well as a Rayler, wants not the Face inſtantly to make as though he *deſpair'd of Victory unleſs a modeſt Defence would get it him.* Did I err at all, Readers, to foretel ye, when firſt I met with his Title, that the Epithet of Modeſt there was a certain red portending Sign, that he meant 'ere long to be moſt tempeſtuouſly bold and ſhameleſs? Nevertheleſs, *he dares not ſay but there may be hid in his Nature as much venemous Atheiſm and Profanation*, as he thinks, *hath broke out at his Adverſaries Lips, but he hath not the Sore running upon him*, as he would intimate *I have.* Now truſt me not, Readers, if I be not already weary of Pluming and Footing this Sea-gull, ſo open he lies to Stroaks; and never offers at another, but brings home the door upon himſelf. For if the Sore be running upon me, in all Judgment I have ſcap'd the Diſeaſe, but he who hath as much Infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confeſt and cannot expel it, becauſe he is dull, for venemous Atheiſm were no Treaſure to be kept within him elſe, let him take the Part he hath choſen, which muſt needs follow, to ſwell and burſt with his own inward Venom.

Sect. 1. But mark, Readers, there is a kind of Juſtice obſerv'd among them that do Evil, but this Man loves Injuſtice in the very order of his Malice. For having all this while abus'd the good Name of his Adverſary with all Manner of Licence in Revenge of his *Remonſtrant*, if they be not both one Perſon, or as I am told, Father and Son, yet after all this he calls for ſatisfaction, whenas he himſelf hath already taken the utmoſt Farthing. *Violence hath been done*, ſays he, *to the Perſon of a Holy and Religious Prelate.* To which, ſomething in effect to what S. *Paul* anſwer'd of *Ananias*, I anſwer, *I wiſh not Brethren that he was a Holy and Religious* Prelate; for Evil is written of thoſe who would be Prelates. And finding him thus in Diſguiſe without his Superſcription or *Phylattery* either of *Holy* or *Prelates*, it were no Sin to ſerve him as *Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely* was ſerv'd in his Diſguiſe at *Dover.* He hath begun the Meaſure nameleſs, and when he pleaſes we may all appear as we are. And let him be then what he will, he ſhall be to me ſo as I find him Princip'd. For neither muſt Prelate or Arch-Prelate hope to exempt himſelf from being reckon'd as one of the Vulgar; which is for him only to Hope whom true Wiſdom and the Contempt of vulgar Opinions exempts, it being taught us in the *Pſalms*, that he who is in Honour and underſtandeth not is as the Beaſts that periſh. And now firſt *the manner of handling that Cauſe* which I undertook, he thinks *is ſuſpicious*, as if the wiſeſt and the beſt Words were not ever to ſome or other ſuſpicious. But where is the Offence, the Diſagreement from Chriſtian Meekneſs, or the Precept of *Solomon* in anſwering Folly? When the *Remonſtrant* talks of *Froth and Scum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *ſpare his Ladle:* When he brings in the Meſs with *Keale, Beef and Breweſs*, what ſtomack in *England* could forbear to call for Flanks and Briskets? Capon and Whitebroth having been likely ſometimes in the ſame Room with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, why does it trouble him that it ſhould be now *in the ſame Leaf*, eſpecially, where the Diſcourſe is not continu'd but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to ſay Grace, doth he not then name Holieſt Names over the Steam of coſtlieſt Superflutities? Does he judg it fooliſh or diſhoneſt to write that among Religious Things, which when he talks of Religious Things he can devoutly chew? Is he afraid to name Chriſt where thoſe Things are written in the ſame Leaf whom he fears not to name while the ſame Things are in his Mouth? Doth not Chriſt himſelf teach the higheſt Things by the Similitude *of old Bottles and patcht Cloaths?* Doth he not illuſtrate beſt Things by Things moſt evil? His own *comming* to be *as a Thief in the Night*, and the Righteous Mans *Wiſdom to that of an Unjuſt Steward?* He might therefore have done better to have kept in *his canting Beggars and* Heathen *Altar* to ſacrifice his thredbare Criticiſm of *Bomolochus* to an unſeaſonable Goddeſs

fit

fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reſerv'd his *Greek* Derivation till he lecture to his freſh Men, for here his itching Pedantry is but flouted.

But to the End that nothing may be omitted which may further ſatisfy any conſcionable Man, who notwithſtanding what I could explain before the *Animadverſions*, remains yet unſatisfi'd concerning that way of Writing, which I there defended, but this Confuter whom it pinches, utterly diſ-approves, I ſhall aſſay once again, and perhaps with more Succeſs. If therefore the Queſtion were in Oratory, whether a vehement vain throwing out Indignation or Scorn upon an Object that merits it, were among the apteſt *Ideas* of Speech to be allow'd, it were my Work, and that an eaſie one, to make it clear both by the Rules of beſt *Rhetoricians*, and the famouſeſt Examples of the *Greek* and *Roman* Orations. But ſince the Religion of it is diſputed, and not the Art, I ſhall make uſe only of ſuch Reaſons and Authorities, as Religion cannot except againſt. It will be harder to gainſay, then for me to evince, that in the teaching of Men, diverſly temper'd, different Ways are to be tryed. The *Baptiſt* we know was a ſtrict Man remarkable for Auſterity and ſet Order of Life. Our Saviour, who had all Gifts in him, was Lord to expreſs his Indoctrinating Power in what ſort him beſt ſeem'd; ſometimes by a mild and familiar Converſe, ſometimes with plain and impartial Homeſpeaking, regardleſs of thoſe whom the Auditors might think he ſhould have had in more Reſpect; otherwhiles with bitter and ireful Rebukes, if not teaching yet leaving excuſeleſs thoſe his willful Impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the Teachers of his Church; ſome to be ſevere, and ever of a ſad Gravity, that they may win ſuch, and check ſometimes thoſe who be of Nature over-confident and jocund; others were ſent more chearful, free and ſtill as it were at large, in the midſt of an untreſpaſſing Honeſty; that they who are ſo temper'd may have by whom they might be drawn to Salvation, and they who are too ſcrupulous and dejected of Spirit might be often ſtrengthened with wiſe Conſolations and Revivings: No Man being forc'd wholly to diſſolve that Groundwork of Nature, which God created in him, the Sanguine to empty out all his ſociable Livelineſs, the Choleric to expel quite the unſinning Predominance of his Anger; but that each radical Humour and Paſſion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper Mould and Foundation of every Mans pecuilar Gifts and Vertues. Some alſo were indued with a ſtaid Moderation and Soundneſs of Argument to teach and convince the rational and ſober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient Courſe of Teaching, for in times of Oppoſition when either againſt new Hereſies ariſing, or old Corruptions to be reform'd, this cool unpaſſionate Mildneſs of poſitive Wiſdom is not enough to damp and aſtoniſh the proud Reſiſtance of carnal and falſe Doctors, then (that I may have leave to ſoar a while as the Poets uſe) then Zeal whoſe ſubſtance is *Æthereal*, arming in compleat Diamond aſcends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing *Meteors* figur'd like Beaſts, but of a higher Breed then any the *Zodiac* yeilds, reſembling two of thoſe four which *Ezekiel* and and S. *John* ſaw, the one viſag'd like a Lion to expreſs Power, high Authority and Indignation, the other of Countenance like a Man to caſt Deriſion and Scorn upon perverſe and fradulent Seducers; with theſe the invincible Warriour Zeal ſhaking looſely the ſlack Reins drives over the heads of ſcarlet Prelates, and ſuch as are inſolent to maintain Traditions, bruiſing their ſtiff Necks under his flaming Wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the falſe; thus Chriſt himſelf, the Fountain of Meekneſs, found Acrimony enough to be ſtill galling and vexing the Prelatical *Phariſees*. But ye will ſay theſe had immediat Warrant from God to be thus bitter, and I ſay, ſo much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a ſanctifi'd Bitterneſs againſt the Enemies of Truth. Yet that ye may not think Inſpiration only the Warrant thereof, but that it is as any other Vertue, of moral and gene-

ral Obſervation, the Example of *Luther* may ſtand for all: Whom God made choice of before others to be of higheſt Eminence and Power in reforming the the Church; who not of Revelation, but of Judgment writ ſo vehemently againſt the chief Defenders of old Untruths in the *Romiſh* Church; that his own Friends and Favourers were many times offended with the fierceneſs of his Spirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to anſwer for his Books, and having divided them into three Sorts, whereof one was of thoſe which he had ſharply written, refus'd though upon Deliberation giv'n him to retract or unſay any Word therein; as we may read in *Sleiden.* Yea, he defends his Eagerneſs, as being *of an ardent Spirit, and one who could not write a dull Stile:* And affirm'd, *he thought it Gods Will to have the Inventions of Men thus laid open, ſeeing that Matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot.* And herewithal how uſeful and available God had made this tart *Rhetoric* in the Churches Cauſe, he often found by his own Experience. For when he betook himſelf to Lenity and Moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but Contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Eraſmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius* and others, inſomuch that blaming his Friends who had ſo counſel'd him, he reſolv'd never to run into the like Error; if at other times he ſeem to excuſe his Vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his Work to know how far he gave way to his own fervent Mind; it ſhall ſuffice me to look to mine own. And this I ſhall eaſily aver, though it may ſeem a hard Saying, that the Spirit of God who is Purity it ſelf, when he would reprove any Fault ſeverely, or but relate Things done or ſaid with Indignation by others, abſtains not from ſome Word not civil at other times to be ſpok'n. Omitting that Place in *Numbers* at the Killing of *Zimri and Cosbi* done by *Phineas* in the Heighth of Zeal, related as the *Rabbins* expound, not without an obſcene Word, we may find in *Deuteronomy* and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the Puniſhments of Idolaters, tells them in a Term immodeſt to be utter'd in cool Blood, that their Wives ſhall be defil'd openly. But theſe, they will ſay were honeſt Words in that Age when they were ſpoken. Which is more then any *Rabbin* can prove, and certainly had God been ſo minded he could have pickt ſuch Words, as ſhould never have come into abuſe. What will they ſay to this. *David* going againſt *Nabal*, in the very ſame Breath when he had but juſt before nam'd the *Name of God*, he vows not *to leave any alive of* Nabals *Houſe that piſſeth againſt the Wall.* But this was unadviſedly ſpoke, you will anſwer and ſet down to aggravate his Infirmity. Turn then to the firſt of *Kings*, where God himſelf uſes the Phraſe; *I will cut off from* Jeroboam *him that piſſeth againſt the Wall.* Which had it been an unſeemly Speech in the heat of an earneſt Expreſſion, then we muſt conclude, that *Jonathan, or Onkelos the Targumiſts* were of cleaner Language then he that made the Tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at years of Diſcretion*, that is to ſay, ſo much Diſcretion as to hide Nakedneſs. Whereas, God who is the Author both of Purity and Eloquence, chooſe this Phraſe as fitteſt in that vehement Character wherein he ſpake. Otherwiſe that plain Word might have eaſily been forborn. Which the *Maſoreths* and *Rabbinical Scholiaſts*, not well attending, have often uſed to blur the Margent with *Keri*, inſtead of *Ketiv*, and gave us this inſulſe Rule out of their *Talmud*, *that all Words which in the Law are writ obſcenely, muſt be chang'd to more civil Words.* Fools who would teach Men to read more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifeſt, that Indignation againſt Men and their Actions notoriouſly bad, hath Leave and Authority oft-times to utter ſuch Words and Phraſes as in common Talk were not ſo mannerly to uſe. That ye may know, not only as the Hiſtorian ſpeaks, *that all thoſe Things for which Men Plough, Build, or Sail, obey Vertue*, but that all Words and whatſoever may be ſpoken ſhall at ſome Time in an unwonted manner wait upon her Purpoſes.

Now,

Now, that the Confutant may alſo know, as he deſires, what Force of Teaching there is ſometimes in Laughter, I ſhall return him in ſhort, that Laughter being one way of anſwering *A Fool according to his Folly*, teaches two ſorts of Perſons, firſt the Fool himſelf *not to be Wiſe in his own Conceit*; as *Solomon* affirms, which is certainly a great Document, to make an unwiſe Man know himſelf. *Next*, it teaches the Hearers, in as much as Scorn is one of thoſe Puniſhments which belong to Men carnally wiſe, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; for when ſuch are puniſht *the Simple are thereby made Wiſe*, if *Solomons* Rule be true. And I would ask, to what end *Eliah* mock'd the Falſe Prophets? Was it to ſhew his Wit, or to fulfil his Humour? Doubtleſs we cannot imagin that great Servant of God had any other End in all which he there did, but to teach and inſtruct the poor miſled People. And we may frequently read, that many of the Martyrs in the midſt of their Troubles, were not ſparing to deride and ſcoff their ſuperſtitious Perſecutors. Now may the Confutant adviſe again with Sir *Francis Bacon*, whether *Eliah* and the Martyrs did well to turn Religion into a Comedy, or Satyr; *to rip up the wounds* of Idolatry and Superſtition *with a laughing Countenance*. So that for pious Gravity his Author here is match'd and overmatch'd and for Wit and Morality in one that follows.

——laughing to teach the Truth
What hinders? As ſome teachers give to Boyes
Junkets and Knacks, that they may learn apace.

Thus *Flaccus* in his firſt Satyr, and in his tenth

——Jeſting decides great Things
Stronglier, and better oft then earneſt can.

I could urge the ſame out of *Cicero* and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And hence forward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the Bounds and Objects of Laughter and vehement Reproofs, as he hath known hitherto how to deſerve them both. But leſt ſome may haply think, or thus expoſtulate with me after all this Debatement, who made you the buſie Almoner to deal about this Dole of Laughter and Reprehenſion, which no Man thanks your Bounty for? To the Urbanity of that Man I ſhould anſwer much after this Sort? That I, Friend Objecter, having read of Heathen Philoſophers, ſome to have taught, that whoſoever would but uſe his Ear to liſten, might hear the Voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling, and as it were, pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the *Stoicks*, to account Reaſon which they call the *Hegemonicon*, to be the common *Mercury*, conducting without Error thoſe that give themſelves obediently to be led accordingly, having read this, I could not eſteem ſo poorly of the Faith which I profeſs, that God had left nothing to thoſe who had forſaken all other Doctrines for his, to be an inward Witneſs and Warrant of what they have to do, as that they ſhould need to meaſure themſelves, by other Mens Meaſures, how to give ſcope or limit to their proper Actions; for that were to make us the moſt at a ſtand, the moſt uncertain and accidental Wanderers in our Doings, of all Religions in the World. So that the Queſtion 'ere while mov'd; who he is that ſpends thus the Benevolence of Laughter and Reproof ſo liberally upon ſuch Men as the Prelates, may return with a more juſt Demand, who he is not of Place and Knowledge never ſo mean, under whoſe contempt and jerk theſe Men are not deſervedly fallen? Neither can Religion receive any Wound by Diſgrace thrown upon the Prelates, ſince Religion and they ſurely were never in ſuch Amity. They rather are the Men who have wounded Religion, and their Stripes muſt heal her. I might alſo tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*, a wiſe Virgin, anſwer'd her wicked Mother, who thought her ſelf too violently reprov'd by her the Daughter.

'Tis you that ſay it, not I, you do the Deeds,
And your ungodly Deeds find me the Words.

If therefore the *Remonſtrant* complain of Libels, it is becauſe he feels them to be right aim'd. For I ask again, as before in the *Animadverſions*, how long is it ſince he hath diſ-reliſh'd Libels? We never heard the leaſt Mutter of his Voice againſt them, while they flew abroad without Controul or Check, defaming the *Scots* and *Puritans*. And yet he can remember of none but *Lyſimachus Nicanor*, and *that he miſlik'd and cenſur'd*. No more but of one can the *Remonſtrant* remember? What if I put him in Mind of one more? What, if of one more, whereof the *Remonſtrant* in many Likelihoods may be thought the Author? Did he never ſee a *Pamphlet* entitl'd after his own Faſhion, *A Survey of that fooliſh, ſeditious, ſcandalous, prophane Libel, the Proteſtation proteſted?* The Child doth not more expreſly refigure the Viſage of his Father, then *that* Book reſembles the Stile of the *Remonſtrant*, in thoſe *Idioms* of Speech, wherein he ſeems moſt to delight: And in the 17th Page, three Lines together, taken out of the *Remonſtrance* Word for Word, not as a Citation, but as an Author borrows from himſelf. Whoever it be, he may as juſtly be ſaid to have libell'd, as he againſt whom he writes; there ye ſhall find another Man then here is made ſhew of, there he bites as faſt as this whines. *Vinegar in the Ink* is there *the Antidote of Vipers. Laughing* in a religious Controverſy is there *a thrifty Phyſic to expel his Melancholy.* In the mean time the Teſtimony of Sir *Francis Bacon* was not miſalledg'd, complaining that Libels on the Biſhops Part were utter'd openly; and if he hop'd the *Prelates had no Intelligence with the Libellers*, he delivers it but as his favourable Opinion. But had he contradicted himſelf, how could I aſſail him here more then a little before, where, I know not how by entangling himſelf, he leaves an Aſperſion upon *Job*, which by any elſe I never heard laid to his Charge. For having affirm'd that *there is no greater Confuſion then the Confounding of Jeſt and Earneſt*, preſently he brings the Example of *Job, glancing at Conceits of Mirth, when he ſate among the People with the Gravity of a Judge upon him.* If Jeſt and Earneſt be ſuch a Confuſion, then were the People much wiſer then *Job*, for *he ſmil'd, and they believ'd him not.* To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was far from my Purpoſe. I had not ſo little Share in good Name as to give another that Advantage againſt my ſelf. The Summ of what I ſaid, was, that a more free Permiſſion of Writing at ſome times might be profitable, in ſuch a Queſtion eſpecially, wherein the Magiſtrates are not fully reſolv'd; and both Sides have equal Liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the *Prelates* bore Sway, in whoſe Time the Books of ſome were confuted, when they who ſhould have anſwer'd, were in cloſe Priſon deny'd the Uſe of Pen or Paper. And the *divine Right of Epiſcopacy* was then valiantly aſſerted, when he who would have been Reſpondent, muſt have bethought himſelf withal how he could refute the *Clink* or the *Gate-houſe*. If now therefore they be purſued with bad Words, who perſecuted others with bad Deeds, it is a way to leſſen Tumult, rather then to increaſe it; whenas Anger, thus freely vented, ſpends it ſelf 'ere it break out into Action, though *Machiavel*, whom he cites, or any *Machiavelian* Prieſt think the contrary.

Sect. 3. Now, Readers, I bring ye to his *third* Section; wherein very cautiouſly, and no more then needs, leaſt I ſhould take him for ſome Chaplain at hand, ſome Squire of the Body, to his *Prelate*, one that ſerves not at the Altar only, but at the Court Cup-board, he will beſtow on us a pretty Model of himſelf; and ſobs me out half a dozen *Tizical Mottoes* where ever he had them, hopping ſhort in the Meaſure of Convulſion-fits; in which Labour the Agony of his Wit, having ſcap'd narrowly, inſtead of well ſiz'd Periods he greets us with a Quantity of Thumb-ring Poſies. *He has a Fortune therefore good, becauſe he is content with it.* This is a Piece of Sapience not worth the Brain of a Fruit-trencher; as if Content were the Meaſure of what is good or bad in the Gift of Fortune. For by this Rule a bad Man may

may have a good Fortune, becauſe he may be oft-times content with it for many Reaſons, which have no Affinity with Vertue, as Love of Eaſe, Want of Spirit to uſe more, and the like. *And therefore content*, he ſays, *becauſe it neither goes before, nor comes behind his Merit.* Belike then if his Fortune ſhould go before his Merit, he would not be content, but reſign, if we believe him, which I do the leſs, becauſe he implies that if it came behind his Merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if a wiſe Mans Content ſhould depend upon ſuch a *Therefore*, becauſe his Fortune came not behind his Merit, how many wiſe Men could have Content in this World? In his next pithy Symbol I dare not board him, for he paſſes all the *ſeven wiſe Maſters of Greece*, attributing to himſelf that which on my Life *Solomon* durſt not; *to have Affections ſo equally temper'd, that they neither too haſtily adhere to the Truth, before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward.* Which, unleſs he only were exempted out of the corrupt Maſs of *Adam*, born without Sin original, and living without actual, is impoſſible. Had *Solomon* (for it behoves me to inſtance in the wiſeſt, dealing with ſuch a tranſcendent *Sage* as this) had *Solomon* Affections ſo equally temper'd, as *not adhering too lazily to the Truth*, when God warn'd him of his halting in Idolatry? Do we read that he repented haſtily? Did not his Affections lead him haſtily from an examin'd Truth, how much more would they lead him ſlowly to it? Yet this Man beyond a *Stoic Apathy* ſees Truth as in a Rapture, and cleaves to it. Not as through the dim Glaſs of his Affections, which in this frail Manſion of Fleſh are ever unequally temper'd, puſhing forward to Error, and keeping back from Truth oft-times the beſt of Men. But how far this Boaſter is from knowing himſelf, let his *Preface* ſpeak. Something, I thought it was, that made him ſo quick-ſighted to gather ſuch ſtrange Things out of the *Animadverſions*, whereof the leaſt Conception could not be drawn from thence of *Suburb ſinks*, ſometimes *out of Wit and Cloaths*, ſometimes *in new Serge, drinking Sack and Swearing*, now I know it was this equal Temper of his Affections that gave him to ſee clearer then any Fennel rubb'd Serpent. *Laſtly*, he has reſolv'd, *that neither Perſon nor Cauſe ſhall improper him.* I may miſtake his Meaning, for the Word ye hear is *Improper*. But whether if not a Perſon, yet a good Perſonage, or Impropriation bought out for him would not *improper* him, becauſe there may be a Quirk in the Word, I leave it for a *Canoniſt* to reſolve.

Sect. 4. And thus he ends this Section, or rather Diſſection of himſelf, ſhort, ye will ſay, both in Breath and Extent, as in our own Praiſes it ought to be, unleſs wherein a good Name hath been wrongfully attainted. Right, but if ye look at what he aſcribes to himſelf, *that Temper of his Affections* which cannot any where be but in Paradiſe, all the judicious *Panegericks* in any Language extant are not half ſo prolix. And that well appears in his next Removal. For what with putting his Fancy to the Tiptoe in this Deſcription of himſelf, and what with adventuring preſently to ſtand upon his own Legs without the Crutches of his Margent, which is the Sluce moſt commonly that feeds the Drought of his Text, he comes ſo lazily on in a *Simile* with his *Arm full of Weeds*, and demeans himſelf in the dull Expreſſion ſo like a dough-kneaded Thing, that he has not Spirit enough left him ſo far to look to his *Syntaxis* as to avoid Nonſenſe. For it muſt be underſtood there that the *Stranger*, and not *he, who brings the Bundle* would be *deceiv'd in cenſuring the Field*, which this hip-ſhot *Grammarian* cannot ſet into right Frame of Conſtruction, neither here in the Similitude nor in the following *Reddition* thereof, which being to this Purpoſe, that *the Faults of the beſt pick'd out, and preſented in groſs, ſeem monſtrous, this*, ſaith he, *you have done in pinning on his Sleeve the Faults of others*; as if to pick out his own Faults, and to pin the Faults of others upon him, were to do the ſame thing. To anſwer therefore, how I have cull'd out the evil Actions of the *Remonſtrant* from his

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Vertues, I am acquitted by the Dexterity and Conveyance of his Nonſenſe, looſing that for which he brought his Parable. But what of other Mens Faults I have pinn'd upon his Sleeve, let him ſhew. For whether he were the Man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* Confeſſors, it matters not; he that ſhall ſtep up before others to defend a Church-Government, which wants almoſt no Circumſtance, but only a Name to be a plain Popedom, a Government which changes the fatherly and ever-teaching Diſciplin of Chriſt into that lordly and uninſtructing Juriſdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichriſt, makes himſelf an Acceſſory to all the Evil committed by thoſe who are arm'd to do Miſchief by that undue Government, which they, by their wicked Deeds, do with a kind of paſſive and unwitting Obedience, deſtroy. But he, by plauſible Words and Traditions againſt the Scripture, obſtinately ſeeks to maintain. They, by their own Wickedneſs ruining their own unjuſt Authority, make room for good to ſucceed. But he, by a Shew of Good upholding the Evil, which in them undoes it ſelf, hinders the Good which they by Accident let in. Their manifeſt Crimes ſerve to bring forth an enſuing Good, and haſten a Remedy againſt themſelves, and his ſeeming Good tends to reinforce their ſelf-puniſhing Crimes and his own, by doing his beſt to delay all Redreſs. Shall not all the Miſchief which other Men do, be laid to his Charge, if they do it by that unchurchlike Power which he defends? Chriſt ſaith, *He that is not with me is againſt me, and he that gathers not with me ſcatters.* In what Degree of Enmity to Chriſt ſhall we place that Man then, whoſo is with him, as that it makes more againſt him, and ſo gathers with him, that it ſcatters more from him? Shall it avail that Man to ſay, he honours the Martyrs Memory and treads in their Steps? No, the *Phariſees* confeſs'd as much of the holy Prophets. Let him and ſuch as he when they are in their beſt Actions, even at their Prayers, look to hear that which the *Phariſees* heard from *John* the *Baptiſt* when they leaſt expected, when they rather look'd for Praiſe from him. *Generation of Vipers, who hath warn'd ye to flee from the Wrath to come?* Now that ye have ſtarted back from the Purity of Scripture, which is the only Rule of Reformation, to the old Vomit of your Traditions, now that ye have either troubl'd or leaven'd the People of God, and the Doctrin of the Goſpel with ſcandalous Ceremonies and Maſs-borrow'd *Liturgies*, do ye turn the Uſe of that Truth which ye profeſs, to countenance that Falſhood which ye gain by? We alſo reverence the Martyrs, but rely only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to rely upon the Martyrs, I ſhall be content with ſuch Reaſons as my Confuter himſelf affords me; who is, I muſt needs ſay for him in that Point, as officious an Adverſary as I would wiſh to any Man. For, *firſt*, ſaith he, *There may be a Martyr in a wrong Cauſe, and as couragious in Suffering as the beſt: Sometimes in a good Cauſe, with a forward Ambition diſpleaſing to God. Otherwhiles, they that ſtory of them out of blind Zeal or Malice may write many Things of them untruly.* If this be ſo, as ye hear his own Confeſſion, with what Safety can the *Remonſtrant* rely upon the Martyrs, as *Patrons of his Cauſe*, whenas any of thoſe who are alledg'd for the Approvers of our *Liturgy* or *Prelacy* might have been, though not in a wrong Cauſe, Martyrs, yet whether not vainly ambitious of that Honour, or whether not miſreported or miſunderſtood in thoſe their Opinions, God only knows. The Teſtimony, of what we believe in Religion muſt be ſuch as the Conſcience may reſt on to be infallible and incorruptible, which is only the Word of God.

Sect. 5. His *fifth* Section finds it ſelf aggriev'd, that the *Remonſtrant* ſhould be tax'd with the illegal Proceedings of the high Commiſſion, and Oath *ex Officio*; and *firſt, whether they were illegal or no, 'tis more then he knows.* See this malevolent Fox? That Tyranny, which the whole Kingdom cry'd out againſt, as ſtung with Adders and Scorpions, that Tyranny, which the Parliament in Compaſſion of the Church and Commonwealth, hath diſſolv'd and

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ſetch'd up by the Roots, for which it hath receiv'd the public Thanks and Bleſſings of Thouſands, this obſcure Thorn-eater of Malice and Detraction, as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophiſms*, knows not whether it were illegal or not. Evil, evil, would be your Reward, ye Worthies of the Parliament, if this *Sophiſter* and his Accomplices had the cenſuring or the ſounding forth of your Labours. And that the *Remonſtrant* cannot waſh his Hands of all the Cruelties exercis'd by the *Prelates*, is paſt doubting. They ſcourg'd the Confeſſors of the Goſpel, and he held the Scourgers Garments. They executed their Rage, and he, if he did nothing elſe, defended the Government with the Oath that did it, and the Ceremonies which were the Cauſe of it: Does he think to be counted guiltleſs?

Sect. 6. In the following Section I muſt foretel ye, Readers, the Doings will be rough and dangerous, the Bating of a *Satyr*. And if the Work ſeem more trivial or boiſterous then for this Diſcourſe, let the *Remonſtrant* thank the Folly of this Confuter, who could not let a private Word paſs, but he muſt make all this Blaze of it. I had ſaid, that becauſe the *Remonſtrant* was ſo much offended with thoſe who were tart againſt the *Prelates*, ſure he lov'd toothleſs *Satyrs*, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekſtone. This Champion from behind the *Arras* cries out that thoſe toothleſs *Satyrs* were of the *Remonſtrants* making; and arms himſelf here Tooth and Nail, and Horn to boot, to ſupply the want of Teeth, or rather of Gums in the *Satyrs*. And for an Onſet tells me that the *Simile* of a Sleekſtone *ſhews I can be as bold with a* Prelate, *as familiar with a Laundreſs*. But it does not argue rather the laſcivious Promptneſs of his own Fancy, who from the harmleſs mention of a Sleekſtone could neigh out the Remembrance of his old Converſation among the *Viraginian* Trollops? For me, if he move me, I ſhall claim his own Oath, the Oath *ex Officio* againſt any Prieſt or *Prelate* in the Kingdom to have ever as much hated ſuch Pranks as the beſt and chaſteſt of them all. That Exception which I made againſt toothleſs *Satyrs* the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satyriſt*, but is far deceiv'd, neither had I ever read the hobbling *Diſtic* which he means. For this good Hap I had from a careful Education, to be inur'd and ſeaſon'd betimes with the beſt and elegenteſt Authors of the Learned Tongues, and thereto brought an Ear that could meaſure a juſt Cadence, and ſcan without Articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling Verſifier. Whence lighting upon this Title of *Toothleſs Satyrs*, I will not conceal ye what I thought, Readers, that ſure this muſt be ſome ſucking *Satyr*, who might have done better to have us'd his Coral, and made an end of breeding 'ere he took upon him to wield a *Satyrs* Whip, but when I heard him talk of *ſcouring the ruſted Swords of* Elviſh *Knights*, do not blame me, if I chang'd my Thought, and concluded him ſome deſperate Cutler. But why *his ſcornful Muſe could never abide with* Tragic *Shooes her Ankles for to hide*, the Pace of the Verſe told me that her Maukin Knuckles were never ſhapen to that Royal Buskin. And turning by chance to the ſixth *Satyr* of his ſecond Book, I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily *in Heavens Univerſal Alphabet*, he falls down to that wretched Poorneſs and Frigidity as to talk of *Bridge-ſtreet in Heaven*, and *the Oſtler in Heaven*, and there, wanting other Matter, to catch him a Heat (for certain he was in the frozen *Zone* miſerably benumm'd) with Thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the Sign-poſts of *Cambridge* Alehouſes, the ordinary Subject of freſh Mens Tales, and in a Strain as pitiful. Which for him who would be counted *the firſt Engliſh Satyr* to abaſe himſelf to, who might have learnt better among the *Latin* and *Italian Satyriſts*, and in our own Tongue from the *Viſion and Creed of* Pierce *Ploughman*, beſides others before him, manifeſted a preſumptuous Undertaking with weak and unexamin'd Shoulders. For a *Satyr*, as it was born out of a *Tragedy*, ſo ought to reſemble his Parentage,

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to ſtrike high and adventure dangerouſly at the moſt eminent Vices among the greateſt Perſons, and not to creep into every blind *Taphouſe*, that fears a Conſtable more then a *Satyr*. But that ſuch a Poem ſhould be toothleſs I ſtill affirm it to be a Bull, taking away the Eſſence of that which it calls it ſelf. For if it bite neither the Perſons nor the Vices, how is it a *Satyr*, and if it bite either, how is it toothleſs, ſo that toothleſs *Satyrs* are as much as if he had ſaid toothleſs Teeth. What we ſhould do therefore with this learned Comment upon *Teeth* and *Horns*, which hath brought this *Confutant* into his *Pedantic* Kingdom of *Cornucopia*, to reward him for gloſſing upon *Horns* even to the *Hebrew Root*, I know not, unleſs we ſhould commend him to be Lecturer of *Eaſt-cheap* upon St. *Lukes* day, when they ſend their Tribute to that famous Haven by *Deptford*. But we are not like to 'ſcape him ſo. For now the Worm of *Criticiſm* works in him, he will tell us the Derivation of *German Rutters, of Meat and of Ink*, which doubtleſs rightly applied, with ſome Gall in it, may prove good to heal this Tetter of *Pædagogiſm*, that beſpreads him with ſuch a *Tenaſmus* of Originating, that, if he be an *Arminian* and deny original Sin, all the *Etymologies* of his Book ſhall witneſs, that his Brain is not meanly tainted with that Infection.

Sect. 7. His *ſeventh* Section labours to cavil out the Flaws which were found in the *Remonſtrant's Logic*; who having laid down for a general Propoſition, that *Civil Policy is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd *logically* upon him, that he had concluded the Policy of *England* to be arbitrary, for general includes particular, here his Defendant is not aſham'd to confeſs, that the *Remonſtrants* Propoſition was ſophiſtical, *by a Fallacy call'd, ad plures Interrogationes*, which ſounds to me ſomething ſtrange, that a *Remonſtrant* of that pretended Sincerity ſhould bring deceitful and double-dealing Propoſitions to the Parliament. The Truth is, he had let ſlip a ſhrewd Paſſage 'ere he was aware, not thinking the Concluſion would turn upon him with ſuch a terrible Edge, and not knowing how to wind out of the Briars, he or his Subſtitute ſeems more willing to lay the Integrity of his *Logic* to Pawn, and grant a Fallacy in his own *Major* where none is, then be forc'd to uphold the Inference. For that Diſtinction of *poſſible* and *lawful* is ridiculous to be ſought for in that Propoſition; no Man doubting that it is poſſible to change the Form of Civil Polity; and that it is held lawful by that *Major* the word *Arbitrary* implies. Nor will this help him to deny that it is arbitrary *at any Time, or by any Undertakers* (which are two Limitations invented by him ſince) for when it ſtands, as he will have it now, by his ſecond Edition, *Civil Polity is variable, but not at any Time, or by any Undertakers*, it will reſult upon him, belike then at ſome Time and by ſome Undertakers it may. And ſo he goes on mincing the Matter, till he meets with ſomething in Sir *Francis Bacon*, then he takes Heart again, and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by as ſoon as the Shadow of Sir *Francis* had left him, he falls off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himſelf in Diameter: And denies flatly, that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once ſettl'd*. Which third Shift is no leſs a Piece of Laughter. For before the Polity was ſettl'd, how could it be variable whenas it was no Polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a *Tyranny*. That Limitation therefore *of after Settling* is a meer *Tautology*. So that, *in fine*, his former Aſſertion is now recanted, *and Civil Polity is neither variable nor arbitrary*.

Sect. 8. Whatever elſe may perſwade me that this Confutation was not made without ſome Aſſiſtance or Advice of the *Remonſtrant*, yet in this *eighth* Section, that his Hand was not greatly intermixt I can eaſily believe. For it begins with this Surmiſe, *That not having to accuſe the* Remonſtrant *to the King, I do it to the Parliament*, which Conceit of the Man cleanly ſhoves the King out of the Parliament, and makes two Bodies of one. Whereas the *Remonſtrant*, in the *Epiſtle* to his laſt *ſhort Anſwer, gives his Suppoſal that they*

they cannot be ſever'd in the Rights of their ſeveral Concernments. Mark, Readers, if they cannot be ſever'd in what is ſeveral (which caſts a Buls Eye to go yoke with the toothleſs *Satyrs*) how ſhould they be ſever'd in their common Concernments, the Welfare of the Land, by due Accuſation of ſuch as are the common Grievances, among which I took the *Remonſtrant* to be one. And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parliament, it was the ſame as to accuſe him to the King. Next, he caſts it into the Diſh of I know not whom, that *they flatter ſome of the Houſe and libel others, whoſe Conſciences made them vote contrary to ſome Proceedings.* Thoſe *ſome Proceedings* can be underſtood of nothing elſe but the *Deputies* Execution. And can this private Concoctor of Malecontent, at the very inſtant when he pretends to extol the Parliament, afford thus to blur over, rather then to mention that public Triumph of their Juſtice and Conſtancy, ſo high, ſo glorious, ſo reviving to the fainted Common-wealth, with ſuch a ſuſpicious and murmuring Expreſſion as to call it *ſome Proceedings*? And yet immediately he falls to Glozing, as if he were the only Man that rejoyc'd at theſe Times. But I ſhall diſcover to ye, Readers, that this his Praiſing of them is as full of Non-ſenſe and *Scholaſtic* Foppery, as his Meaning, he himſelf diſcovers, to be full of cloſe Malignity. His firſt *Encomium* is, *That the Sun looks not upon a braver nobler Convocation, then is that of King, Peers and Commons.* One thing I beg of ye, Readers, as ye bear any Zeal to Learning, to Elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum* in the writing of Praiſe, eſpecially on ſuch a noble Argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloiſter'd Lubber according to his Deſerts. †Where didſt thou learn to be ſo aguiſh, ſo puſillanimous, thou lozel Batchelour of Art, as againſt all Cuſtom and Uſe of Speech to term the High and Soveraign Court of Parliament, a Convocation? Was this the Flower of all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers*, whoſe beſt *Folios* are predeſtin'd to no better end then to make winding Sheets in *Lent* for Pilchers? Could'ſt thou preſume thus with one Word ſpeaking, to clap as it were under Hatches the King with all his Peers and Gentry into ſquare Caps and *Monkiſh* Hoods? How well doſt thou now appear to be a Chip of the old Block, that could find *Bridge ſtreet and Alehouſes in Heaven*; why didſt thou not, to be his perfect Imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour, and the Lords to the Doctors. Neither is this an Indignity only, but a Reproach, to call that inviolable Reſidence of Juſtice and Liberty, by ſuch an odious Name as now a *Convocation* is become; which would be nothing injur'd, though it were ſtil'd the Houſe of Bondage, whereout ſo many cruel Tasks, ſo many unjuſt Burthens have been laden upon the bruiſed Conſciences of ſo many Chriſtians throughout the Land. But which of thoſe worthy Deeds, whereof we and our Poſterity muſt confeſs this Parliament to have done ſo many and ſo noble, which of thoſe memorable Acts comes firſt into his Praiſes? None of all, not one. What will he then praiſe them for? Not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chaſtiſe his lewd and inſolent *Compriests.* Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the reſt of his Oratory that follows, ſo juſt is it in the Language of ſtall Epiſtle Nonſenſe, that if he who made it can underſtand it, I deny not but that he may deſerve for his Pains a caſt Doublet. When a Man would look he ſhould vent ſomething of his own, as ever in a ſet Speech the Manner is with him that knows any thing, he, leaſt we ſhould not take notice enough of his barren Stupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and refers us to odd Remnants in his *Topicks.* Nor yet content with the wonted Room of his Margent, but he muſt cut out large Docks and Creeks into his Text, to unlade the fooliſh Frigate of his unſeaſonable Authorities, not wherewith to praiſe the Parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What elſe there is, he jumbles together in ſuch a loſt Conſtruction, as no Man either

letter'd, or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I ſhall ſpare to tranſcribe him; but if I do him wrong, let me be ſo dealt with.

Now although it be a Digreſſion from the enſuing Matter, yet becauſe it ſhall not be ſaid I am apter to blame others then to make Trial my ſelf, and that I may after this harſh Diſcord, touch upon a ſmoother String awhile to entertain my ſelf and him that liſt, with ſome more pleaſing Fit, and not the leaſt to teſtifie the Gratitude which I owe to thoſe publick Benefactors of their Country, for the ſhare I enjoy in the common Peace and Good by their inceſſant Labours, I ſhall be ſo troubleſom to this Declaimer for once, as to ſhew him what he might have better ſaid in their Praiſe. Wherein I muſt only mention ſome few Things of many, for more then that to a Diſgreſſion may not be granted. Although certainly their Actions are worthy not thus to be ſpoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befal me to attempt ſomething more anſwerable to their great Merits, I perceive how hopeleſs it will be to reach the Height of their Praiſes at the Accompliſhment of that Expectation that waits upon their noble Deeds, the unfiniſhing whereof already ſurpaſſes what others before them have left enacted with their utmoſt Performance through many Ages. And to the end we may be confident, that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertain Opinion, nor ſuddain Counſels, but from mature Wiſdom, deliberat Vertue and dear Affection to the publick Good; I ſhall begin at that which made them likelieſt in the Eyes of Good Men to effect thoſe Things for the Recovery of decay'd Religion and the Common-Wealth, which they who were beſt minded had long wiſht for, but few, as the Times then were deſperate, had the Courage to hope for. *Firſt* therefore, the moſt of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at leaſt of known and well reputed Anceſtry, which is a great Advantage towards Vertue one way, but in reſpect of Wealth, Eaſe and Flattery, which acompanies a nice and tender Education, is as much a hindrance another way, the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthieſt of their Progenitors, and the Evil which aſſaulted their Younger Years by the Temptation of Riches, high Birth and that uſual bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiſs, through the ſtrength of an imbred Goodneſs and with the help of divine Grace, that had mark'd them out for no mean Purpoſes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater Danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the Knowledge of Learning, and ſent to thoſe Places, which were intended to be the Seed-plots of Piety and the liberal Arts, but were become the Nurſeries of Superſtition and empty Speculation, as they were proſperous againſt thoſe Vices which grow upon Youth out of Idleneſs and Superfluity; ſo were they happy in working-off the Harms of their abuſed Studies and Labours; correcting by the Clearneſs of their own Judgment the Errors of their Miſ-inſtruction, and were as *David* was, wiſer then their Teachers. And although their Lot fell into ſuch times, and to be bred in ſuch Places, where if they chanc'd to be taught any Thing good, or of their own Accord had learn'd it, they might ſee that preſently untaught them by the Cuſtom and ill Example of their Elders, ſo far in all Probablility was their Youth from being miſled by the ſingle Power of Example, as their riper Years were known to be unmov'd with the Baits of Preferment, and undaunted for any Diſcouragement and Terror, which appear'd often to thoſe that lov'd Religion, and their native Liberty. Which two Things God hath inſeparably knit together, and hath diſclos'd to us, that they who ſeek to corrupt our Religion are the ſame that would inthral our Civil Liberty. Thus in the midſt of all Diſadvantages and Diſreſpects (ſome alſo at laſt not without Impriſonment and open Diſgraces in the Cauſe of their Country) having given Proof of themſelves to be better made and fram'd by Nature to the Love and Practice of Vertue, then others under the holieſt Precepts and beſt Examples have been head-ſtrong and prone

to

to Vice, and having in all the Trials of a firm ingrafted Honeſty not oftner buckl'd in the Conflict, then giv'n every Oppoſition the Foil, this moreover was added by Favour from Heav'n, as an Ornament and Happineſs to their Vertue, that it ſhould be neither obſcure in the Opinion of Men, nor eclips'd for want of Matter equal to illuſtrate it ſelf; God and Man conſenting in joynt Approbation to chooſe them out as worthieſt above others to be both the great Reformers of the Church and Reſtorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceive that Expectation which with the Eyes and Deſires of their Country was fixt upon them; for no ſooner did the Force of ſo much united Excellence meet in one Globe of Brightneſs and Efficacy, but encountring the dazl'd Reſiſtance of Tyranny, they gave not over, though their Enemies were ſtrong and ſubtle, till they had laid her Groveling upon the fatal Block. With one Stroke winning again our loſt Liberties and Charters, which our Fore-fathers after ſo many Battles could ſcarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may ſo reſemble, with the ſecond Life of Tyranny (for ſhe was grown an ambiguous Monſter, and to be ſlain in two Shapes) guarded with Superſtition, which hath no ſmall Power to captivate the Minds of Men otherwiſe moſt wiſe, they neither were taken with her miter'd Hypocriſie, nor terrifi'd with the Puſh of her beſtial Horns, but breaking them immediatly forc'd her to unbend the Pontifical Brow and Recoil. Which Repulſe only given to the Prelates (that we may imagin how happy their Removal would be) was the Producement of ſuch glorious Effects and Conſequences in the Church, that if I ſhould compare them with thoſe Exploits of higeſt Fame in Poems and *Panegyricks* of old, I am certain, it would but diminiſh and impair their Worth, who are now my Argument. For thoſe ancient Worthies deliver'd Men from ſuch Tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward Obedience, leting the Mind be as free as it could. But theſe have freed us from a Doctrin of Tyranny that offer'd Violence and Corruption even to the inward Perſuaſion. They ſet at Liberty Nations and Cities of Men, Good and Bad mixt together: But theſe opening the Priſons and Dungeons call'd out of Darkneſs and Bonds, the elect Martyrs and Witneſſes of their Redeemer. They reſtor'd the Body to Eaſe and Wealth; but theſe the oppreſt Conſcience to that Freedom which is the chief Prerogative of the Goſpel; taking off thoſe cruel Burdens impos'd not by Neceſſity, as other Tyrants are wont for the Safeguard of their Lives, but laid upon our Necks by the ſtrange Wilfulneſs and Wantonneſs of a needleſs and jolly Perſecutor call'd Indifference. *Laſtly*, ſome of thoſe ancient Deliverers have had immortal Praiſes for preſerving their Citizens from a Famin of Corn. But theſe by this only Repulſe of an unholy *Hierarchy*, almoſt in a Moment, repleniſht with ſaving Knowledg their Country nigh famiſh'd, for want of that which ſhould feed their Souls. All this being done, while two Armies in the Field ſtood gazing on, the one in reverence of ſuch Nobleneſs quietly gave back and diſlodg'd; the other ſpight of the Unrulineſs and doubted Fidelity in ſome Regiments, was either perſwaded or compell'd to disband and retire Home. With ſuch a Majeſty had their Wiſdom begirt it ſelf, that whereas others had levyed War to ſubdue a Nation that ſought for Peace, they ſitting here in Peace could ſo many Miles extend the Force of their ſingle Words as to overawe the diſſolute Stoutneſs of an armed Power, ſecretly ſtir'd up, and almoſt hir'd againſt them. And having by a ſolemn Proteſtation, vow'd themſelves and the Kingdom anew to God and his Service, and by a prudent Foreſight above what their Fathers thought on, prevented the Diſſolution and Fruſtrating of their Deſigns by an untimely Breaking up, notwithſtanding all the treaſonous Plots againſt them, all the Rumours either of Rebellion, or Invaſion, they have not been yet brought to change their conſtant Reſolution, ever to think fearleſly of their own Safeties and hopefully of the Common-Wealth. Which hath gain'd them ſuch an Ad-

miration from all good Men, that now they hear it as their ordinary Sirname to be ſaluted the Fathers of their Country; and ſit as Gods among daily Petitions and public Thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth ſo little yet exalt them in their own Thoughts, that with all gentle Affability and curteous Acceptance they both receive and return that Tribute of Thanks, which is tender'd them; teſtifying their Zeal and Deſire to ſpend themſelves as it were Piece-meal upon the Grievances and Wrongs of their diſtreſſed Nation. Inſomuch, that the meaneſt Artizans and Labourers, at other times alſo Women, and often the younger Sort of Servants aſſembling with their Complaints, and that ſomtimes in a leſs humble Guiſe then for Petitioners, have gone with Confidence, that neither their Meanneſs would be rejected, nor their Simplicity contemn'd, nor yet their Urgency diſtaſted, either by the Dignity, Wiſdom or Moderation of that ſupreme Senate; nor did they depart unſatisfy'd. And indeed, if we conſider the general Concourſe of Suppliants, the free and ready Admittance, the willing and ſpeedy Redreſs in what is poſſible, it will not ſeem much otherwiſe, then as if ſome divine Commiſſion from Heaven were deſcended to take into Hearing and Commiſeration the long remedileſs Afflictions of this Kingdom; were it not that none more then themſelves labour to remove and divert ſuch Thoughts, leaſt Men ſhould place too much Confidence in their Perſons, ſtill referring us and our Prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the Monthly Return of public Faſts and Supplications. Therefore the more they ſeek to humble themſelves, the more does God by manifeſt Signs and Teſtimonies viſibly honour their Proceedings; and ſets them as the Mediators of this his Covenant, which he offers us to renew. Wicked Men daily conſpire their Hurt, and it comes to nothing, Rebellion rages in our *Iriſh* Province, but with miraculous and loſsleſs Victories of few againſt many is daily diſcomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early Pledge of Gods inclining towards us, by the Slackneſs of our needful Aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample Honour, when God vouchſafes to make Man the Inſtrument and ſubordinate Worker of his gracious Will, ſuch Acceptation have their Prayers found with him, that to them he hath been pleas'd to make himſelf the Agent and immediat Performer of their Deſires; diſſolving their Difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out Ways for them where no Paſſage could be ſeen; as who is there ſo regardleſs of divine Providence, that from late Occurrences will not confeſs. If therefore it be ſo high a Grace, when Men are preferr'd to be but the inferior Officers of good Things from God, what is it when God himſelf condeſcends, and works with his own Hands to fulfil the Requeſts of Men; which I leave with them as the greateſt Praiſe that can belong to human Nature. Not that we ſhould think they are at the End of their glorious Progreſs, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty Leading, who ſeems to have thus cov'nanted with them, that if the Will and the Endeavour ſhall be theirs, the Performance and the Perfecting ſhall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wiſe Men have miſcarry'd in praiſing great Deſigns before the utmoſt Event, becauſe I ſee who is their Aſſiſtant, who their Confederate, who hath engag'd his Omnipotent Arm to ſupport and crown with Succeſs their Faith, their Fortitude, their juſt and magnanimous Actions, till he have brought to paſs all that expected Good, which his Servants truſt is in his Thoughts to bring upon this Land, in the full and perfect Reformation of his Church.

Thus far I have digreſs'd, Readers, from my former Subject; but into ſuch a Path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightful than the Road-way I was in. And how to break off ſuddenly into thoſe jarring Notes, which this *Confuter* hath ſet me, I muſt be wary, unleſs I can provide againſt offending the Ear, as ſome *Muſicians* are wont

skillfully

skilfully to fall out of one Key into another, without Breach of Harmony. By good Luck therefore his *ninth* Section is ſpent in mournful Elegy, certain paſſionate Soliloquies, and two whole Pages of Interrogatories that praiſe the *Remonſtrant* even to the ſonetting of *his freſh Cheeks, quick Eyes, round Tongue, agile Hand and nimble Invention.*

In his *tenth* Section he will needs erect Figures, and tell Fortunes. *I am no Biſhop*, he ſays, *I was never born to it*; let me tell therefore this Wizzard, ſince he calculates ſo right, that he may know there be in the World, and I among thoſe, who nothing admire his Idol, a Biſhoprick, and hold, that it wants ſo much to be a Bleſſing, as that I rather deem it the meereſt, the falſeſt, the moſt unfortunate Gift of Fortune. And were the Puniſhment and Miſery of being a *Prelate*-Biſhop terminated only in the Perſon, and did not extend to the Affliction of the whole Dioceſs, if I would wiſh any thing in Bitterneſs of Soul to mine Enemy, I would wiſh him the biggeſt and the fatteſt Biſhoprick. But he proceeds; and the Familiar belike informs him, that *a rich Widow or a Lecture, or both, would content me*; whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his Art of Divining then any *Gypſy*. For this I cannot omit, without Ingratitude to that Providence above, who hath ever bred me up in Plenty, although my Life hath not been unexpenſive in Learning, and voyaging about, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him to lend me what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to ſerve me in all honeſt and liberal Occaſions, and ſomething over beſides, I were unthankful to that higheſt Bounty, if I ſhould make my ſelf ſo poor, as to ſolicite needily any ſuch kind of *rich Hopes* as this Fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may further learn, how his *Aſtrology* is wide all the Houſes of Heav'n in ſpelling Marriages, I care not if I tell him thus much profeſs'dly, though it be to the looſing of my *rich Hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in Prudence and Elegance of Spirit would chooſe a Virgin of mean Fortunes honeſtly bred, before the wealthieſt Widow. The Fiend therefore that told our *Chaldean* the contrary was a lying Fiend. His next Venom he utters againſt a Prayer, which he found in the *Animadverſions*, angry it ſeems to find any Prayers but in the Service-Book. He diſlikes it, and I therefore like it the better. *It was Theatrical*, he ſays. And yet it conſiſted moſt of Scripture-language: It had no *Rubric* to be ſung in an *Antic* Cope, upon the Stage of a high Altar. *It was lig-mouth'd*, he ſays, no Marvel; if it were fram'd as the Voice of three Kingdoms: Neither was it a Prayer ſo much as a Hymn in *Proſe*, frequent both in the Prophets and in human Authors; therefore the Stile was greater then for an ordinary Prayer: *It was an aſtounding Prayer*, I thank him for that Confeſſion, ſo it was intended to aſtound and to aſtoniſh the guilty *Prelates*; and this *Confuter* confeſſes, that with him it wrought that Effect. But in that which follows, he does not play the Soothſayer, but the Diabolic Slanderer of Prayers. *It was made*, he ſays, *not ſo much to pleaſe God, or to benefit the Weal-public* (how dares the Viper judge that) *but to intimate*, ſaith he, *your good Abilities to her that is your rich Hopes, your* Maronilla. How hard is it when a Man meets with a Fool to keep his Tongue from Folly. That were miſerable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withal of ſuch a hapleſs Invention, as that no way ſhould be left me to preſent my Meaning, but to make my ſelf a canting Probationer of Criſons. The *Remonſtrant*, when he was as young as I, could

> *Toothleſs Satyrs, Teach each hollow Grove to ſound his Love*
> *Wearying Eccho with one changeleſs Word.*

And ſo he well might, and all his Auditory beſides with his *Teach each.*

* *Jo manus labera, & laudo.*

* *ſee ten times more unharmonious Verſes p. 341 at the Bottom of the page* = *Toothleſs-*

Toothleſs Satyrs,

Whether ſo me liſt my lovely Thoughts to ſing,
Come dance ye nimble Dryads *by my Side,*
Whiles I report my Fortunes or my Loves.

Delicious! He had that whole Bevy at Command, whether in Morrice or at May-pole. Whilſt I, by this Figure-caſter, muſt be imagin'd in ſuch Diſtreſs as to ſue to *Maronilla*, and yet left ſo impoveriſh'd of what to ſay, as to turn my *Liturgy* into my Ladies *Pſalter*. Believe it, Graduat, I am not altogether ſo ruſtic, and nothing ſo irreligious, but as far diſtant from a Lecturer as the meereſt Laic, for any conſecrating Hand of a *Prelate* that ſhall ever touch me. Yet I ſhall not decline the more for that to ſpeak my Opinion in the Controverſy next mov'd. *Whether the People may be allow'd for competent Judges of a Miniſters Ability*? For how elſe can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to pour out ſuch Abundance of Knowledge upon all Sorts of Men in the Times of the Goſpel? How ſhould the People examin the Doctrin which is taught them, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles continually bid them to do? How ſhould they *diſcern and beware of falſe Prophets, and try every Spirit*, if they muſt be thought unfit to judge of the Miniſters Abilities: The Apoſtles ever labour'd to perſwade the Chriſtian Flock, that they *were call'd in Chriſt to all Perfectneſs of ſpiritual Knowledge, and full Aſſurance of Underſtanding in the Myſtery of God*. But the Non-reſident and Plurality-gaping *Prelates*, the Gulphs and Whirl-pools of Benefices, but the dry Pits of all ſound Doctrin, that they may the better preach what they liſt to their Sheep, are ſtill poſſeſſing them, that they are Sheep indeed, without Judgment, without Underſtanding, *the very Beaſts of Mount Sinai*, as this Confuter calls them; which Words of theirs may ſerve to condemn them out of their own Mouths; and to ſhew the groſs Contrarieties that are in their Opinions. For while none think the People ſo void of Knowledge as the *Prelates* think them, none are ſo backward and malignant as they to beſtow Knowledge upon them; both by ſuppreſſing the Frequency of Sermons, and the Printed Explanations of the *Engliſh* Bible. No Marvel, if the People turn Beaſts, when their Teachers themſelves, as *Iſaiah* calls them, *are dumb and greedy Dogs that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot underſtand, who while they all look their own Way, every one for his Gain from his Quarter*; how many Parts of the Land are fed with windy Ceremonies inſtead of ſincere Milk; and while one *Prelate* enjoys the Nouriſhment and Right of twenty Miniſters, how many waſte Places are left as dark as *Galilee* of the *Gentiles, ſitting in the Region and Shadow of Death*; without preaching Miniſters, without Light. So little care they of Beaſts to make them Men, that by their ſorcerous Doctrin of Formalities, they take the way to transform them out of Chriſtian Men into *Judaizing* Beaſts. Had they but taught the Land, or ſuffer'd it to be taught, as Chriſt would it ſhould have been, in all plenteous Diſpenſation of the Word, then the poor Mechanic might have ſo accuſtom'd his Ear to good Teaching, as to have diſcern'd between faithful Teachers and falſe. But now with a moſt inhuman Cruelty, they who have put out the Peoples Eyes reproach them of their Blindleſs. Juſt as the *Phariſees*, their true Fathers, were wont; who could not endure, that the People ſhould be thought competent Judges of Chriſt's Doctrin, although we know they judg'd far better then thoſe great *Rabbies*. Yet *this People*, ſaid they, *that knows not the Law is accurſ'd*. We need not the Authority of *Pliny* brought to tell us, the People cannot judge of a Miniſter. Yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a Painter or Statuary, but he who is an Artiſt, that is, either in the *Practic* or the *Theory*, which is often ſeparated from the *Practic*, and judges learnedly without it, ſo none can judge of a Chriſtian Teacher, but he who hath either the Practice or the Knowledge of Chriſtian Religion, tho' not ſo artfully digeſted in him. And who

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almoſt of the meaneſt Chriſtians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his Childhood, beſides ſo many Sermons and Lectures, more in Number then any Student hath heard in Philoſophy, whereby he may eaſily attain to know, when he is wiſely taught and when weakly. Whereof three Ways I remember are ſet down in Scripture. The one is, to read often that beſt of Books written to this Purpoſe, that not the wiſe only, but the ſimple and ignorant may learn by them; the other way to know of a Miniſter, is, by the Life he leads, whereof the meaneſt Underſtanding may be apprehenſive. The laſt way to judge aright in this Point is when he who judges, lives a Chriſtian Life himſelf. Which of theſe three will the Confuter affirm to exceed the Capacity of a plain Artizan? And what reaſon then is there left wherefore he ſhould be deny'd his Voice in the Election of his Miniſter, as not thought a competent Diſcerner? It is but Arrogance therefore, and the Pride of a *Metaphyſical* Fume, to think, that *the mutinous Rabble* (for ſo he calls the Chriſtian Congregation) *would be ſo miſtaken in a Clerk of the Univerſity*, that were to be their Miniſter. I doubt me, thoſe Clerks that think ſo, are more miſtaken in themſelves, and what with Truanting and Debauchery, what with falſe Grounds and the weakneſs of natural Faculties in many of them (it being a Maxim in ſome Men to ſend the ſimpleſt of their Sons thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unſolid and corrupted Judgments both in Doctrin and Life, as in any other two Corporations, of like Bigneſs. This is undoubted, that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were ſuch a Bungler in his Trade, as the greater Number of them are in their Profeſſion, he would ſtarve for any Cuſtom. And ſhould he exerciſe his Manufacture, as little as they do their Talents, he would forget his Art: And ſhould be miſtake his Tools as they do theirs, he would marr all the Work he took in Hand. How few among them that know to write, or ſpeak in a pure Stile, much leſs to diſtinguiſh the *Ideas* and various kinds of Stile: In *Latin* barbarous, and oft not without *Soleciſms*, declaiming in rugged and miſcellaneous Gear blown together by the four Winds, and in their choice preferring the gay Rankneſs of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any modern Fuſtianiſt, before the native *Latiniſms* of *Cicero*. In the *Greek* Tongue moſt of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any ſound Proficiency in thoſe *Attic* Maſters of moral Wiſdom and Eloquence. In the *Hebrew* Text, which is ſo neceſſary to be underſtood, except it be ſome few of them, their Lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No leſs are they out of the way in Philoſophy; peſtring their Heads with the ſapleſs Dotages of old *Paris and Salamanca*. And that which is the main Point, in their Sermons affecting the Comments and Poſtils of *Friers* and *Jeſuits*, but ſcorning and ſlighting the Reformed Writers. Inſomuch, that the better Sort among them will confeſs it a rare Matter to hear a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches; and that ſuch as are moſt humm'd and applauded there, would ſcarce be ſuffer'd the ſecond Hearing in a grave Congregation of Pious Chriſtians. Is there Cauſe, why theſe Men ſhould overween, and be ſo queaſie of the rude Multitude, leaſt their deep Worth ſhould be undervalued for want of fit Umpires? No my *matriculated Confuter*, there will not want in any Congregation of this Iſland, that hath not been altogether famiſht, or wholly perverted with *Prelatiſh* Leven, there will not want divers plain and ſolid Men, that have learnt by the Experience of a good Conſcience, what it is to be well taught, who will ſoon look through and through both the lofty Nakedneſs of your *Latinizing Barbarian*, and the finical Gooſery of your neat Sermon-actor. And ſo I leave you and your Fellow *Stars*, as you term them, *of either Horizon*, meaning, I ſuppoſe, either *Hemiſphere*, unleſs you will be ridiculous in your Aſtronomy. For the rational *Horizon* in Heaven is but one, and this ſenſible *Horizons* in Earth are innumerable; ſo that your Alluſion was as erroneous as your Stars.

But

But that you did well to prognoſticate them all at loweſt in the *Horizon*, that is either ſeeming bigger then they are through the Miſt and Vapour, which they raiſe, or elſe ſinking, and waſted to the Snuff in their *Weſtern* Socket.

Sect. 11. His eleventh Section intends I know not what, unleſs to clog us with the Reſidue of his Phlegmatic Sloth, diſcuſſing with a heavy Pulſe, the *Expedience of Set-Forms*: Which no queſtion but to ſome, and for ſome Time, may be permitted, and perhaps there may be uſefully ſet forth by the Church a Common *Directory* of Public Prayer, eſpecially in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. But that it ſhould therefore be inforc'd where both Miniſter and People profeſs to have no need, but to be ſcandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every ſenſible Chriſtian will deny. And the Reaſons of ſuch Denial the Confuter himſelf, as his Bounty ſtill is to his Adverſary, will give us out of his Affirmation, *Firſt*, ſaith he, *God in his Providence hath choſen ſome to Teach others, and Pray for others, as Miniſters and Paſtors.* Whence I gather, that however the Faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath ſet apart to his Miniſtery, are by him endu'd with an Ability of Prayer; becauſe their Office is to Pray for others. And not to be the lip-working Deacons of other Mens appointed Words. Nor is it eaſily credible, that he who can Preach well ſhould be unable to Pray well; when as it is indeed the ſame Ability to ſpeak Affirmatively, or Doctrinally, and only by changing the Mood to ſpeak Prayingly. In vain therefore do they pretend to want Utterance in Prayer, who can find Utterance to Preach. And if Prayer be the Gift of the Spirit, why do they admit thoſe to the Miniſtery, who want a main Gift of their Function, and preſcribe gifted Men to uſe that which is the Remedy of another Mans want; ſetting them their Task to read, whom the Spirit of God ſtands ready to aſſiſt in his Ordinance with the Gift of free Conceptions. What if it be granted to the Infirmity of ſome Miniſters (though ſuch ſeem rather to be half Miniſters) to help themſelves with a ſet Form, ſhall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous Graces of others? And let it be granted to ſome People while they are Babes in Chriſtian Gifts, were it not better to take it away ſoon after, as we do loitering Books, and *Interlineary* Tranſlations from Children; to ſtir up and exerciſe that Portion of the Spirit which is in them, and not impoſe it upon Congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a Thing troubleſom and offenſive refuſe it. Another Reaſon which he brings for Liturgy, is *the preſerving of Order, Unity and Piety*, and the ſame ſhall be my Reaſon againſt Liturgy. For I, Readers, ſhall always be of this Opinion, that Obedience to the Spirit of God rather then to the fair ſeeming Pretences of Men, is the beſt and moſt dutiful Order that a Chriſtian can obſerve. If the Spirit of God manifeſt the Gift of Prayer in his Miniſter, what more ſeemly Order in the Congregation, then to go along with that Man in our devouteſt Affections? For him to abridge himſelf by Reading, and to foreſtal himſelf in thoſe Petitions, which he muſt either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a ſhew of Order, is the greateſt Diſorder. Nor is Unity leſs broken, eſpecially by our Liturgy, though this Author would almoſt bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgical Words. For what other Reformed Church holds Communion with us by our Liturgy and does not rather diſlike it? And among our ſelves who knows it not to have been a perpetual Cauſe of Diſunion. *Laſtly*, it hinders Piety rather then ſets it forward, being more apt to weaken the ſpiritual Faculties, if the People be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily powring in of hot Waters quenches the natural Heat. For not only the Body and the Mind, but alſo the Improvement of Gods Spirit is quickn'd by uſing. Whereas they who will ever adhere to *Liturgy*, bring themſelves in the end to ſuch a

Paſs

Paſs by overmuch Leaning as to looſe even the Legs of their Devotion. Theſe Inconveniences and Dangers follow the Compelling of ſet Forms: But that the Toleration of the *Engliſh Liturgy* now in Uſe, is more dangerous than the Compelling of any other which the Reformed Churches uſe, theſe Reaſons following may evince. To contend that it is Fantaſtical, if not Senſleſs in ſome Places, were a copious Argument, eſpecially in the *Reſponſories*. For ſuch Alternations as are there us'd muſt be by ſeveral Perſons; but the Miniſter and the People cannot ſo ſever their Intereſts as to ſuſtain ſeveral Perſons; he being the only Mouth of the whole Body which he preſents. And if the People pray, he being ſilent, or they ask one thing and he another, it either changes the Property, making the Prieſt the People, and the People the Prieſt by turns, or elſe makes two Perſons and two Bodies repreſentative where there ſhould be but one. Which if it be nought elſe, muſt needs be a ſtrange Quaintneſs in ordinary Prayer. The like or worſe may be ſaid of the *Litany*, wherein neither Prieſt nor People ſpeak any intire Senſe of themſelves throughout the whole, I know not what to name it; only by their timely Contribution of their parted Stakes, cloſing up as it were the *Schiſm* of a ſlic'd Prayer, they pray not in vain, for by this Means they keep Life between them in a Piece of gaſping Senſe, and keep down the Sawcineſs of a continual rebounding Nonſenſe. And hence it is that as it hath been far from the Imitation of any warranted Prayer, ſo we all know it hath been obvious to be the Pattern of many a Jig. And he who hath but read in good Books of Devotion and no more, cannot be ſo either of Ear or Judgment unpractis'd to diſtinguiſh what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not, but will preſently perceive this *Liturgy* all over in Conception lean and dry, of Affections empty and unmoving, of Paſſion or any Height whereto the Soul might ſoar upon the Wings of Zeal, deſtitute and barren: Beſides Errors, *Tautologies*, Impertinences, as thoſe Thanks in the Womans Churching for her Delivery from Sun-burning and Moon-blaſting, as if ſhe had been travailing, not in her Bed but in the Deſarts of *Arabia*. So that while ſome Men ceaſe not to admire the incomparable Frame of our *Liturgy*, I cannot but admire as faſt what they think is become of Judgment and Taſte in other Men, that they can hope to be heard without Laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a compliable Matter. But when we remember this our *Liturgy*, where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, ſtill ſerving to all the Abominations of the *Antichriſtian* Temple, it may be wonder'd, how we can demur, whether it ſhould be done away or no, and not rather fear we have highly offended in uſing it ſo long. It hath indeed been pretended to be more ancient than the *Maſs*, but ſo little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt *Liturgies* have had withal ſuch a ſeeming Antiquity, as that their Publiſhers have ventur'd to aſcribe them with their worſt Corruptions either to St. *Peter*, St. *James*, St. *Mark*, or at leaſt to *Chryſoſtom* or *Baſil*, ours hath been never able to find either Age, or Author allowable, on whom to father thoſe Things therein which are leaſt offenſive, except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a Smatch in it of *Limbus Patrum*. As if Chriſt had not *open'd the Kingdom of Heaven* before he had *overcome the Sharpneſs of Death*. So that having receiv'd it from the *Papal* Church as an Original Creature, for ought can be ſhewn to the contrary, form'd and faſhion'd by Work-maſters ill to be truſted, we may be aſſur'd, that if God loath the beſt of an Idolaters Prayer, much more the conceited Fangle of his Prayer. This Confuter himſelf confeſſes, that a Community of the ſame ſet Form in Prayers is that which *makes Church and Church truly One*; we then uſing a *Liturgy* far more like to the *Maſs-book* then to any Proteſtant ſet Form, by his own Words muſt have more Communion with the *Romiſh* Church than with any of the Reformed. How can we then not partake with them the Curſe and Vengeance of their Superſtition, to whom

we come ſo near in the ſame ſet Form and Dreſs of our Devotion? Do we think to ſift the Matter finer than we are ſure God in his Jealouſy will? Who deteſted both the Gold and the Spoil of idolatrous Cities, and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols. Are we ſtronger than he, to brook that which his Heart cannot brook? It is not ſurely becauſe we think that Prayers are no where to be had but at *Rome*; that were a foul Scorn and Indignity caſt upon all the Reformed Churches, and our own; if we imagin, that all the godly Miniſters of *England* are not able to new-mould a better and more pious *Liturgy* than this which was conceiv'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother: How baſely were that to eſteem of Gods Spirit, and all the holy Bleſſings and Priviledges of a true Church above a falſe; Heark ye *Prelates*, is this your glorious Mother of *England*, who, whenas Chriſt hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unleſs ſhe add thereto the teaching of Antichriſt? How can we believe ye would refuſe to take the Stipend of *Rome*, when ye ſhame not to live upon the Alms-basket of her Prayers? Will ye perſwade us that ye can curſe *Rome* from your Hearts when none but *Rome* muſt teach ye to pray? *Abraham* diſdain'd to take ſo much as a Thread or a Shoo-latchet from the King of *Sodom*, though no Foe of his, but a wicked King, and ſhall we receive our Prayers at the Bounty of our more wicked Enemies? Whoſe Gifts are no Gifts, but the Inſtruments of our Bane? Alas that the Spirit of God ſhould blow as an uncertain Wind, ſhould ſo miſtake his Inſpiring, ſo misbeſtow his Gifts promis'd only to the Elect, that the Idolatrous ſhould find Words acceptable to preſent God with and abound to their Neighbours, while the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel can find nothing of their own worth the conſtituting, wherewith to worſhip God in public. Conſider if this be to magnify the Church of *England*, and not rather to diſplay her Nakedneſs to all the World. Like therefore as the retaining of this *Romiſh Liturgy* is a Provocation to God and a Diſhonour to our Church, ſo is it by thoſe Ceremonies, thoſe Puriſyings and Offerings at the Altar, a Pollution and Diſturbance to the Goſpel it ſelf; and a kind of driving us with the fooliſh *Galatians* to another Goſpel. For that which the Apoſtles taught hath freed us in Religion from the *Ordinances of Men*, and commands that *Burthens be not laid* upon the Redeemed of Chriſt, though the Formaliſt will ſay, what no Decency in Gods Worſhip? Certainly, Readers, the Worſhip of God ſingly in it ſelf, the very Act of Prayer and Thankſgiving with thoſe free and unimpos'd Expreſſions which from a ſincere Heart unbidden come into the outward Geſture, is the greateſt Decency that can be imagin'd. Which to dreſs up and garniſh with a devis'd Bravery aboliſh'd in the Law and diſclaim'd by the Goſpel, adds nothing but a deform'd Ugline ſs. And hath ever afforded a colourable Pretence to bring in all thoſe Traditions and Carnalities that are ſo killing to the Power and Vertue of the Goſpel. What was that which made the *Jews* figur'd under the Names of *Aholah* and *Aholibah* go a whoring after all the *Heathens* Inventions, but that they ſaw a Religion gorgeouſly attir'd and deſirable to the Eye? What was all, that the falſe Doctors of the Primitive Church, and ever ſince have done, but *to make a fair Shew in the Fleſh*, as St. *Pauls* Words are? If we have indeed given a Bill of Divorce to Popery and Superſtition, why do we not ſay as to a divorc'd Wife; thoſe things which are yours, take them all with you, and they ſhall ſweep after you? Why were not we thus wiſe at our Parting from *Rome*? Ah like a crafty Adultreſs ſhe forgot not all her ſmooth Looks and enticing Words at her Parting; yet keep theſe Letters, theſe Tokens and theſe few Ornaments: I am not all ſo greedy of what is mine, let them preſerve with you the Memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once fair and lovely in your Eyes. Thus did thoſe tender-hearted Reformers dotingly ſuffer themſelves to be overcome

with

with Harlots Language. And ſhe like a Witch, but with a contrary Policy, did not take ſomething of theirs that ſhe might ſtill have Power to bewitch them, but for the ſame Intent left ſomething of her own behind her. And that her whoriſh Cunning ſhould prevail to work upon us her deceitful Ends, though it be ſad to ſpeak, yet ſuch is our Blindneſs, that we deſerve. For we are deep in Dotage. We cry out *Sacriledge and Miſdevotion* againſt thoſe who in Zeal have demoliſh'd the Dens and Cages of her unclean Wallowings. We ſtand for a *Popiſh Liturgy* as for the Ark of our Covenant. And ſo little does it appear our Prayers are from the Heart, that Multitudes of us declare, they know not how to Pray but by Rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a Prayer of their own to the Parliament, that they may ſtill ignorantly read the Prayers of other Men to God. They object, that if we muſt forſake all that is *Rome*'s, we muſt bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had been of the Apoſtles; for ſo it bears Title. But if it be hers let her take it. We can want no Creed, ſo long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnifie thoſe who in reforming our Church have inconſiderately and blamefully permited the old Leaven to remain and ſowre our whole Lump. But *they were Martyrs*; true, and he that looks well into the Book of Gods Providence, if he read there, that God for this their Negligence and Halting brought all that following Perſecution upon this Church, and on themſelves, perhaps will be found at the laſt day not to have read amiſs.

Sect. 12. But now, Readers, we have the Port within ſight; his laſt Section which is no deep one, remains only to be ſoarded, and then the wiſh'd Shoar. And here firſt it pleaſes him much, that he hath diſcry'd me, as he conceives to be unread in the Counſels. Concerning which Matter it will not be unneceſſary to ſhape him this Anſwer; That ſome Years I had ſpent in the Stories of thoſe *Greek* and *Roman* Exploits, wherein I found many Things both nobly done, and worthily ſpoken: When coming in the Method of Time to that Age wherein the Church had obtain'd a Chriſtian Emperor, I ſo prepar'd my ſelf, as being now to read Examples of Wiſdom and Goodneſs among thoſe who were foremoſt in the Church, not elſe where to be parallell'd: But to the Amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in ſome very few, nothing but Ambition, Corruption, Contention, Combuſtion: In ſo much that I could not but love the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, who in the Proem to his fifth Book profeſſes, *He was fain to intermix Affairs of State, for that it would be elſe an extream Annoyance to hear in a continu'd Diſcourſe the endleſs Brabbles and Counterplottings of the Biſhops.* Finding therefore the moſt of their Actions in ſingle to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of Strife and yet flat of Spirit, and the Summ of their beſt Counſels there collected, to be moſt commonly in Queſtions either trivial and vain, or elſe of ſhort and eaſie Deciſion without that great Buſtle which they made, I concluded that if their ſingle Ambition and Ignorance was ſuch, then certainly united in a Councel it would be much more; and if the compendious Recital of what they there did was ſo tedious and unprofitable, then ſurely to ſit out the whole Extent of their Tattle in a dozen Volums, would be a Loſs of Time irrecoverable. Beſides that which I had read of S. *Martin*, who for his laſt ſixteen Years could never be perſwaded to be at any Councel of the Biſhops. And *Gregory Nazianzen* betook him to the ſame Reſolution affirming to *Procopius, that of any Councel, or Meeting of Biſhops he never ſaw good End; nor any Remedy thereby of Evil in the Church but rather an Increaſe.* For, ſaith he, *their Contentions and Deſire of Lording no Tongue is able to expreſs.* I have not therefore I confeſs read more of the Councels ſave here and there, I ſhould be ſorry to have been ſuch a Prodigal of my time: But that which is better, I can aſſure this *Confuter*; I have read into them all. And if I want any Thing yet, I ſhall reply ſomething

toward that which in the Defence of *Muræna* was anſwer'd by *Cicero* to *Sulpitius* the Lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand elſe will I undertake ſuch a frivolous Labour) I will in three Months be an expert Counceliſt. For be not deceiv'd, Readers, by Men that would over-awe your Ears with big Names and huge Tomes, that contradict and repeal one another, becauſe they can cram a Margent with Citations. Do but winnow their Chaff from the Wheat, ye ſhall ſee their great Heap ſhrink and wax thin paſt Belief. From hence he paſſes to enquire wherefore I ſhould blame the Vices of the *Prelates* only, ſeeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as Faulty. To which let him hear in brief; that thoſe Prieſts whoſe Vices have been notorious, are all Prelatical, which argues both the Impiety of that Opinion, and the wicked Remiſneſs of that Government. We hear not of any which are called *Nonconformiſts*, that have been accus'd for ſcandalous Living; but are known to be Pious, or at leaſt ſober Men. Which is a great good Argument, that they are in the Truth and Prelates in the Error. He would be reſolv'd next, *What the Corruptions of the Univerſities concern the Prelates?* And to that let him take this, that the *Remonſtrant* having ſpok'n as if Learning would decay with the Removal of Prelates, I ſhew'd him that while Books were extant, and in Print, Learning could not readily be at a worſe Paſs in the Univerſities then it was now under their Government. Then he ſeeks to juſtifie the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld Sovereignty, whenas all Chriſtian Sovereignty is by Law, and to no other End but to the Maintenance of the common Good. But their Doctrin was plainly the Diſſolution of Law which only ſets up Sovereignty, and the erecting of an Arbitrary Sway according to private Will, to which they would enjoyn a ſlaviſh Obedience without Law; which is the known Definition of a Tyrant and a Tyranniz'd People. A little beneath, he denies, that great Riches in the Church are the Baits of Pride and Ambition: Of which Error to undeceive him, I ſhall alledge a reputed divine Authority, as ancient as *Conſtantine*, which his Love to Antiquity muſt not except againſt, and to add the more Weight, he ſhall learn it rather in the Words of our old Poet *Gower* then in mine, that he may ſee it is no new Opinion, but a Truth deliver'd of old by a Voice from Heaven, and ratify'd by long Experience.

This Conſtantine which heal hath found
Within Rome anon let found
Two Churches which he did make
For Peter and for Pauls ſake:
Of whom he had a viſion,
And yafe thereto poſſeſſion
Of Lordſhips and of Worlds Good;
But how ſo that his Will was Good;
Toward the Pope and his Franchiſe
Yet hath it proved otherwiſe
To ſee the working of the deed,
For in Cronick thus I read
Anon as he hath made the yeft
A voice was heard on high the left
Of which all Rome was adrad
And ſaid this day venim is ſhed
In holy Church, of temporal
That medleth with the ſpiritual
And how it ſtant in that degree
Yet may a Man the ſooth ſee.
God amend it when he will
I can thereto none other ſkill.

But

But there were Beaſts of Prey, ſaith he, before Wealth was beſtow'd on the Church. What though? Becauſe the Vulturs had then but ſmall Pickings; ſhall we therefore go and fling them a full Gorge? If they for Lucre uſe to creep into the Church undiſcernibly, the more Wiſdom will it be ſo to provide that no Revenue there may exceed the golden Mean. For ſo, good Paſtors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing with all the Precept and Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and alſo will be leſs tempted to Ambition. The bad will have but ſmall Matter whereon to ſet their Miſchief a Work. And the worſt and ſutleſt Heads will not come at all, when they ſhall ſee the Crop nothing anſwerable to their capacious Greedineſs. For ſmall Temptations allure but dribling Offenders: but a great Purchaſe will call ſuch as both are moſt able of themſelves, and will be moſt enabl'd hereby to compaſs dangerous Projects. But, ſaith he, *A Widows Houſe will tempt as well as a Biſhops Palace.* Acutely ſpok'n. Becauſe neither we, nor the Prelates can aboliſh Widows Houſes which are but an occaſion taken of Evil without the Church; therefore we ſhall ſet up within the Church a Lottery of ſuch Prizes as are the direct inviting Cauſes of Avarice and Ambition, both unneceſſary and harmful to be propos'd and moſt eaſie, moſt convenient and needful to be remov'd. *Tea but they are in a wiſe Deſpenſers Hand.* Let them be in whoſe Hand, they will, they are moſt apt to blind, to puff up and pervert the moſt ſeeming Good. And how they have been kept from Vultures, whatever the Diſpenſers Care hath been, we have learnt by our Miſeries. But this which comes next in View, I know not what good Vein, or Humor took him, when he let drop into his Paper. I that was 'ere while the Ignorant, the Loyterer, on the ſudden by his Permiſſion, am now granted *to know ſomething.* And that *ſuch a Volley of Expreſſions*, he hath met withal, *as he would never deſire to have them better cloth'd.* For me, Readers, although I cannot ſay that I am utterly untrain'd in thoſe Rules which beſt Rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with thoſe Examples which the prime Authors of Eloquence have written in any learned Tongue, yet true Eloquence I find to be none, but the ſerious and hearty Love of Truth: And that whoſe Mind ſo ever is fully poſſeſt with a fervent Deſire to know good Things, and with the deareſt Charity to infuſe the Knowledge of them into others, when ſuch a Man would ſpeak his Words (by what I can expreſs) like ſo many nimble and airy Servitors trip about him at Command, and in well order'd Files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own Places. But now to the Remainder of our Diſcourſe. Chriſt refus'd great Riches and large Honours at the Devils Hand. But why, ſaith he, *as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a ſin to receive them.* Timely remember'd: Why is it not therefore as much a Sin to receive a *Liturgy* of the Maſſes given, were it for nothing elſe but for the Giver? *But he could make no uſe of ſuch a high Eſtate*, quoth the Confuter; opportunely. For why then ſhould the Servant take upon him to uſe thoſe Things which his Maſter had unfitted himſelf to uſe, that he might teach his Miniſters to follow his ſteps in the ſame Miniſtery. But *they were offer'd him to a bad End.* So they prove to the Prelates; who after their Preferment moſt uſually change the teaching Labour of the Word, into the unteaching Eaſe of Lordſhip over Conſciences and Purſes. But he proceeds, *God intic'd the* Iſraelites *with the Promiſe of* Canaan. Did not the *Prelates* bring as ſlaviſh Minds with them, as the *Jews* brought out of *Egypt*, they had left out that Inſtance. Beſides, that it was then the Time, when as the beſt of them, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *was ſhut up unto the Faith under the Law*, their School-Maſter, who was forc'd to intice them as Children with Childiſh Enticements. But the Goſpel is our Manhood, and the Miniſtery ſhould be the Manhood of the Goſpel, not to look after, much leſs ſo baſely to plead for Earthly Rewards. *But God incited* the Wiſeſt Man *Solomon with theſe means.* Ah

Confuter

Confuter of thy ſelf, this Example hath undone thee, *Solomon* askt an underſtanding Heart, which the *Prelates* have little Care to ask. He askt no Riches which is their chief Care: Therefore was the Prayer of *Solomon* pleaſing to God: He gave him Wiſdom at his Requeſt, and Riches without asking: As now he gives the *Prelates* Riches at their Seeking, and no Wiſdom becauſe of their perverſe asking. But he gives not over yet, Moſes *had an Eye to the Reward.* To what Reward, thou Man that look'ſt with *Balaams* Eyes, to what Reward had the Faith of *Moſes* an Eye to? He that had forſaken all the Greatneſs of *Egypt*, and choſe a troubleſom Journey in his old Age through the Wilderneſs, and yet arriv'd not at his Journies End: His faithful Eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible Reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his Seed in the *Meſſiah*, he ſought a heav'nly Reward which could make him happy and never hurt him, and to ſuch a Reward every good Man may have a Reſpect. But the *Prelates* are eager of ſuch Rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worſe. *Jacob*, a Prince born, vow'd, that if God would *but give him Bread to eat and Raiment to put on, then the Lord ſhould be his God.* But the *Prelates* of mean Birth, and oft-times of loweſt, making ſhew as if they were call'd to the ſpiritual and humble Miniſtery of the Goſpel, yet murmur and think it a hard Service, unleſs contrary to the Tenor of their Profeſſion, they may eat the Bread and wear the Honours of Princes. So much more covetous and baſe they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proferr'd a Reward to be admitted to that Work, which they will not be meanly hir'd to. But ſaith he, *Are not the Clergy Members of Chriſt, why ſhould not each Member thrive alike?* Carnal Textman! As if worldly Thriving were one of the Priviledges we have by being in Chriſt, and were not a Providence oft-times extended more liberally to the Infidel then to the Chriſtian. Therefore muſt the Miniſters of Chriſt not be over rich or great in the World, becauſe their Calling is ſpiritual, not ſecular; becauſe they have a ſpecial Warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many Impediments. Becauſe their Maſter Chriſt gave them this Precept, and ſet them this Example, told them, this was the Myſtery of his Coming, by mean Things and Perſons to ſubdue mighty ones: And *Laſtly*, becauſe a middle Eſtate is moſt proper to the Office of Teaching. Whereas higher Dignity teaches far leſs, and blinds the Teacher. Nay, ſaith the *Confuter*, fetching his laſt Endeavour, *the* Prelates *will be very loath to let go their Baronies and Votes in Parliament*, and calls it *Gods Cauſe*, with an unſufferable Impudence. *Not that they love the Honours and the Means*, good Men and generous, *but that they would not have their Country made guilty of ſuch a Sacrilege and Injuſtice.* A worthy Patriot for his own corrupt Ends! That which he imputes as Sacrilege to his Country, is the only Way left them to purge that abominable Sacrilege out of the Land, which none but the *Prelates* are guilty of. Who for the Diſcharge of one ſingle Duty receive and keep that which might be enough to ſatisfie the Labours of many painful Miniſters better deſerving them themſelves. Who poſſeſs huge Benefices for lazy Performances, great Promotions, only for the Excution of a cruel diſgoſpelling Juriſdiction. Who ingroſs many Pluralities under a *Nonreſident* and ſlubbring Diſpatch of Souls. Who let hundreds of Pariſhes famiſh in on *Dioceſs*, while they the *Prelates* are mute, and yet enjoy that Wealth that would furniſh all thoſe dark Places with able Supply, and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earls, and yet hoard up. They who chaſe away all the faithful Shepherds of the Flock, and bring in a Dearth of ſpiritual Food, robbing thereby the Church of her deareſt Treaſure, and ſending Herds of Souls ſtarvling to Hell, while they feaſt and riot upon the Labours of Hireling-Curats, conſuming and purloyning even that which by their Foundation is allow'd, and left to the Poor, and to Reparations of the Church. Theſe

are

are they who have bound the Land with the Sin of Sacriledge, from which mortal Ingagement we ſhall never be free, till we have totally remov'd with one Labour as one individual Thing, Prelacy and Sacriledge. And herein will the King be a true Defender of the Faith, not by paring or leſſening, but by diſtributing in due Proportion the Maintenance of the Church, that all Parts of the Land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent Preaching of the Faith, the Scandal of Ceremonies thrown out, that delude and circumvent the Faith. And the Uſurpation of Prelates laid level, who are in Words the Fathers, but in their Deeds the Oppugners of the Faith. This is that which will beſt confirm him in that Glorious Title. Thus ye have heard, Readers, how many Shifts and Wiles the Prelates have invented to ſave their ill-got Booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that Pride and Covetouſneſs are the ſure Marks of thoſe falſe Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude theſe to be as great Seducers, as any of the latter Times. For between this and the Judgment-Day, do not look for any Arch Deceivers, who in ſpight of Reformation will uſe more Craft, or leſs Shame to defend their Love of the World, and their Ambition, then theſe Prelates have done. And if ye think that Soundneſs of Reaſon, or what Force of Argument ſoever, will bring them to an ingenuous Silence, ye think, that which will never be. But if ye take that Courſe with *Eraſmus* was wont to ſay, *Luther* took againſt the Pope and Monks, if ye denounce War againſt their Miters and their Bellies, ye ſhall ſoon diſcern that *Turbant* of Pride which they wear upon their Heads to be no *Helmet of Salvation*, but the meer Mettle and Horn-Work of *Papal* Juriſdiction; and that they have alſo this Gift, like a certain Kind of ſome that are poſſeſt, to have their Voice in their Bellies, which being well drain'd and taken down, their great Oracle, which is only there, will ſoon be dumb, and the *Divine Right of Epiſcopacy* forthwith expiring, will put us no more to Trouble with tedious Antiquities and Diſputes.

The END.

THE

Ready and Eaſy WAY

TO

ESTABLISH

A

Free Commonwealth,

AND

The EXCELLENCE thereof

Compar'd WITH

The *Inconveniences* and *Dangers* of re-admitting *Kingſhip* in this *NATION.*

The Author *J. MILTON.*

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THE Ready and Easy WAY TO ESTABLISH A Free Commonwealth, &c.

ALTHOUGH since the Writing of this Treatise, the Face of Things hath had some Change, Writs for new Elections have been recall'd, and the Members at first chosen, re-admitted from Exclusion, to sit again in Parliament, yet not a little Rejoycing to hear declar'd, the Resolutions of all those who are now in Power, jointly tending to the Establishment of a Free Commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this unsound Humour of returning to old Bondage, instill'd of late by some cunning Deceivers, and nourish'd from bad Principles and false Apprehensions among too many of the People, I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping it may perhaps (the Parliament now sitting more full and frequent) be now much more Useful then before: Yet submitting what hath Reference to the State of Things as they then stood, to present Constitutions; and so the same End be pursu'd, not insisting on this or that Means to obtain it. The Treatise was thus written as follows.

The Parliament of *England* assisted by a great Number of the People, who appear'd and stuck to them faithfullest in the Defence of Religion and their Civil Liberties, judging Kingship by long Experience a Government burdensom, expensive, useless and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolish'd it; turning Regal Bondage into a Free Commonwealth, to the Admiration and Terror of our Neighbours, and the stirring up of *France* it self, especially in *Paris* and *Bourdeaux*, to our Imitation. Nor were our Actions less both at Home and Abroad then might become the Hopes of a Glorious Rising Commonwealth; nor were the Expressions both of the Army and of the People, whether in their public Declarations or several Writings, other then such as testifi'd a Spirit in this Nation, no less noble and well fitted to the Liberty of a Commonwealth, then in the Ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*. After our Liberty thus successfully fought for, gain'd, and many Years possess'd, except in those unhappy Interruptions, which God hath remov'd, and wonderfully now the third Time brought together our old *Patriots*, the first Assertors of our Religious and Civil Rights, now that nothing remains but in all Reason the certain Hopes of a speedy and immediate Settlement to this Nation for ever in a Firm and Free Commonwealth, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly as it seems the Multitude would, to their once abjur'd and detested Thraldom of Kingship, not only argues a strange degenerate Corruption suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepar'd for new Slavery, but will render us a Scorn and Derision to all our Neighbours. And what will they say of us, but scoffingly as of that Foolish Builder mention'd by our Saviour, who began to Build a Tower, and was not able to finish it: Where is this goodly

Tower

Tower of a Commonwealth which the *Engliſh* boaſted they would build, to overſhadow Kings and be another *Rome* in the *Weſt?* The Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worſe Confuſion, not of Tongues, but of Factions, then thoſe at the Tower of *Babel*; and have left no Memorial of their Work behind then remaining, but in the common Laughter of *Europe*. Which muſt needs redound the more to our Shame, if we but look on our Neighbours, the United Provinces, to us inferiour in all outward Advantages: Who notwithſtanding in the midſt of greater Difficulties, couragiouſly, wiſely, conſtantly went through with the ſame Work, and are ſettl'd in all the happy Injoyments of a potent and flouriſhing Republic to this day.

Beſides this, if we return to Kingſhip and ſoon repent, as undoubtedly we ſhall, when we begin to find the old Incroachments coming on by little and little upon our Conſciences, which muſt neceſſarily proceed from King and Biſhop united, inſeparably in one Intereſt, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and ſpend over again all that we have ſpent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd, to the Recovery of our Freedom, never likely to have it in Poſſeſſion, as we now have it, never to be vouchſaf'd hereafter the like Mercies and ſignal Aſſiſtances from Heaven in our Cauſe, if by our ingrateful Backſliding we make theſe Fruitleſs to our ſelves, all his gracious Condeſcentions and Anſwers to our once importuning Prayers againſt the Tyranny which we then groan'd under to become now of no effect, by returning of our own fooliſh Accord, nay running headlong again with full Stream wilfully and obſtinately into the ſame Bondage: Making vain and viler then Dirt the Blood of ſo many thouſand faithful and valiant *Engliſh-Men*, who left us in this Liberty, bought with their Lives; loſing by a ſtrange After-game of Folly, all the Battles we have won, all the Treaſure we have ſpent, not that corruptible Treaſure only, but that far more precious of all our late Miraculous Deliverances; and moſt pittifully depriving our ſelves the inſtant Fruition of that free Government which we have ſo dearly purchaſed, a Free Commonwealth, not only held by wiſeſt Men in all Ages, the nobleſt, the manlieſt, the equalleſt, the juſteſt Government, the moſt agreeable to all due Liberty and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil and Chriſtian; moſt cheriſhing to Vertue and true Religion, but alſo (I may ſay it with greateſt Probability) plainly commended or rather enjoin'd by our Saviour himſelf, to all Chriſtians, not without remarkable Diſallowance and the Brand of *Gentiliſm* upon King-ſhip. God in much Diſpleaſure gave a King to the *Iſraelites*, and imputed it a Sin to them that they ſought one: But Chriſt apparently forbids his Diſciples to admit of any ſuch *Heatheniſh* Government: *The Kings of the* Gentiles, ſaith he, *exerciſe Lordſhip over them; and they that exerciſe Authority upon them, are call'd Benefactors. But ye ſhall not be ſo: But he that is greateſt among you, let him be as the Younger; and he that is chief, as he that ſerveth.* The Occaſion of theſe his Words, was, the ambitious Deſire of *Zebede*'s two Sons to be exalted above their Brethren in his Kingdom, which they thought was to be 'ere long upon Earth. That he ſpeaks of Civil Government, is manifeſt, by the former Part of the Compariſon, which infers the other Part to be always in the ſame kind. And what Government comes nearer to this Precept of Chriſt, then a Free Common-wealth; wherein they who are greateſt, are perpetual Servants and Drudges to the Public at their own Coſt and Charges, neglect their own Affairs; yet are not elevated above their Brethren, live ſoberly in their Families, walk the Streets as other Men, may be ſpoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration. Whereas a King muſt be ador'd like a Demigod, with a diſſolute and haughty Court about him, of vaſt Expence and Luxury, Masks and Revels, to the Debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female;

nor at his own Coſt, but on the public Revenue; and all this to do nothing but beſtow the eating and drinking of exceſſive Dainties, to ſet a pompous Face upon the ſuperficial Actings of State, to pageant himſelf up and down in Progreſs among the perpetual Bowings of an abject People, on either ſide deifying and extolling him, who for the moſt part deſerves none of this for any Good done to the People (for what can he do more than another Man) but even in the Expreſſion of a late Court-Poet, ſits only like a great Cypher ſet to no Purpoſe before a long Row of other ſignificant Figures. Nay it is well and happy for the People, if their King be but a Cypher, being oft-times a Miſchief, a Peſt, a Scourge of the Nation, and which is worſe, not to be remov'd, not to be controul'd, much leſs accus'd or brought to Puniſhment, without the Danger of a common Ruin, without the Shaking and almoſt Subverſion of the whole Land. Whereas in a free Commonwealth, any Governour or Chief Councellour offending, may be remov'd and puniſh'd, without the leaſt Commotion. Certainly then that People muſt needs be mad or ſtrangely infatuated, that build the chief Hope of their common Happineſs or Safety on a ſingle Perſon; who, if he happen to be good, can do no more then another Man, if to be bad, hath in his Hands to do more Evil without Check then Millions of other Men. The Happineſs of a Nation muſt needs be firmeſt and certaineſt in a full and free Councel of their own electing, where no ſingle Perſon, but Reaſon only ſways. And what Madneſs is it, for them who might manage nobly their own Affairs themſelves, ſluggiſhly and weakly to devolve all on a ſingle Perſon; and more like Boys under Age then Men, to commit all to his Patronage and Diſpoſal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though Royally paid, will not be their Servant, but their Lord? How unmanly muſt it needs be, to count ſuch a one the Breath of our Noſtrils, to hang all our Felicity on him, all our Safety, our Well-being, for which, if we were ought elſe but Sluggards or Babies, we need depend on none but God and our own Councels, our own active Vertue and Induſtry. *Go to the Ant, thou Sluggard,* ſaith *Solomon, conſider her Ways, and be wiſe; which having no Prince, Ruler or Lord, provides her Meat in the Summer, and gathers her Food in the Harveſt.* Which evidently ſhews us, that they who think the Nation undone without a King, though they ſwell and look haughty, have not ſo much true Spirit and Underſtanding in them as a Piſmire. It may be well wonder'd, that any Nation, ſtyling themſelves free, can ſuffer any Man to pretend Right over them as their Lord; whenas by acknowledging that Right, they conclude themſelves his Servants and his Vaſſals, and ſo renounce their own Freedom. Which how a People can do, that hath fought ſo gloriouſly for Liberty, how they can change their noble Words and Actions heretofore ſo becoming the Majeſty of a free People, into the baſe Neceſſity of Court-flatteries and Proſtrations, is not only ſtrange and admirable, but lamentable to think on; that a Nation ſhould be ſo valorous and couragious to win their Liberty in the Field, and when they have won it, ſhould be ſo unwiſe in their Councels, as not to know how to value it, what to do with it or with themſelves; but after ten or twelve Years proſperous War and Conteſtation with Tyranny, baſely and beſottedly to run their Necks again into the Yoke which they have broken, and proſtrate all the Fruits of their Victory for nothing at the Feet of the vanquiſh'd, beſides our Loſs of Glory will be an Ignominy, if it befal us, that never yet befel any Nation poſſeſs'd of their Liberty: Worthy indeed themſelves, whoſoever they be, to be for ever Slaves; but that Part of the Nation which conſents not with them, as I perſwade me of a great Number, far worthier then by their Means to be brought into the ſame Bondage, and reſerv'd, I truſt, by divine Providence to a better End; ſince God hath yet his Remnant, and hath not yet quench'd the Spirit of Liberty among us. Conſide-

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ring theſe things, ſo plain, ſo rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other ſide, how any Man, who hath the true Principles of Juſtice and Religion in him, can preſume or take upon him to be a King and Lord over his Brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as Men or Chriſtians, to be for the moſt part every way equal or ſuperiour to himſelf: How he can diſplay with ſuch Vanity and Oſtentation his Regal Splendor ſo ſuper-eminently above other mortal Men; or, being a Chriſtian, can aſſume ſuch extraordinary Honour and Worſhip to himſelf, while the Kingdom of Chriſt, our common King and Lord, is hid to this World, and ſuch *Gentiliſh* Imitation forbid in expreſs Words by himſelf to all his Diſciples? All Proteſtants hold, that Chriſt in his Church hath left no Vicegerent of his Kingly Power, but himſelf without Deputy, is the only Head thereof, governing it from Heaven: How then can any Chriſtian Man derive his Kingſhip from Chriſt, but with worſe Uſurpation then the Pope his Headſhip over the Church, ſince Chriſt not only hath not left the leaſt Shadow of a Command for any ſuch Vicegerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expreſly declar'd, that ſuch Regal Dominion is from the *Gentiles*, not from him, and hath ſtrictly charg'd us, not to imitate them therein.

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing Men will eaſily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords is by far the beſt Government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, ſay they, been expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. I anſwer, that the Cauſe thereof may be aſcrib'd with moſt Reaſon to the frequent Diſturbances, Interruptions and Diſſolutions which the Parliament hath had partly from the impatient or diſaffected People, partly from ſome ambitious Leaders in the Army; much contrary, I believe, to the Mind and Approbation of the Army it ſelf and their own Commanders, when they were once undeceiv'd, or in their own Power. Neither ought the ſmall Number of thoſe remaining in Parliament be made a By-word of Reproach to them, as it is of late by the Rabble, whenas rather they ſhould be therefore honour'd, as the Remainder of thoſe faithful Worthies, who at firſt freed us from Tyranny, and have continu'd ever ſince through all Changes conſtant to their Truſt; which they have declar'd, as they may moſt juſtly and truly, that no other way they can diſcharge, no other way ſecure and confirm the Peoples Liberty, but by ſettling them in a free Commonwealth. And doubtleſs, no Parliament will be ever able under Royalty to free the People from Slavery: And when they go about it will find it a laborious Task, and when they have done all they can, be forc'd to leave the Conteſt endleſs between Prerogative and Petition of Right, till only Dooms-day end it: And now is the Opportunity, now the very Seaſon wherein we may obtain a free Commonwealth, and eſtabliſh it for ever in the Land without Difficulty or much Delay. The Parliament have voted to fill up their Number: And if the People, laying aſide Prejudice and Impatience, will ſeriouſly and calmly now conſider their own Good, their own Liberty and the only Means thereof, as ſhall be here laid before them, and will elect their Knights and Burgeſſes able Men, and according to the juſt and neceſſary Qualifications decreed in Parliament, Men not addicted to a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Lords, the Work is done; at leaſt, the Foundation is firmly laid of a free Commonwealth, and good Part alſo erected of the main Structure. For the Ground and *Baſis* of every juſt and free Government (ſince Men have ſmarted ſo oft for committing all to one Perſon) is a general Councel of ableſt Men, choſen by the People to conſult of public Affairs from time to time for the common Good. This Grand Councel muſt have the Forces by Sea and Land in their Power, muſt raiſe and manage the public Revenue, make Laws, as need requires, treat of Commerce, Peace or War with

foreign Nations; and for the carrying on some particular Affairs of State with more Secrecy and Expedition, must elect, as they have already out of their own Number and others, a Councel of State. And although it may seem strange at first Hearing, by reason that Mens Minds are prepossess'd with the Conceit of successive Parliaments, I affirm, that the Grand or General Councel being well chosen, shall sit perpetual: For so their Business is; and they will become thereby skilfullest, best acquainted with the People, and the People with them. The Ship of the Commonwealth is always under Sail; they sit at the Stern; and if they steer well, what need is there to change them; it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Councel is both Foundation and main Pillar of the whole State; and to move Pillars and Foundations, unless they be faulty, cannot be safe for the Building. I see not therefore, how we can be advantag'd by successive Parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather then to settle a free Government, to breed Commotions, Changes, Novelties and Uncertainties; and serve only to satisfy the Ambition of such Men as think themselves injur'd, and cannot stay till they be orderly chosen to have their Part in the Government. If the Ambition of such be at all to be regarded, the best Expedient will be, and with least Danger, that every two or three years a hundred or some such Number may go out by Lot or Suffrage of the rest, and the like Number be chosen in their Places (which hath been already thought on here, and done in other Commonwealths) but in my Opinion better nothing mov'd, unless by Death or just Accusation: And I shall make mention of another Way to satisfy such as are reasonable, 'ere I end this Discourse. And least this be thought my single Opinion, I shall add sufficient Testimony. Kingship it self is therefore counted the more safe and durable, because the King, and for the most part, his Councel, is not chang'd during Life: But a Commonwealth is held Immortal; and therein firmest, safest and most above Fortune; for that the Death of a King causeth oft-times many dangerous Alterations; but the Death now and then of a Senator is not felt; the main Body of them still continuing unchang'd in greatest and noblest Commonwealths, and as it were Eternal. Therefore among the *Jews*, the supreme Councel of *Seventy*, call'd the *Sanhedrim*, founded by *Moses*, in *Athens* that the *Areopagus*, in *Lacedæmon* that of the Ancients, in *Rome* the Senate, consisted of Members chosen for Term of Life; and by that Means remain'd still the same to Generations. In *Venice* they change indeed oftner than every Year some particular Councels of State, as that of six, or such others; but the full Senate, which upholds and sustains the Government, sits immovable. So in the United Provinces, the States General, which are indeed but a Councel of State delegated by the whole Union, are not usually the same Persons for above three or six Years; but the Provincial States, in whom the true Sovereignty is plac'd, are a standing Senate, without Succession, and accounted chiefly in that Regard the main Prop of their Liberty. And why they should be so in every well order'd Commonwealth, they who write of Policy, give these Reasons; "That to make the whole Senate successive, not only impairs the "Dignity and Lustre of the Senate, but weakens the whole Commonwealth, "and brings it into manifest Danger; while by this Means the Secrets of "State are frequently divulg'd, and Matters of greatest Consequence com-"mitted to inexpert and novice Councelours, utterly to seek in the full and "intimate Knowledge of Affairs past. I know not therefore what should be peculiar in *England* to make successive Parliaments thought safest, or convenient here more then in all other Nations, unless it be the Fickleness, which is attributed to us as we are Islanders. But good Education and acquisite Wisdom ought to correct the fluxible Fault, if any such be, of our watry Scituation. I suppose therefore that the People well weighing these things,

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would have no Cauſe to fear or murmur, though the Parliament, aboliſhing that Name, as originally ſignifying but the *Parlie* of our Commons with their *Norman* King when he pleas'd to call them, ſhould perpetuate themſelves, if their Ends be faithful and for a Free Commonwealth, under the Name of a Grand or General Councel: Nay till this be done, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and throughly ſetl'd: And ſay again therefore, that if the Parliament do this, theſe Nations will have ſo little Cauſe to fear or ſuſpect them, that they will have Cauſe rather to gratulate and thank them. Nay more, if they underſtand their own Good rightly, will ſollicit and entreat them not to throw off the great Burthen from their Shoulders, which none are abler to bear, and to ſit perpetual; never likely till then to ſee an end of their Troubles and continual Changes, or at leaſt never the true Settlement and Aſſurance of their Liberty. And the Government being now in ſo many faithful and experienc'd Hands, next under God, ſo able, eſpecially filling up their Number as they intend, and abundantly ſufficient ſo happily to govern us, why ſhould the Nation ſo little know their own Intereſt, as to ſeek Change, and deliver themſelves up to meer Titles and Vanities, to Perſons untry'd, unknown, neceſſitous, implacable, and every way to be ſuſpected: To whoſe Power when we are once made ſubject, not all theſe our *Patriots*, nor all the Wiſdom or Force of the well affected joyn'd with them, can deliver us again from moſt certain Miſery and Thraldom. To return then to this moſt eaſy, moſt preſent and only Cure of our Diſtempers, the Grand Councel being thus firmly conſtituted to Perpetuity, and ſtill, upon the Death or Default of any Member, ſupply'd and kept in full Number, there can be no Cauſe alledg'd, why Peace, Juſtice, plentiful Trade and all Proſperity ſhould not thereupon enſue throughout the whole Land; with as much Aſſurance as can be of human Things, that they ſhall ſo continue (if God favour us, and our wilful Sins provoke him not) even to the Coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only Worthy as he is our only Saviour, the *Meſſiah*, the *Chriſt*, the only Heir of his Eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordain'd, ſince the Work of our Redemption finiſh'd, univerſal Lord of all Mankind. The Way propounded is plain, eaſy and open before us; without Intricacies, without the Mixture of Inconveniences, or any conſiderable Objection to be made, as by ſome frivolouſly, that it is not Practicable: And this Facility we ſhall have above our next Neighbouring Commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond Conceit of ſomething like a Duke of *Venice*, put lately into many Mens Heads, by ſome one or other, ſubtly driving on under that pretty Notion, his own ambitious Ends to a Crown) that our Liberty ſhall not be hamper'd or hover'd over by any Ingagement to ſuch a potent Family as the Houſe of *Naſſau*, of whom to ſtand in perpetual Doubt and Suſpicion, but we ſhall live the cleareſt and abſoluteſt Free Nation in the World. On the contrary, if there be a King, which the inconſiderate Multitude are now ſo mad upon, mark how far ſhort we are like to come of all thoſe Happineſſes, which in a Free State we ſhall immediately be poſſeſs'd of. *Firſt*, the Grand Councel, which, as I ſaid before, is both the Baſis and main Pillar in every Government, and ſhould ſit perpetually (unleſs their Leiſure give them now and then ſome Intermiſſion or Vacations eaſily manageable by the Councel of State left ſitting) ſhall be call'd, by the Kings good Will and utmoſt Endeavour, as ſeldom as may be; and then for his own Ends: For it will ſoon return to that, let no Man hope otherwiſe, whatever Law or Proviſion be made to the contrary. For it is only the Kings Right, he will ſay, to call a Parliament; and this he will do moſt commonly about his own Affairs rather then the Kingdoms, as will appear plainly ſo ſoon as they are call'd. For what will their Buſineſs then be, and the chief expence of their Time, but an endleſs tugging between Right of Subject

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and Royal Prerogative, especially about the negative Voice, *Militia* or Subsidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reasonable Cause appearing to the Commons, who are the only true Representatives of the People; but will be then mingl'd with a Court-Faction; besides which, within their own Walls, the sincere Part of them who stand faithful to the People, will again have, do deal with two troublesom Counter-working Adversaries from without, meer Creatures of the King, temporal and spiritual Lords, made up into one House, and nothing concern'd with the Peoples Liberty. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the Peoples Interest, the Parliament shall be soon dissolv'd, or sit and do nothing; not suffer'd to remedy the least Grievance, or enact ought Advantageous to the People.

Next, the Councel of State shall not be chosen by the Parliament, but by the King, still his own Creatures, Courtiers and Favorites; who will be sure in all their Counsels to set their Masters Grandure and Absolute Power, in what they are able, far above the Peoples Liberty. I deny not but that there may be such a King, who may regard the common Good before his own, may have no vitious Favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his Parliament; but this rarely happens in a Monarchy not Elective; and it behoves not a wise Nation to commit the Summ of their Well-being, the whole State of their Safety to Fortune. And admit, that Monarchy of it self may be convenient to some Nations, yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For the Kings to come, never forgetting their former Ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such Attempts hereafter from the People: Who shall be then so narrowly watch'd and kept so low, as that besides the Loss of all their Blood, and Treasure spent to no Purpose, though they would never so fain and at the same Rate, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchas'd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any Yoke impos'd upon them. Besides this, a new Royal-Revenue must be found; which being wholly dissipated or brought by private Persons, or assign'd for Service done, and especially to the Army, cannot be recover'd without a general Confusion to Mens Estates, or a heavy Imposition on all Mens Purses. Not to speak of Revenges and Offences that will be remember'd and return'd, not only by the chief Person, but by all his Adherents; Accounts and Reparations that will be requir'd, Suits and Indictments, who knows against whom, or how many, though perhaps Neuters, if not to utmost Infliction, yet to Imprisonment, Fines, Banishment; or if not these, yet Disfavour, Discountenance, Disregard and Contempt on all but the known Royalist, or whom he Favours, will be Plentious; whatever Conditions be contriv'd or trusted on.

Having thus far shewn with what Ease we may now obtain a Free Commonwealth, and by it with as much Ease all the Freedom, Peace, Justice, Plenty that we can desire, on the other side, the Difficulties, Troubles, Uncertainties nay rather Impossibilities to enjoy these Things constantly under a Monarch, I will now proceed to shew more particularly, wherein our Freedom and flourishing Condition will be more ample and secure to us under a Free Commonwealth then under Kingship.

The whole Freedom of Man consists either in Spiritual or Civil Liberty. As for Spiritual, who can be at Rest, who can enjoy any Thing in this World with Contentment, who hath not Liberty to serve God and to save his own Soul, according to the best Light which God hath planted in him to that Purpose, by the Reading of his reveal'd Will and the Guidance of his holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant Church allows no supream Judge or Rule in Matters of Religion, but the Scriptures, and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily

neceſſarily infers Liberty of Conſcience, hath been heretofore prov'd at large in other Treatiſes, and might yet further by the public Declarations, Confeſſions and Admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all Hiſtory, ſince the Reformation. He who cannot be content with this Liberty to himſelf, but ſeeks violently to impoſe what he will have to be the only Religion, upon other Mens Conſciences, let him know, bears a Mind not only Unchriſtian and Irreligious, but Inhuman alſo and Barbarous. And in my Judgment, Civil States would do much better, and remove the Cauſe of much Hindrance and Diſturbance in public Affairs, much Ambition, much Hypocriſie and Contention among the People, if they would not meddle at all with Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which are both of a quite different Nature from their Cogniſance, and have their proper Laws fully and compleatly with ſuch Coercive Power as belongs to them, ordain'd by Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles. If there were no medling with Church-Matters in State-Counſels, there would not be ſuch Faction in chuſing Members of Parliament, while every one ſtrives to chuſe him whom he takes to be of his Religion; and every Faction hath the Plea of Gods Cauſe. Ambitious Leaders of Armies would then have no Hypocritical Pretences ſo ready at Hand to conteſt with Parliaments, yea to Diſſolve them and make way to their own Tyrannical Deſigns: In ſome, I verily ſuppoſe there would be then no more pretending to a fifth Monarchy of the Saints: But much Peace and Tranquillity would follow; as the United Netherlands have found by Experience: Who, while they perſecuted the *Arminians*, were in much Diſquiet among themſelves, and in Danger to have broke aſunder into a Civil War; ſince they have left off Perſecuting, they have liv'd in much more Concord and Proſperity. And I have heard from *Polanders* themſelves, that they never enjoy'd more Peace, then when Religion was moſt at Liberty among them; that then firſt began their Troubles, when that King by inſtigation of the Jeſuites began to force the *Coſſaks* in Matters of Religion. This Liberty of Conſcience, which above all other Things ought to be to all Men deareſt and moſt precious, no Government more inclinable not only to favour but to protect, then a Free Commonwealth: as being moſt magnanimous, moſt fearleſs and confident of it's own fair Proceedings. Whereas Kingſhip, though looking big, yet indeed moſt puſilanimous, full of Fears, full of Jealouſies, ſtartl'd at every Umbrage, as it hath been obſerv'd of old, to have ever ſuſpected moſt and miſtruſted them who were in moſt Eſteem for Vertue and Generoſity of Mind, ſo it is now known to have moſt in Doubt and Suſpicion them who are moſt reputed to be Religious. Queen *Elizabeth*, though her ſelf accounted ſo good a Proteſtant, ſo moderate, ſo confident of her ſubjects Love, would never give way ſo much as to Presbyterian Reformation in this Land, though once and again beſought, as *Cambden* relates, but impriſon'd and perſecuted the very Propoſers thereof, alledging it as her Mind and Maxim unalterable, that ſuch Reformation would diminiſh Regal Authority. What Liberty of Conſcience can we then expect from others far worſe Principl'd from the Cradle, train'd up and govern'd by *Popiſh* and *Spaniſh* Counſels, and on ſuch depending hitherto for Subſiſtence? For they hear the Goſpel ſpeaking much of Liberty, a Word which Monarchy and her Biſhops both fear and hate; but a Free Commonwealth both favours and promotes; and not the Word only, but the Thing it ſelf.

The other Part of our Freedom conſiſts in the Civil Rights and Advancements of every Perſon according to his Merit: The Enjoyment of thoſe never more certain, and the Acceſs to theſe never more open, then in a Free Commonwealth. And both in my Opinion may be beſt and ſoonеſt obtain'd, if every County in the Land were made a little Commonwealth, and their chief Town a City, if it be not ſo call'd already; where the Nobility and

chief

chief Gentry may build Houſes or Palaces, befitting their Quality, may bear Part in the Government, make their own judicial Laws, and execute them by their own elected Judicatures, without Appeal, in all Things of Civil Government between Man and Man. So they ſhall have Juſtice in their own Hands, and none to blame but themſelves, if it be not well adminiſter'd. In theſe Imployments they may exerciſe and fit themſelves till their Lot fall to be choſen into the Grand Councel, according as their Worth and Merit ſhall be taken Notice of by the People. As for Controverſies that ſhall happen between Men of ſeveral Counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital City. They ſhould have here alſo Schools and Academies at their own Choice, wherein their Children may be bred up in their own Sight to all Learning and noble Education, not in Grammar only, but in all liberal Arts and Exerciſes. This would ſoon ſpread much more Knowledg and Civility, yea Religion, through all Parts of the Land: This would ſoon make the whole Nation more induſtrious, more ingenuous at Home, more potent, more honourable Abroad. To this a Free Commonwealth will eaſily, aſſent (nay the Parliament hath had already ſome ſuch Thing in Deſign) for of all Governments, a Commonwealth aims moſt to make the People Flouriſhing, Vertuous, Noble and high Spirited. Monarchs will never permit: Whoſe Aim is to make the People, wealthy indeed perhaps and well-fleec'd for their own ſhearing, and for the Supply of Regal Prodigality; but otherwiſe ſofteſt, baſeſt, vitiouſeſt, ſervileſt, eaſieſt to be kept under; and not only in Fleece, but in mind alſo Sheepiſheſt, and will have all the Benches of Judicature annex'd to the Throne, as a Gift of Royal Grace that we have Juſtice done us, whenas nothing can be more Eſſential to the Freedom of a People, then to have the Adminiſtration of Juſtice and all public Ornaments in their own Election and within their own Bounds, without long traveling or depending on remote Places to obtain their Right or any civil Accompliſhment; ſo it be not ſupream, but ſubordinate to the general Power and Union of the whole Republic. In which happy Firmneſs as in the particular above mention'd, we ſhall alſo far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not many Sovereignties in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one Sovereignty.

I have no more to ſay at preſent: Few Words will ſave us, well conſider'd; few and eaſy Things, now ſeaſonably done. But if the People be ſo affected, as to proſtitute Religion and Liberty to the vain and groundleſs Apprehenſion, that nothing but Kingſhip can reſtore Trade, not remembring the frequent Plagues and Peſtilences that then waſted this City, ſuch as through God's Mercy, we never have left ſince, and that Trade flouriſhes no where more, then in the Free Commonwealths of *Italy*, *Germany* and the Low Countries, before their Eyes at this Day, yet if Trade be grown ſo craving and importunate through the profuſe Living of Tradeſmen, that nothing can ſuport it, but the luxurious Expences of a Nation upon Trifles or Superfluities, ſo as if the People generally ſhould betake themſelves to Frugality, it might prove a dangerous Matter, leaſt Tradeſmen ſhould mutiny for Want of Trading, and that therefore we muſt forego and ſet to Sale Religion, Liberty, Honour, Safety, all Concernment Divine or Human to keep up Trading, if laſtly, after all this Light among us, the ſame Reaſon ſhall paſs for Currant to put our necks again under Kingſhip, as was made uſe of by the *Jews* to return back to *Ægypt*, and to the Worſhip of their Idol Queen, becauſe they falſly imagin'd that they then liv'd in more Plenty and Proſperity, our Condition is not ſound but rotten, both in Religion and all civil Prudence; and will bring us ſoon, the way we are marching, to thoſe Calamities which attend always and unavoidably on Luxury, that is to ſay, all national Judgments under foreign or domeſtic Slavery: So far we ſhall be from mending our Condition by Monarchizing our Government;

whatever

whatever new Conceit now poſſeſſes us. However with all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my Duty to ſpeak in Seaſon, and to forewarn my Country in Time: Wherein I doubt not, but there may be many Wiſe Men in all Places and Degrees, but am ſorry the Effects of Wiſdom are ſo little ſeen among us. Many Circumſtances and Particulars I could have added in thoſe Things whereof I have ſpoken; but a few main Matters now put ſpeedily into Execution, will ſuffice to recover us, and ſet all Right: And there will want at no Time, who are good at Circumſtances, but Men who ſet their Minds on main Matters, and ſufficiently urge them, in theſe moſt difficult Times I find not many. What I have ſpoken, is the Language of the good old Cauſe: If it ſeem ſtrange to any, it will not ſeem more Strange, I hope, then Convincing to Backſliders. Thus much I ſhould perhaps have ſaid, though I were ſure I ſhould have ſpoken only to Trees and Stones, and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, *O earth, earth, earth*: To tell the very Soil it ſelf what God hath determin'd of *Coniah* and his Seed for ever. But I truſt, I ſhall have ſpoken Perſwaſion to Abundance of ſenſible and ingenuous Men: To ſome perhaps, whom God may raiſe of theſe Stones, to become Children of Liberty; and may enable and unite in their noble Reſolutions to give a ſtay to theſe our ruinous Proceedings, and to this general Defection of the miſguided and abus'd Multitude.

The E N D.

AREOPAGITICA;

A

SPEECH

OF

Mr. *JOHN MILTON*

For the *Liberty* of *UNLICENC'D*

PRINTING,

To the *Parliament* of *ENGLAND.*

Τῶ λεύθεων δ' ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστὸν τι βάλλειν εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστιν ἰσότερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty when free born Men
Having to adviſe the Public may ſpeak free,
Which he who can, and will, deſerves high praiſe,
Who neither can, nor will may hold his Peace;
What can be juſter in a State then this?

Euripid. Hicetid.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

FOR THE LIBERTY OF Unlicenced Printing.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parliament, or wanting ſuch Acceſs in a private Condition, write that which they foreſee may advance the public Good; I ſuppoſe them as at the Beginning of no mean Endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their Minds: Some with Doubt of what will be the Succeſs, others with Fear of what will be the Cenſure; ſome with Hope, others with Confidence of what they have to ſpeak. And me perhaps each of theſe Diſpoſitions, as the Subject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variouſly affected; and likely might in theſe foremoſt Expreſſions now alſo diſcloſe which of them ſway'd moſt, but that the very Attempt of this Addreſs thus made, and the Thought of whom it hath Recourſe to, hath got the Power within me to a Paſſion, far more welcome then incidental to a Preface. Which though I ſtay not to confeſs 'ere any ask, I ſhall be blameleſs, if it be no other, then the Joy and Gratulation which it brings to all who wiſh and promote their Countries Liberty; whereof this whole Diſcourſe propos'd will be a certain Teſtimony, if not a Trophy. For this is not the Liberty which we can hope, that no Grievance ever ſhould ariſe in the Commonwealth, that let no Man in this World expect, but when Complaints are freely heard, deeply conſider'd and ſpeedily reform'd, then is the utmoſt Bound of Civil Liberty attain'd, that wiſe Men look for. To which if I now manifeſt by the very Sound of this which I ſhall utter, that we are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from ſuch a ſteep Diſadvantage of Tyranny and Superſtition grounded into our Principles, as was beyond the Manhood of a *Roman* Recovery, it will be attributed firſt, as is moſt due, to the ſtrong Aſſiſtance of God our Deliverer, next, to your faithful Guidance and undaunted Wiſdom, Lords and Commons of *England*. Neither is it in Gods Eſteem the Diminution of his Glory, when honourable Things are ſpoken of good Men and worthy Magiſtrates; which if I now firſt ſhould begin to do, after ſo fair a Progreſs of your laudable Deeds, and ſuch a long Obligement upon the whole Realm to your indefatigable Vertues, I might be juſtly reckon'd among the tardieſt and unwillingeſt of them that praiſe ye. Nevertheleſs, there being three principal Things, without which all Praiſing is but Courtſhip and Flattery: *Firſt*, when that only is prais'd which is ſolidly worth Praiſe: *Next*, when greateſt Likelihoods are brought, that ſuch Things are truly and really in thoſe Perſons to whom they are aſcrib'd: the *other*, when he who praiſes, by ſhewing that ſuch his actual Perſwaſion is of whom he writes, can demonſtrate that he flatters not: the former two of theſe I have heretofore endeavour'd, reſcuing the Employment from him who went about to impair your Merits with a trivial and malignant *Encomium*; the latter, as belonging chiefly to mine own Acquittal, that whom I ſo extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reſerv'd opportunely to this Occaſion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the beſt

beſt Covenant of his Fidelity; and that his loyalleſt Affection and his Hope waits on your Proceedings. His higheſt Praiſing is not Flattery, and his plaineſt Advice is a kind of Praiſing; for though I ſhould affirm and hold by Argument, that it would fare better with Truth, with Learning and the Commonwealth, if one of your publiſh'd Orders, which I ſhould Name, were call'd in, yet at the ſame Time it could not but much redound to the Luſtre of your mild and equal Government, when as private Perſons are hereby animated to think ye better pleas'd with public Advice, then other Statiſts have been delighted heretofore with public Flattery. And Men will then ſee what difference there is between the Magnanimity of a Triennial Parliament, and that jealous Haughtineſs of *Prelates* and Cabin Councellours that uſurpt of late, whenas they ſhall obſerve, yea in the mid'ſt of your Victories and Succeſſes more gently brooking written Exceptions againſt a Voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc'd nothing worth Memory but the weak Oſtentation of Wealth, would have endur'd the leaſt ſignifi'd Diſlike at any ſudden Proclamation. If I ſhould thus far preſume upon the meek Demeanour of your civil and gentle Greatneſs, Lords and Commons, as what your publiſh'd Order hath directly ſaid, that to gainſay, I might defend my ſelf with Eaſe, if any ſhould accuſe me of being new or inſolent, did they but know how much better I find ye eſteem it to imitate the old and elogant Humanity of *Greece*, then the Babaric Pride of a *Hunniſh* and *Norwegian* Stateline ſs. And out of thoſe Ages, to whoſe Polite Wiſdom and Letters we owe that we are not yet *Gothes* and *Jutlanders*, I could name him who from his private Houſe wrote that Diſcourſe to the Parliament of *Athens*, that perſwades them to change the Form of *Democracy*, which was then Eſtabliſh'd. Such Honour was done in thoſe days to Men who profeſt the Study of Wiſdom and Eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Seniories heard them gladly, and with great reſpect, if they had ought in public to admoniſh the State. Thus did *Dion Pruſæus* a Stranger and a private Orator counſel the *Rhodians* againſt a former Edict: And I abound with other like Examples, which to ſet here would be ſuperfluous. But if from the Induſtry of a Life wholly Dedicated to ſtudious Labours, and thoſe natural Endowments haply not the worſt for two and fifty Degrees of Northern Latitude, ſo much muſt be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of thoſe who had this Priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not ſo inferior, as your ſelves are ſuperiors to the moſt of them who receiv'd their Counſel: And how far you excel them, be aſſur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater Teſtimony appear, then when your prudent Spirit acknowledges and obeys the Voice of Reaſon from what Quarter ſoever it be heard ſpeaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own ſetting forth, as any ſet forth by your Predeceſſors.

If ye be thus reſolv'd, as it were Injury to think ye were not, I know not what ſhould withhold me from Preſenting ye with a fit Inſtance wherein to ſhew both that Love of Truth which ye eminently profeſs, and that Uprightneſs of your Judgment which is not wont to be Partial to your ſelves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd *to regulate Printing. That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper ſhall be henceforth Printed, unleſs the ſame be firſt Approv'd and Licens'd by ſuch*, or at leaſt one of ſuch as ſhall be thereto appointed. For that Part which preſerves juſtly every Mans Copy to himſelf, or provides for the Poor, I touch not, only wiſh they be not made Pretences to abuſe and perſecute honeſt and painful Men, who offend not in either of theſe Particulars. But that other Clauſe of Licenſing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his Brother *Quadrageſimal* and *Matrimonial*, when the *Prelates* expir'd, I ſhall now attend with ſuch a Homily, as ſhall lay before ye, firſt, the Inventors of it to be thoſe whom ye will be loath to own; next, what is to be thought in general of Reading, whatever Sorts the

Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the ſuppreſſing of Scandalous, Seditious and Libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be ſuppreſt. *Laſtly*, that it will be primely to the Diſcouragement of all Learning, and the Stop of Truth, not only by diſexerciſing and blunting our Abilities in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the Diſcovery that might be yet further made both in Religious and Civil Wiſdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greateſt Concernment in the Church and Common-wealth, to have a vigilant Eye, how Books demean themſelves as well as Men; and thereafter to confine, impriſon and do ſharpeſt Juſtice on them as Malefactors: For Books are not abſolutely dead Things; but do contain a Potency of Life in them to be as active as that Soul was, whoſe Progeny they are; nay they do preſerve, as in a Viol, the pureſt Efficacy and Extraction of that living Intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorouſly productive, as thoſe fabulous Dragons Teeth; and being ſown up and down, may chance to ſpring up armed Men. And yet on the other Hand, unleſs Warineſs be us'd, as good almoſt kill a Man as kill a Good Book; who kills a Man kills a reaſonable Creature, God's Image; but he who deſtroys a good Book, kills Reaſon it ſelf, kills the Image of God, as it were in the Eye. Many a Man lives a Burthen to the Earth; but a good Book is the pretious Life-Blood of a Maſter Spirit, imbalm'd and treaſur'd up on purpoſe to a Life beyond Life. 'Tis true, no Age can reſtore a Life, whereof perhaps there is no great Loſs; and Revolutions of Ages do not oft recover the Loſs of a rejected Truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worſe. We ſhould be wary therefore what Perſecution we raiſe againſt the living Labours of Public Men, how we ſpill that ſeaſon'd Life of Man preſerv'd and ſtor'd up in Books; ſince we ſee a kind of Homicide may be thus committed, ſometimes a Martyrdom, and if it extend to the whole Impreſſion, a kind of Maſſacre, whereof the Execution ends not in the ſlaying of an elemental Life, but ſtrikes at that æthereal and and fifth Eſſence, the Breath of Reaſon it ſelf, ſlays an Immortality rather then a Life. But leaſt I ſhould be condemn'd of introducing Licence, while I oppoſe Licenſing, I refuſe not the Pains to be ſo much Hiſtorical, as will ſerve to ſhew what hath been done by ancient and famous Common-wealths, againſt this Diſorder, till the very Time that this Project of Licenſing crept out of the *Inquiſition*, was catch'd up by our *Prelates*, and hath caught ſome of our *Presbyters*.

In *Athens*, where Books and Wits were ever buſier then in any other Part of *Greece*, I find but only two Sorts of Writings which the Magiſtrate car'd to take notice of; thoſe either Blaſphemous and Atheiſtical, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Judges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt, and himſelf baniſh'd the Territory for a Diſcourſe begun with his confeſſing not to know, *whether there were Gods, or whether not*: And againſt defaming, it was Decreed that none ſhould be traduc'd by Name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comœdia*, whereby we may gueſs how they cenſur'd Libelling: And this Courſe was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the deſperate Wits of other *Atheiſts*, and the open Way of defaming, as the Event ſhew'd. Of other Sects and Opinions, though tending to Voluptuouſneſs, and the denying of divine Providence they took no heed. Therefore we do not read, that either *Epicurus*, or that Libertine School of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* Impudence utter'd, was ever queſtion'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded, that the Writings of thoſe old *Comedians* were ſuppreſt, though the Acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the Reading of *Ariſtophanes* the looſeſt of them all, to his Royal Scholiar *Dionyſius*, is commonly known and may be excus'd, if Holy *Chryſoſtom*, as is reported, rightly ſtudied ſo much the ſame Author, and had the Art to cleanſe a ſcurrilous

rilous Vehemence into the Stile of a rouſing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, conſidering, that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was ſo addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the Firſt that brought out of *Ionia* the ſcatter'd Works of *Homer*, and ſent the Poet *Thales* from *Creet* to prepare and mollify the *Spartan* Surlineſs, with his ſmooth Songs and Odes, the better to plant among them Law and Civility, it is to be wonder'd, how Muſeleſs and Unbookiſh they were, minding nought but the Feats of War. There needed no Licenſing of Books among them for they diſlik'd all, but their own *Laconic Apothegms*, and took a ſlight Occaſion to chace *Archilocus* out of their City, perhaps for compoſing in a higher Strain then their own ſouldierly Ballats and Roundels could reach to: Or if it were for his broad Verſes, they were not therein ſo cautious, but they were as diſſolute in their promiſcuous converſing; whence *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that their Women were all unchaſte. Thus much may give us Light after what Sort Books were prohibited among the *Greeks*. The *Romans* alſo for many Ages, train'd up only to a Military Roughneſs, reſembling moſt the *Lacedæmonian* Guiſe, knew of Learning little, but what their twelve Tables and the *Pontific* College with their *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, ſo unacquainted with other Learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolas*, with the *Stoic Diogenes* coming Embaſſadors to *Rome*, took thereby occaſion to give the City a Taſte of their Philoſophy, they were ſuſpected for Seducers by no leſs a Man then *Cato* the Cenſor, who mov'd it in the Senate to diſmiſs them ſpeedily, and to baniſh all ſuch *Attick* Babblers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the nobleſt Senators withſtood him and his old *Sabin* Auſterity; honour'd and admir'd the Men; and the Cenſor himſelf at laſt in his old Age fell to the Study of that whereof before he was ſo ſcrupulous. And yet at the ſame Time *Nævius* and *Plautus*, the firſt *Latin* Comedians, had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be conſider'd there alſo what was to be done to Libellous Books and Authors; for *Nævius* was quickly caſt into Priſon for his unbridl'd Pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his Recantation: We read alſo that Libels were burnt, and the Makers puniſh'd by *Auguſtus*. The like Severity no doubt was us'd, if ought were impiouſly written, againſt their eſteemed Gods. Except in theſe two Points, how the World went in Books, the Magiſtrate kept no Reckning. And therefore *Lucretius* without Impeachment verſifies his Epicuriſm to *Memmius*, and had the Honour to be ſet forth the ſecond time by *Cicero* ſo great a Father of the Common-wealth; although himſelf diſputes againſt that Opinion in his own Writings. Nor was the Satyrical Sharpneſs, or naked Plainneſs of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any Order prohibited. And for Matters of State, the Story of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd that Part which *Pompey* held, was not therefore ſuppreſt by *Octavius Cæſar* of the other Faction. But that *Naſo* was by him baniſh'd in his old Age, for the wanton Poems of his Youth, was but a meer Covert of State over ſome ſecret Cauſe: And beſides, the Books were neither baniſh'd nor call'd in. From hence we ſhall meet with little elſe but Tyranny in the *Roman* Empire, that we may not marvel, if not ſo often bad, as good Books were ſilens'd. I ſhall therefore deem to have bin large enough in producing what among the Ancients was puniſhable to write, ſave only which, all other Arguments were free to treat on.

By this Time the Emperors were become Chriſtians, whoſe Diſcipline in this Point I do not find to have been more ſevere then what was formerly in Practice. The Books of thoſe whom they took to be grand *Heretics* were examin'd, refuted and condemn'd in the General Councels; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by Authority of the Emperor. As for the Writings of *Heathen* Authors, unleſs they were plain Invectives againſt Chriſtianity, as thoſe of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no Interdict that

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can be cited, till about the Year 400. in a *Carthaginian* Councel, wherein Biſhops themſelves were forbid to read the Books of *Gentiles*, but Hereſies they might read; while others long before them on the contrary ſcrupl'd more the Books of *Heretics* then of *Gentiles*. And that the primitive Councels and Biſhops were wont only to declare, what Books were not commendable, paſſing no further, but leaving it to each ones Conſcience to read or to lay by, till after the Year 800. is obſerv'd already by *Padre Paolo*, the great Unmasker of the *Trentine* Councel. After which Time the Popes of *Rome* engroſſing what they pleas'd of Political Rule into their own Hands, extended their Dominion over Mens Eyes, as they had before over their Judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancy'd not; yet ſparing in their Cenſures, and the Books not many which they ſo dealt with: Till *Martin* the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the Reading of *Heretical* Books; for about that Time *Wickleſ* and *Huſſe* growing terrible, were they who firſt drove the *Papal* Court to a ſtricter Policy of Prohibiting. Which Courſe *Leo* the 10. and his Succeſſors follow'd until the Councel of *Trent*, and the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition engendring together brought forth or perfected thoſe Catalogues, and expurging Indexes, that take through the Entrails of many an old good Author, with a Violation worſe then any could be offer'd to his Tomb. Nor did they ſtay in Matters *Heretical*, but any Subject that was not to their Palate, they either condemn'd in a Prohibition, or had it ſtrait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the Meaſure of Encroachment, their laſt Invention was to ordain, that no Book, Pamphlet or Paper ſhould be printed (as if St. *Peter* had bequeath'd them the Keys of the Preſs alſo out of Paradiſe) unleſs it were Approv'd and Licens'd under the hand of two or three glutton *Friers*. For example:

Let the Chancellor *Cini* be pleas'd to ſee if in this preſent Work be contain'd ought that may withſtand the Printing,

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of *Florence*.

I have ſeen this preſent Work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic Faith and good Manners: In Witneſs whereof I have given, *&c.*

Nicolo Cini Chancellor of *Florence*.

Attending the precedent Relation, it is allow'd that this preſent Work of *Davanzati* may be Printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be Printed, *July* 15.

Frier *Simon Mompei d' Amelia* Chancellor of the holy Office in *Florence*.

Sure they have a Conceit, if he of the bottomleſs Pit had not long ſince broke Priſon, that this quadruple Exorciſm would bar him down. I fear, their next Deſign will be to get into their Cuſtody the Licenſing of that which they ſay *Claudius* intended, but went not through with. Vouchſafe to ſee another of their Forms, the *Roman* Stamp:

Imprimatur, If it ſeem good to the Reverend Maſter of the Holy Palace,

Belcaſtro, Viceroy.

Imprimatur.

Frier *Nicolo Rodolphi* Maſter of the holy Palace.

Sometimes five *Imprimaturs* are ſeen together Dialogue-wiſe in the Piazza of one Title Page, complementing and ducking each to other with their ſhav'n Reverences, whether the Author, who ſtands by in Perplexity at the Foot of his Epiſtle, ſhall to the Preſs or to the Spung. Theſe are the pretty Reſponſories, theſe are the dear *Antiphonies* that ſo bewitcht of late our Prelates, and their Chaplains with the goodly Ecchо they made; and beſotted

ſotted us to the gay Imitation of a Lordly *Imprimatur*, one from *Lambeth*-Houſe, another from the *Weſt*-End of *Pauls*; ſo apiſhly Romanizing, that the Word of Command ſtill was ſet down in *Latin*; as if the learned Grammatical Pen that wrote it, would caſt no Ink without *Latin*: Or perhaps, as they thought, becauſe no vulgar Tongue was worthy to expreſs the pure Conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our *Engliſh*, the Language of Men ever famous and foremoſt in the Atchievements of Liberty, will not eaſily find ſervile Letters anow to ſpell ſuch a Dictatory Preſumption Engliſh'd. And thus ye have the Inventors and the Original of of Book-Licenſing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any Pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any Ancient State, or Politie, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Anceſtors elder or later; nor from the modern Cuſtom of any reformed City, or Church abroad; but from the moſt Antichriſtian Councel, and the moſt Tyrannous Inquiſition that ever inquir'd. Till then, Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other Birth; the Iſſue of the Brain was no more ſtifl'd then the Iſſue of the Womb. No envious *Juno* ſat Croſs-leg'd over the Nativity of any Mans intellectual Off-ſpring; but if it prov'd a Monſter, who denies, but that it was juſtly burnt, or ſunk into the Sea. But that a Book in werie Condition then a peccant Soul, ſhould be to ſtand before a Jury e're it be born to the World, and undergo yet in Darkneſs the Judgment of *Radamanth* and his Collegues, e're it can paſs the Ferry backward into Light, was never heard before, till that myſterious Iniquity provok'd and troubl'd at the firſt Entrance of Reformation, ſought out new Limbos and new Hells wherein they might include our Books alſo within the Number of their Damned. And this was the rare Morſel ſo officiouſly ſnatcht up, and ſo ill-favour'dly imitated by our Inquiſiturient Biſhops, and the attendant Minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now theſe moſt certain Authors of this Licenſing Order, and that all ſiniſter Intention was far diſtant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the paſſing it, all Men who know the Integrity of your Actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

But ſome will ſay, What though the Inventors were bad, the Thing for all that may be good? It may ſo; yet if that Thing be no ſuch deep Invention, but obvious and eaſy for any Man to light on, and yet beſt and wiſeſt Commonwealths through all Ages and Occaſions have forborn to uſe it, and falſeſt Seducers and Oppreſſors of Men were the Firſt who took it up, and to no other Purpoſe but to obſtruct and hinder the firſt Approach of Reformation; I am of thoſe who believe, it will be a harder Alchemy then *Lullius* ever knew, to ſublimate any good Uſe out of ſuch an Invention. Yet this only is what I requeſt to gain from this Reaſon, that it may be held a dangerous and ſuſpicious Fruit, as certainly it deſerves, for the Tree that bore it, until I can diſſect one by one the Properties it has. But I have firſt to finiſh, as was propounded, what is to be thought in General of Reading Books, whatever Sort they be, and whether be more the Benefit, or the Harm that thence proceeds?

Not to inſiſt upon the Examples of *Moſes*, *Daniel* and *Paul*, who were skilful in all the Learning of the *Ægyptians*, *Caldeans* and *Greeks*, which could not probably be without Reading their Books of all Sorts, in *Paul* eſpecially, who thought it no Defilement to inſert into holy Scripture the Sentences of three *Greek* Poets, and one of them a *Tragedian*, the Queſtion was, notwithſtanding ſometimes controverted among the Primitive Doctors, but with great Odds on that ſide which affirm'd it both Lawful and Profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apoſtate, and ſubtleſt Enemy to our Faith, made a Decree forbidding Chriſtians the Study of Heathen Learning: For, ſaid he, they wound us with our own Weapons, and with our own Arts and Sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Chriſtians

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were put ſo to their Shifts by this crafty Means, and ſo much in Danger to decline into all Ignorance, that the two *Apolinarij* were fain, as a Man may ſay, to coin all the Seven liberal Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers Forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Chriſtian Grammar. But ſaith the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, the Providence of God provided better then the Induſtry of *Apollinarius* and his Son, by taking away that Illiterate Law with the Life of him who devis'd it. So great an Injury they then held it to be depriv'd of *Hellenic* Learning; and thought it a Perſecution more undermining, and ſecretly decaying the Church, then the open Cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclesian*. And perhaps it was the ſame politic Driſt that the Devil whipt St. *Jerom* in a Lenten Dream, for reading *Cicero*; or elſe it was a Fantaſm bred by the Feaver which had then ſeis'd him. For had an Angel been his Diſcipliner, unleſs it were for dwelling too much upon *Ciceronianiſms*, and had chaſtiz'd the Reading, not the Vanity, it had been plainly Partial; *Firſt*, to correct him for Grave *Cicero*, and not for ſcurile *Plautus*, whom he Confeſſes to have been reading not long before; *Next*, to correct him only, and let ſo many more Ancient Fathers wax Old in thoſe pleaſant and florid Studies without the Laſh of ſuch a tutouring Apparition; inſomuch that *Baſil* teaches how ſome good Uſe may be made of *Margites* a ſportful Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante* an *Italian* Romance much to the ſame Purpoſe. But if it be agreed we ſhall be try'd by Viſions, there is a Viſion recorded by *Euſebius* far Ancienter then this Tale of *Jerom* to the Nun *Euſtochium*, and beſides has nothing of a Feaver in it. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* was about the Year 240, a Perſon of great Name in the Church for Piety and Learning, who had wont to avail himſelf much againſt *Heretics* by being converſant in their Books; until a certain *Presbyter* laid it ſcrupulouſly to his Conſcience, how he durſt venture himſelf among thoſe defiling Volums. The worthy Man loath to give Offence, fell into a new Debate with himſelf what was to be thought; when ſuddenly a Viſion ſent from God, it is his own Epiſtle that ſo avers it, confirm'd him in theſe Words: Read any Books what ever come to thy Hands, for thou art ſufficient both to judg aright, and to examin each Matter. To this Revelation he aſſented the ſooner, as he confeſſes, becauſe it was Anſwerable to that of the *Apoſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, prove all Things, hold Faſt that which is Good. And he might have added another remarkable Saying of the ſame Author: To the pure all Things are Pure, not only Meats and Drinks, but all kind of Knowledg whether of Good or Evil; the Knowledg cannot defile, nor conſequently the Books, if the Will and Conſcience be not defil'd. For Books are as Meats and Viands are; ſome of Good, ſome of Evil Subſtance; and yet God in that unapocryphal Viſion, ſaid, without Exception, Riſe *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the Choice to each Mans Diſcretion. Wholeſom Meats to a vitiated Stomach differ little or nothing from unwholeſom; and beſt Books to a naughty Mind are not unappliable to Occaſions of Evil. Bad Meats will ſcarce breed good Nouriſhment in the healthieſt Concoction; but herein the Difference is of bad Books, that they to a diſcreet and judicious Reader ſerve in many Reſpects to diſcover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illuſtrate. Whereof what better Witneſs can ye expect I ſhould produce, then one of your own now ſitting in Parliament, the chief of Learned Men reputed in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whoſe Volum of natural and national Laws proves, not only by great Authorities brought together, but by exquiſite Reaſons and Theorems almoſt Mathematically Demonſtrative, that all Opinions, yea Errors, known, read and collated, are of main Service and Aſſiſtance toward the ſpeedy Attainment of what is Trueſt. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the univerſal Diet of Mans Body, ſaving ever the Rules of Temperance, he then alſo, as before, left arbitrary

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the dyeting and re-paſting of our Minds: As wherein every mature Man might have to exerciſe his own leading Capacity. How great a Vertue is Temperance, how much of Moment through the whole Life of Man? Yet God commits the managing ſo great a Truſt, without particular Law or Preſcription, wholly to the Demeanour of every grown Man. And therefore when he himſelf tabled the *Jews* from Heaven, that *Omer* which was every Mans daily Portion of *Manna*, is computed to have been more then might have well ſuffic'd the heartieſt Feeder thrice as many Meals. For thoſe Actions which enter into a Man, rather then iſſue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uſes not to captivate under a perpetual Child-hood of Preſcription, but truſts him with the Giſt of Reaſon to be his own Chooſer; there were but little Work left for Preaching, if Law and Compulſion ſhould grow ſo faſt upon thoſe Things which heretofore were govern'd only by Exhortation. *Solomon* informs us, that much Reading is a Wearineſs to the Fleſh; but neither he, nor other inſpir'd Author tells us, that ſuch, or ſuch Reading is unlawful: Yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more Expedient to have told us what was Unlawful, then what was Wearifom. As for the burning of thoſe *Epheſian* Books by St. *Pauls* Converts, 'tis reply'd, the Books were *Magic*, the *Syriac* ſo renders them. It was a private Act, a voluntary Act, and leaves us to a voluntary Imitation: The Men in Remorſe burnt thoſe Books which were their own; the Magiſtrate by this Example is not appointed: Theſe Men practiſed the Books, another might perhaps have read them in ſome Sort uſefully. Good and Evil we know in the Field of this World grow up together almoſt inſeparably; and the Knowledg of Good is ſo involv'd and interwoven with the Knowledg of Evil, and in ſo many cunning Reſemblances hardly to be diſcern'd, that thoſe confuſed Seeds which were impos'd on *Pſyche* as an inceſſant Labour to cull out and ſort aſunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the Rind of one Apple taſted, that the Knowledg of Good and Evil as two Twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that Doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing Good and Evil, that is to ſay, of knowing Good by Evil. As therefore the State of Man now is; what Wiſdom can there be to chooſe, what Countenance to forbear without the Knowledg of Evil? He that can apprehend and conſider Vice with all her Baits and ſeeming Pleaſures, and yet abſtain, and yet diſtinguiſh, and yet Prefer that which is truly better, he is the true Wayfaring Chriſtian. I cannot praiſe a fugitive and cloiſter'd Vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never ſallies out and ſees her Adverſary, but ſlinks out of the Race, where that immortal Garland is to be run for, not without Duſt and Heat. Aſſuredly we bring not Innocence into the World, we bring Impurity much rather: That which purifies us is Tryal, and Tryal is by what is contrary. That Vertue therefore which is but a Youngling in the Contemplation of Evil, and knows not the utmoſt that Vice promiſes to her Followers and rejects it, is but a blank Vertue, not a pure, her Whiteneſs is but an excremental Whiteneſs: Which was the Reaſon why our ſage and ſerious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better Teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, deſcribing true Temperance under the Perſon of *Guion*, brings him in with his Palmer through the Cave of *Mammon*, and the Bower of earthly Bliſs that he might ſee and know and yet abſtain. Since therefore the Knowledg and Survey of Vice is in this World ſo neceſſary to the conſtituting of human Vertue, and the ſcanning of Error to the Confirmation of Truth, how can we more ſafely, and with leſs Danger ſcout into the Regions of Sin and Falſity then by Reading all manner of Tractates, and hearing all manner of Reaſon? And this is the Benefit which may be had of Books promiſcuouſly read. But of the Harm that may reſult hence, three Kinds are uſually reckon'd. *Firſt*, is fear'd

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2. Book.
Fairy Queen

the Infection that may ſpread; but then all human Learning and Controverſy in Religious Points muſt remove out of the World, yea the Bible it ſelf; for that oftimes relates Blaſphemy not nicely, it deſcribes the carnal Senſe of wicked Men not unelegantly, it brings in Holieſt Men paſſionately murmuring againſt Providence through all the Arguments of *Epicurus*: In other great Diſputes it anſwers dubiouſly and darkly to the common Reader: And ask a *Talmudiſt*, what ails the Modeſty of his Marginal *Keri*, that *Moſes* and all the Prophets cannot perſwade him to pronounce the Textual *Chetiv*. For theſe Cauſes we all know the Bible it ſelf put by the Papiſt into the firſt Rank of Prohibited Books. The Ancienteſt Fathers muſt be next remov'd, as *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that *Euſebian* Book of Evangelic Preparation, tranſmitting our Ears through a hoard of Heatheniſh Obſcenities to receive the Goſpel. Who finds not that *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom* and others diſcover more Hereſies then they well confute, and that oft for Hereſy which is the truer Opinion. Nor boots it to ſay for theſe, and all the *Heathen* Writers of greateſt Infection, if it muſt be thought ſo, with whom is bound up the Life of human Learning, that they writ in an unknown Tongue, ſo long as we are ſure thoſe Languages are known as well to the worſt of Men, who are both moſt able, and moſt diligent to inſtil the Poiſon they ſuck, firſt into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choiſeſt Delights and Criticiſms of Sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Maſter of his Revels; and that notorious Ribal of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the *Italian* Courtiers. I Name not him for Poſterities Sake, whom *Harry* the VIII. nam'd in Merriment his Vicar of Hell. By which compendious Way all the Contagion that foreign Books can infuſe, will find a Paſſage to the People far eaſier and ſhorter then an *Indian* Voyage, though it could be ſail'd either by the *North* of *Cataio Eaſtward*, or of *Canada Weſtward*, while our *Spaniſh* Licenſing gags the *Engliſh* Preſs never ſo ſeverely. But on the other ſide, that Infection which is from Books of Controverſy in Religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the Learned, then to the Ignorant; and yet thoſe Books muſt be permitted untouch'd by the Licencer. It will be hard to inſtance where any Ignorant Man hath been ever ſeduc'd by *Papiſtical* Books in *Engliſh*, unleſs it were commended and expounded to him by ſome of that Clergy: And indeed all ſuch Tractates, whether falſe or true, are as the Propheſy of *Iſaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be *underſtood without a Guide*. But of our Prieſts and Doctors how many have been corrupted by ſtudying the Comments of *Jeſuites* and *Sorboniſts*, and how faſt they could transfuſe that Corruption into the People, our Experience is both late and ſad. It is not forgot, ſince the acute and diſtinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the peruſing of a nameleſs Diſcourſe written at *Delf*, which at firſt he took in Hand to confute. Seeing therefore that thoſe Books, and thoſe in great Abundance which are likelieſt to taint both Life and Doctrin, cannot be ſuppreſt without the Fall of Learning, and of all Ability in Diſputation, and that theſe Books of either Sort are moſt and ſooneſt catching to the Learned, from whom to the Common People what ever is Heretical or Diſſolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evil Manners are as perfectly learnt without Books a thouſand other Ways which cannot be ſtopt, and evil Doctrin not with Books can propagate, except a Teacher guide, which he might alſo do without writing, and ſo beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous Enterpriſe of Licenſing can be exempted from the Number of vain and impoſſible Attempts. And he who were pleaſantly diſpos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the Exploit of that Gallant Man who thought to pound up the Crows by ſhutting his Parkgate. Beſides another Inconvenience, if learned Men be the firſt Receivers out of Books and Diſpreaders both of

Vice

Vice and Error, how ſhall the Licencers themſelves be confided in, unleſs we can confer upon them, or they aſſume to themſelves above all others in the Land, the Grace of Infallibility and Uncorruptedneſs? And again if it be true, that a wiſe Man like a good Refiner can gather Gold out of the droſſieſt Volum, and that a Fool will be a Fool with the beſt Book, yea or without Book, there is no Reaſon that we ſhould deprive a wiſe Man of any Advantage to his Wiſdom, while we ſeek to reſtrain from a Fool that which being reſtrain'd will be no Hindrance to his Folly. For if there ſhould be ſo much Exactneſs always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his Reading, we ſhould in the Judgment of *Ariſtotle* not only, but of *Solomon* and of our Saviour, not vouchſafe him good Precepts, and by Conſequence not willingly admit him to good Books; as being certain that a wiſe Man will make better Uſe of an idle Pamphlet, then a Fool will do of ſacred Scripture. 'Tis next alledg'd, we muſt not expoſe our ſelves to Temptations without Neceſſity, and next to that, not to employ our time in vain Things. To both theſe Objections one Anſwer will ſerve, out of the Grounds already laid, that to all Men ſuch Books are not Temptations nor Vanities; but uſeful Drugs and Materials, wherewith to temper and compoſe effective and ſtrong Medicines, which Mans Life cannot want. The reſt, as Children and childiſh Men, who have not the Art to qualify and prepare theſe working Minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the Licenſing that Sainted Inquiſition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this Order of Licenſing conduces nothing to the End for which it was fram'd; and hath almoſt prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the Ingenuity of Truth, who when ſhe gets a free and willing Hand, opens her ſelf faſter then the Pace of Method and Diſcourſe can overtake her. It was the Task which I began with, To ſhew that no Nation or well inſtituted State, if they valu'd Books at all, did ever uſe this way of Licenſing; and it may be anſwer'd, that this is a Piece of Prudence lately diſcover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing ſlight and obvious to think on, ſo if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long ſince who ſuggeſted ſuch a Courſe; which they not following, leave us a Pattern of their Judgment, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving which was the Cauſe of their not uſing it. *Plato*, a Man of high Authority indeed, but leaſt of all for his Commonwealth, in the Book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his Fancy with making many Edicts to his airy Burgomaſters, which they who otherwiſe admire him, wiſh had been rather buried and excus'd in the *Genial* Cups of an *Academic* Night-ſitting. By which Laws he ſeems to tolerate no kind of Learning, but by unalterable Decree, conſiſting moſt of practical Traditions, to the Attainment whereof a Library of ſmaller Bulk then his own Dialogues would be abundant. And there alſo enacts, that no Poet ſhould ſo much as read to any private Man what he had written, until the Judges and Law-keepers had ſeen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not elſe a Law-giver to himſelf, but a Tranſgreſſor, and to be expell'd by his own Magiſtrates; both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetual Reading of *Sophron Mimus* and *Ariſtophanes*, Books of groſſeſt Infamy, and alſo for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious Libeller of his chief Friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dyoniſius*, who had little need of ſuch Traſh to ſpend his Time on? But that he knew, this Licenſing of Poems had Reference and Dependence to many other Proviſos there ſet down in his fancy'd Republic, which in this World could have no Place; and ſo neither he himſelf nor any Magiſtrate or City ever imitated that Courſe,

which taken apart from thoſe other collateral Injunctions muſt needs be vain and fruitleſs. For if they fell upon one kind of Strictneſs, unleſs their Care were equal to regulate all other things of like Aptneſs to corrupt the Mind, that ſingle Endeavour they knew would be but a fond Labour; to ſhut and fortify one Gate againſt Corruption, and be neceſſitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate Printing, thereby to rectify Manners, we muſt regulate all Recreations and Paſtimes, all that is delightful to Man. No Muſic muſt be heard, no Song be ſet or ſung, but what is grave and *Doric*. There muſt be Licenſing Dancers, that no Geſture, Motion or Deportment be taught our Youth, but what by their Allowance ſhall be thought honeſt; for ſuch *Plato* was provided of: It will ask more then the Work of twenty Licencers to examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Gittarrs in every Houſe; they muſt not be ſuffer'd to prattle as they do, but muſt be Licens'd what they muſt ſay. And who ſhall ſilence all the Airs and Madrigals, that whiſper Softneſs in Chambers? The Windows alſo and the Balconies muſt be thought on, there are ſhrewd Books with dangerous Frontiſpices ſet to Sale; who ſhall prohibit them? Shall twenty Licencers? The Villages alſo muſt have their Viſitors to inquire what Lectures the Bag-pipe and the Rebbeck reads even to the Ballatry, and the Gamut of every *Municipal* Fidler, for theſe are the Countrymans *Arcadias* and his *Monte Mayors*. *Next*, what more national Corruption, for which *England* hears ill abroad, then Houſhold Gluttony, who ſhall be the Rectors of our daily Rioting? And what ſhall be done to inhibit the Multitudes that frequent thoſe Houſes where Drunkenneſs is ſold and harbour'd? Our Garments alſo ſhould be referr'd to the Licenſing of ſome more ſober Work-maſters to ſee them cut into a leſs wanton Garb. Who ſhall regulate all the mixt Converſation of our Youth, Male and Female together, as is the Faſhion of this Country, who ſhall ſtill appoint what ſhall be diſcours'd, what preſum'd, and no further? *Laſtly*, who ſhall forbid and ſeparate all idle Reſort, all evil Company? Theſe Things will be and muſt be; but how they ſhall be leaſt hurtful, how leaſt enticing, herein conſiſts the grave and governing Wiſdom of a State. To ſequeſter out of the World into *Atlantic* and *Eutopian* Polities, which never can be drawn into Uſe, will not mend our Condition; but to ordain wiſely as in this World of Evil, in the midſt whereof God hath plac'd us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* Licenſing of Books will do this, which neceſſarily pulls along with it ſo many other Kinds of Licenſing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fruſtrate; but thoſe unwritten, or at leaſt, unconſtraining Laws of vertuous Education, religious and civil Nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the Bonds and Ligaments of the Commonwealth, the Pillars and the Suſtainers of every written Statute; theſe they be which will bear chief Sway in ſuch Matters as theſe, when all Licenſing will be eaſily eluded. Impunity and Remiſsneſs for certain are the Bane of a Commonwealth, but here the great Art lies to diſcern in what the Law is to bid Reſtraint and Puniſhment, and in what Things Perſwaſion only is to work. If every Action which is good or evil in Man at ripe Years, were to be under Pittance and Preſcription and Compulſion, what were Vertue but a Name, what Praiſe could be then due to Well-doing, what Grammercy to be ſober, juſt or continent? Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for ſuffering *Adam* to trangreſs, fooliſh Tongues! When God gave him Reaſon, he gave him Freedom to chooſe, for Reaſon is but Chooſing; he had been elſe a meer Artificial *Adam*, ſuch an *Adam* as he is in the Motions. We our ſelves eſteem not of that Obedience, or Love, or Gift which is of Force: God therefore left him free, ſet before him a provoking Object, ever almoſt in his Eyes, herein conſiſted his Merit, herein the Right of his Reward, the Praiſe of his Abſtinence. Wherefore did he create Paſſions within us, Pleaſures round about us, but that theſe rightly temper'd are the very Ingredients

dients of Vertue? They are not skilful Conſiderers of human Things, who imagin to remove Sin by removing the Matter of Sin; For beſides that, it is a huge Heap increaſing under the very Act of Diminiſhing, though ſome Part of it may for a time be withdrawn from ſome Perſons, it cannot from all, in ſuch an univerſal Thing as Books are; and when this is done, yet the Sin remains intire. Though ye take from a covetous Man all his Treaſure, he has yet one Jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his Covetouſneſs. Baniſh all Objects of Luſt, ſhut up all Youth into the ſevereſt Diſciplin that can be exercis'd in any Hermitage, ye cannot make them chaſte that came not thither ſo: Such great Care and Wiſdom is requir'd to the right Managing of this Point. Suppoſe we could expel Sin by this Means; look how much we thus expel of Sin, ſo much we expel of Vertue; for the Matter of them both is the ſame; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This juſtifies the high Providence of God, who, though he command us Temperance, Juſtice, Continence, yet pours out before us even to a Profuſeneſs all deſirable Things, and gives us Minds that can wander beyond all Limit and Satiety. Why ſhould we then affect a Rigor contrary to the Manner of God and of Nature, by abridging or ſcanting thoſe Means, which Books freely permitted are, both to the Trial of Vertue, and the Exerciſe of Truth. It would be better done, to learn that the Law muſt needs be frivolous which goes to reſtrain Things, uncertainly and yet equally working to Good and to Evil. And were I the Chooſer, a Dram of Well-doing ſhould be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible Hindrance of Evil-doing. For God ſure eſteems the Growth and Compleating of one vertuous Perſon, more then the Reſtraint of ten vitious. And albeit whatever Thing we hear or ſee, ſitting, walking, travelling or converſing, may be fitly call'd our Book, and is of the ſame Effect that Writings are, yet grant the Thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears, that this Order hitherto is far inſufficient to the End which it intends. Do we not ſee, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continu'd Court-libel againſt the Parliament and City, printed, as the wet Sheets can witneſs, and diſpers'd among us, for all that Licenſing can do? Yet this is the prime Service a Man would think, wherein this Order ſhould give Proof of it ſelf. If it were executed, you'l ſay. But certain, if Execution be remiſs or blind-fold now, and in this Particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other Books. If then the Order ſhall not be vain and fruſtrate, behold a new Labour, Lords and Commons, ye muſt repeal and proſcribe all ſcandalous and unlicens'd Books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a Liſt, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain, that no forreign Books be deliver'd out of Cuſtody till they have been read over. This Office will require the whole Time of not a few Overſeers, and thoſe no vulgar Men. There be alſo Books which are partly uſeful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this Work will ask as many more Officials to make Expurgations and Expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damniſied. *In fine*, when the Multitude of Books increaſe upon their Hands, ye muſt be feign to catalogue all thoſe Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the Importation of their whole ſuſpected *Typography*. In a Word, that this your Order may be exact, and not deficient, ye muſt reform it perfectly according to the Model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye ſhould condeſcend to this, which God forbid, the Order ſtill would be but fruitleſs and defective to that End whereto ye meant it If to prevent Sects and Schiſms, who is ſo unread or ſo uncatechis'd in Hiſtory, that hath not heard of many Sects refuſing Books as a Hindrance, and preſerving their Doctrines unmix'd for many Ages, only by unwritten Traditions. The Chriſtian Faith, for that was once a Schiſm, is not unknown to have ſpread all over *Aſia*, 'ere any Goſpel

or

or Epiſtle was ſeen in writing. If the Amendment of Manners be aim'd at, look into *Italy* and *Spain*, whether thoſe Places be one Scruple the Better, the Honeſter, the Wiſer, the Chaſter, ſince all the inquiſitional Rigor that hath been executed upon Books.

Another Reaſon, whereby to make it plain, that this Order will miſs the End it ſeeks, conſider, by the Quality which ought to be in every Licencer. It cannot be deny'd, but that he who is made Judg to ſit upon the Birth, or Death of Books whether they may be waſted into this World, or not, had need to be a Man above the common Meaſure, both Studious, Learned and Judicious; there may be elſe no mean Miſtakes in the Cenſure of what is paſſable or not; which is alſo no mean Injury. If he be of ſuch Worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleaſing Journey-work, a greater Loſs of Time levied upon his Head, then to be made the perpetual Reader of unchoſen Books and Pamphlets, oftimes huge Volums. There is no Book that is acceptable unleſs at certain Seaſons; but to be enjoyn'd the Reading of that at all Times, and in a Hand ſcarce legible, whereof three Pages would not down at any Time in the faireſt Print, is an Impoſition which I cannot believe, how he that values Time and his own Studies, or is but of a ſenſible Noſtril ſhould be able to endure. In this one Thing I crave Leave of the preſent Licencers to be pardon'd for ſo thinking: Who doubtleſs took this Office up, looking on it through their Obedience to the Parliament, whoſe command perhaps made all Things ſeem eaſy and unlaborious to them; but that this ſhort Tryal hath weary'd them out already, their own Expreſſions and Excuſes to them who make ſo many Journies to ſollicit their Licence, are Teſtimony enough. Seeing therefore thoſe who now poſſeſs the Imployment, by all evident Signs wiſh themſelves well rid of it, and that no Man of Worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own Hours is ever likely to ſucceed them, except he mean to put himſelf to the Salary of a Preſs-Corrector, we may eaſily foreſee what kind of Licencers we are to expect hereafter, either Ignorant, Imperious and Remiſs, or baſely Pecuniary. This is what I had to ſhew wherein this Order cannot conduce to that End, whereof it bears the Intention.

I, *Laſtly*, proceed from the no Good it can do, to the manifeſt Hurt it cauſes, it being firſt the greateſt Diſcouragement and Affront, that can be offer'd to Learning and to learned Men. It was the Complaint and Lamentation of Prelates, upon every leaſt Breath of a Motion to remove Pluralities, and diſtribute more equally Church Revenues, that then all Learning would be for ever daſh'd and diſcourag'd. But as for that Opinion, I never found Cauſe to think that the tenth Part of Learning ſtood or fell with the Clergy: Nor could I ever but hold it for a ſordid and unworthy Speech of any Church-Man who had a Competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to diſhearten utterly and diſcontent, not the Mercenary Crew of falſe Pretenders to Learning, but the free and ingenuous Sort of ſuch as evidently were born to Study, and love Learning for it ſelf, not for Lucre, or any other End, but the Service of God and of Truth, and perhaps that laſting Fame and Perpetuity of Praiſe which God and good Men have conſented ſhall be the Reward of thoſe whoſe publiſh'd Labours advance the Good of Mankind, then know, that ſo far to diſtruſt the Judgment and the Honeſty of one who hath but a common Repute in Learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his Mind without a Tutor and Examiner, leaſt he ſhould drop a Schiſm, or ſomething of Corruption, is the greateſt Diſpleaſure and Indignity to a free and knowing Spirit that can be put upon him. What Advantages is it to be a Man over it is to be a Boy at School, if we have only ſcap'd the Ferula, to come under the Feſcue of an *Imprimatur*? If ſerious and elaborate Writings, as if they were no more

then

then the Theme of a Grammar Lad under his Pedagogue, muſt not be uttered without the curſory Eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing Licencer. He who is not truſted with his own Actions, his drift not being known to be Evil, and ſtanding to the hazard of Law and Penalty, has no great Argument to think himſelf reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other then a Fool or a Foreigner. When a Man writes to the World, he ſummons up all his Reaſon and Deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditates, is induſtrious, and likely conſults and confers with his judicious Friends; after all which done he takes himſelf to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the moſt conſummate Act of his Fidelity and Ripeneſs, no Years, no Induſtry, no former Proof of his Abilities can bring him to that ſtate of Maturity, as not to be ſtill miſtruſted and ſuſpected, unleſs he carry all his conſiderate Diligence, all his midnight Watchings and Expence of *Palladian* Oyl, to the haſty View of an unleaſur'd Licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in Judgment, perhaps one who never knew the Labour of Book-writing, and if he be not repulſt, or ſlighted, muſt appear in Print like a Punie with his Guardian, and his Cenſors Hand on the back of his Title to be his Bayl and Surety, that he is no Idiot, or Seducer, it cannot be but a Diſhonour and Derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the Privileg and Dignity of Learning. And what if the Author ſhall be one ſo copious of Fancy, as to have many Things well worth the adding, come into his Mind after Licenſing, while the Book is yet under the Preſs, which not ſeldom happens to the beſt and diligenteſt Writers; and that perhaps a dozen Times in one Book. The *Printer* dares not go beyond his Licens'd Copy; ſo often then muſt the Author trudg to his Leave-giver, that thoſe his new Inſertions may be view'd; and many a Jaunt will be made, e're that Licencer, for it muſt be the ſame Man, can either be found, or found at Leiſure; mean while either the Preſs muſt ſtand ſtill, which is no ſmall Damage, or the Author looſe his accurateſt Thoughts, and ſend the Book forth worſe than he had made it, which to a diligent Writer is the greateſt Melancholy and Vexation that can befal. And how can a Man teach with Authority, which is the Life of Teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his Book as he ought to be, or elſe had better be ſilent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the Tuition, under the Correction of his Patriarchal Licencer to blot or alter what preciſely accords not with the Hide-bound Humor, which he calls his Judgment. When every acute Reader upon the firſt ſight of a Pedantic Licence, will be ready with theſe like Words to ding the Book a Coits diſtance from him, I hate a Pupil Teacher, I endure not an Inſtructer that comes to me under the Wardſhip of an overſeeing Fiſt. I know nothing of the Licencer, but that I have his own Hand here for his Arrogance; who ſhall warrant me his Judgment? The State, Sir, replies the *Stationer*, but has a quick Return, The State ſhall be my Governours, but not my Critics; they may be miſtaken in the Choice of a Licencer, as eaſily as this Licencer may be miſtaken in an Author: This is ſome common Stuff; and he might add from Sir *Fracis Bacon*, That *ſuch authorized Books are but the Language of the Times.* For though a Licencer ſhould happen to be Judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great Jeopardy of the next Succeſſion, yet his very Office and his Commiſſion enjoyns him, to let paſs nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the Work of any deceaſed Author, though never ſo famous in his Lifetime, and even to this Day, come to their Hands for Licence to be Printed, or Reprinted, if there be found in his Book one Sentence of a ven-

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t'rous Edge, utter'd in the Height of Zeal, and who knows, whether it might not be the Dictate of a Divine Spirit, yet not ſuiting with every low decripid Humor of their own, though it were *Knox* himſelf, the Reformer of a Kingdom that ſpake it, they will not pardon him their Daſh: The Senſe of that great Man ſhall to all Poſterity be loſt for the Fearfulneſs or the preſumptuous Raſhneſs of a perfunctory Licencer. And to what an Author this Violence hath been lately done, and in what Book of greateſt Conſequence to be faithfully publiſh'd, I could now inſtance, but ſhall forbear till a more convenient Seaſon. Yet if theſe Things be not reſented ſeriouſly and timely by them who have the Remedy in their Power, but that ſuch Iron-molds as theſe ſhall have Authority to gnaw out the choiceſt Periods of exquiſiteſt Books, and to commit ſuch a treacherous Fraud againſt the Orphan Remainders of worthieſt Men after Death, the more Sorrow will belong to that hapleſs Race of Men, whoſe Misfortune it is to have Underſtanding. Henceforth let no Man care to learn, or care to be more then wordly-wiſe; for certainly in higher Matters to be ignorant and ſlothful, to be a common ſtedfaſt Dunce, will be the only pleaſant Life, and only in Requeſt.

And as it is a particular Diſeſteem of every knowing Perſon alive, and moſt injurious to the written Labours and Monuments of the Dead, ſo to me it ſeems an Undervaluing and Vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot ſet ſo light by all the Invention, the Art, the Wit, the grave and ſolid Judgment which is in *England*, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty Capacities how good ſoever, much leſs that it ſhould not paſs except their Superintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrain'd with their Strainers, that it ſhould be uncurrent without their manual Stamp. Truth and Underſtanding are not ſuch Wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by Tickets and Statutes and Standards. We muſt not think to make a Staple Commodity of all the Knowledge in the Land, to mark and licenſe it like our Broad-cloath and our Wool-packs. What is it but a Servitude like that impos'd by the *Philiſtins*, not to be allow'd the Sharpning of our own Axes and Coulters, but we muſt repair from all Quarters to twenty Licenſing Forges. Had any one written and divulg'd erroneous Things and ſcandalous to honeſt Life, miſuſing and forfeiting the Eſteem had of his Reaſon among Men, if after Conviction this only Cenſure were adjudg'd him, that he ſhould never henceforth write, but what were firſt examin'd by an appointed Officer, whoſe Hand ſhould be annex'd to paſs his Credit for him, that now he might be ſafely read, it could not be apprehended leſs then a diſgraceful Puniſhment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and thoſe that never yet thus offended, under ſuch a diffident and ſuſpectful Prohibition, may plainly be underſtood what a Diſparagement it is. So much the more, whenas Debtors and Delinquents may walk abroad without a Keeper, but unoffenſive Books muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible Jaylor in their Title. Nor is it to the common People leſs then a Reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, as that we dare not truſt them with an *Engliſh* Pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them for a giddy, vitious and ungrounded People; in ſuch a ſick and weak Eſtate of Faith and Diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the Pipe of a Licencer. That this is Care or Love of them we cannot pretend, whenas in thoſe *Popiſh* Places where the *Laity* are moſt hated and deſpis'd the ſame Strictneſs is us'd over them. Wiſdom we cannot call it, becauſe it ſtops but one Breach of Licence nor that neither; whenas thoſe Corruptions, which it ſeeks to prevent, break in faſter at other Doors which cannot be ſhut.

And in Concluſion it reflects to the Diſrepute of our Miniſters alſo, of whoſe Labours we ſhould hope better, and of the Proficiency which their Flock reaps by them, then that after all this Light of the Goſpel, which is,

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and is to be, and all this continual Preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch unprincipl'd, unedify'd and laic Rabble, as that the Whiff of every new Pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of their Catechiſm and Chriſtian Walking. This may have much Reaſon to diſcourage the Miniſters, when ſuch a low Conceit is had of all their Exhortations, and the Benefiting of their Hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd looſe to three Sheets of Paper without a Licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preach'd, printed, vented in ſuch Numbers and ſuch Volums, as have now well nigh made all other Books unſaleable, ſhould not be Armour enough againſt one ſingle *Enchiridion*, without the Caſtle St. *Angelo* of an *IMPRIMATUR*.

And leaſt ſome ſhould perſwade ye, Lords and Commons, that theſe Arguments of Learned Mens Diſcouragement at this your Order, are meer Flouriſhes, and not real, I could recount what I have ſeen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of Inquiſition tyrannizes; when I have ſate among their Learned Men, for that Honour I had, and been counted happy to be born in ſuch a Place of *Philoſophic* Freedom, as they ſuppos'd *England* was, while themſelves did nothing but bemoan the ſervile Condition into which Learning amongſt them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the Glory of *Italian* Wits; that nothing had been there written now theſe many Years but Flattery and Fuſtian. There it was that I found and viſited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a Priſoner to the Inquiſition, for thinking in Aſtronomy otherwiſe then the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Licencers thought. And though I knew that *England* then was groaning loudeſt under the *Prelatical* Yoke, nevertheleſs I took it as a Pledge of future Happineſs, that other Nations were ſo perſwaded of her Liberty. Yet was it beyond my Hope that thoſe Worthies were then breathing in her Air, who ſhould be her Leaders to ſuch a Deliverance, as ſhall never be forgotten by any Revolution of Time that this World hath to finiſh. When that was once begun, it was as little in my Fear, that what Words of Complaint I heard among Learned Men of other Parts utter'd againſt the Inquiſition, the ſame I ſhould hear by as Learned Men at home utter'd in Time of Parliament againſt an Order of Licenſing; and that ſo generally, that when I had diſclos'd my ſelf a Companion of their Diſcontent, I might ſay, if without Envy, that he whom an honeſt *Queſtorſhip* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd againſt *Verres*, then the favourable Opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and reſpected by ye, loaded me with Intreaties and Perſwaſions, that I would not deſpair to lay together that which juſt Reaſon ſhould bring into my Mind, toward the Removal of an undeſerved Thraldom upon Learning. That this is not therefore the Diſburth'ning of a particular Fancy, but the common Grievance of all thoſe who had prepar'd their Minds and Studies above the vulgar Pitch to advance Truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may ſatisfy. And in their Name I ſhall for neither Friend nor Foe conceal what the general Murmur is; that if it come to Inquiſitioning again and Licenſing, and that we are ſo timorous of our ſelves, and ſo ſuſpicious of all Men, as to fear each Book, and the ſhaking of every Leaf, before we know what the Contents are, if ſome, who but of late were little better then ſilens'd from Preaching, ſhall come now to ſilence us from Reading, except what they pleaſe, it cannot be gueſt what is intended by ſome but a ſecond Tyranny over Learning: And will ſoon put it out of Controverſy, that Biſhops and *Presbyters* are the ſame to us, both Name and Thing. That thoſe Evils of *Prelacy*, which before from five or ſix and twenty Sees were diſtributively charg'd upon the whole People, will now light wholly upon Learning, is not obſcure to us: Whenas now the Paſtor of a ſmall unlearned Pariſh on the ſudden ſhall be exalted Arch-biſhop over a large Dioceſs of Books, and

yet not remove, but keep his other Cure too, a myſtical Pluraliſt. He who but of late cry'd down the ſole Ordination of every Novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd ſole Juriſdiction over the ſimpleſt Pariſhioner, ſhall now at home in his private Chair aſſume both theſe over worthieſt and excellenteſt Books and ableſt Authors that writ them. This is not, yea Cov'nants and Proteſtations that we have made, this is not to put down *Prelacy*, this is but to chop an Epiſcopacy, this is but to tranſlate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of Dominion into another, this but an old Canonical Slight of *Commuting* our Penance. To ſtartle thus betimes at a meer unlicens'd Pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every Conventicle, and a while after will make a Conventicle of every Chriſtian Meeting. But I am certain, that a State govern'd by the Rules of Juſtice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the Rock of Faith and true Knowledge, cannot be ſo Puſilanimous. While Things are yet not conſtituted in Religion, that Freedom of Writing ſhould be reſtrain'd by a Diſcipline imitated from the *Prelates*, and learnt by them from the Inquiſition to ſhut us up all again into the Breaſt of a Licencer, muſt needs give Cauſe of Doubt and Diſcouragement to all Learned and Religious Men. Who cannot but diſcern the Fineneſs of this Politic Drift, and who are the Contrivers; that while Biſhops were to be baited down, then all Preſſes might be open; it was the Peoples Birth-right and Priviledge in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of Light. But now the Biſhops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation ſought no more, but to make room for others into their Seats under another Name, the Epiſcopal Arts begin to bud again, the Cruſe of Truth muſt run no more Oyl, Liberty of Printing muſt be enthrall'd again under a Prelatical Commiſſion of Twenty, the Privilege of the People nullify'd, and which is worſe, the Freedom of Learning muſt groan again, and to her old Fetters; all this the Parliament yet ſitting. Although their own late Arguments and Defences againſt the *Prelates* might remember them, that this obſtructing Violence meets for the moſt part with an Event utterly oppoſite to the End which it drives at: Inſtead of ſuppreſſing Sects and Schiſms, it raiſes them and inveſts them with a Reputation: *The puniſhing of Wits enhaunces their Authority*, ſaith the Vicount St. *Albans*, *and a forbidden Writing is thought to be a certain Spark of Truth that flies up in the Faces of them who ſeek to tread it out.* This Order therefore may prove a nurſing Mother to Sects, but I ſhall eaſily ſhew how it will be a Step-dame to Truth: And firſt by diſenabling us to the Maintainance of what is known already.

Well knows he, who uſes to conſider, that our Faith and Knowledg thrives by Exerciſe, as well as our Limbs and Complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a ſtreaming Fountain; if her Waters flow not in a perpetual Progreſſion, they ſicken into a muddy Pool of Conformity and Tradition. A Man may be a *Heritic* in the Truth; and if he believe things only, becauſe his Paſtor ſays ſo, or the Aſſembly ſo determins, without knowing other Reaſon, though his Belief be True, yet the very Truth he holds, becomes his Hereſie. There is not any Burthen that ſome would gladlier poſt off to another, then the Charge and Care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be, of Proteſtants and Profeſſors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit Faith, as any Lay-Papiſt of *Loretto*. A wealthy Man addicted to his Pleaſure and to his Profits, finds Religion to be a Traffic ſo entangl'd and of ſo many piddling Accounts; that of all Myſteries he cannot skill to keep a ſtock going upon that Trade. What ſhould he do? Fain he would have the Name to be Religious, fain he would bear up with his Neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but reſolves to give over toyling and to find himſelf out ſome Factor, to whoſe Care and Credit he may commit the whole managing of his Religious Affairs; ſome Divine of Note and Eſtimation

Eſtimation that muſt be. To him he adheres, reſigns the whole Ware-houſe of his Religion, with all the Locks and Keys into his Cuſtody; and indeed makes the very Perſon of that Man his Religion; eſteems his aſſociating with him a ſufficient Evidence and Commendatory of his own Piety. So that a Man may ſay his Religion is now no more within himſelf, but is become a Dividual movable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good Man frequents the Houſe. He entertains him, gives him Gifts, feaſts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally ſupt, and ſumptuouſly laid to ſleep, riſes, is ſaluted, and after the Malmſey, or ſome well ſpis'd Bruage, and better Breakfaſted then he whoſe Morning Appetite would have gladly fed on green Figs between *Bethany* and *Jeruſalem*, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind Entertainer in the Shop Trading all day without his Religion.

Another Sort there be who when they hear, that all Things ſhall be order'd, all Things regulated and ſettl'd; nothing written but what paſſes through the Cuſtom-houſe of certain *Publicans* that have the Tunaging and the Poundaging of all free ſpoken Truth, will ſtrait give themſelves up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em out what Religion ye pleaſe; there be Delights, there be Recreations and jolly Paſtimes that will fetch the day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the tedious Year as in a delightful Dream. What need they torture their Heads with that which others have taken ſo ſtrictly, and ſo unalterably into their own pourveying. Theſe are the Fruits which a dull Eaſe and Ceſſation of our Knowledg will bring forth among the People. How goodly, and how to be wiſh'd were ſuch an obedient Unanimity as this, what a fine Conformity would it ſtarch us all into? doubtleſs a ſtanch and ſolid Piece of Frame-work, as any *January* could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the Conſequence even among the Clergy themſelves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *Parochial* Miniſter, who has his Reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm Benefice, to be eaſily inclinable, if he have nothing elſe that may rouſe up his Studies, to finiſh his Circuit in an *Engliſh* Concordance and a *Topic Folio*, the Gatherings and Savings of a ſober Graduatſhip, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the conſtant Round of certain common doctrinal Heads, attended with their Uſes, Motives, Marks and Means, out of which as out of an Alphabet, or *ſolfa*, by forming and transforming, joyning and diſjoyning variouſly a little Book-craft, and two hours Meditation might furniſh him unſpeakably to the Performance of more then a weekly Charge of Sermoning: Not to reckon up the infinite Helps of Interlinearies, Breviaries, *Synopſes*, and other loitering Gear. But as for the Multitude of Sermons ready printed and pil'd up, on every Text that is not difficult, our *London* trading St. *Thomas* in his Veſtry, and add to boot St. *Martin* and St. *Hugh*, have not within their hallow'd Limits more vendible Ware of all Sorts ready made: So that Penury he never need fear of Pulpit Proviſion, having where ſo plenteouſly to refreſh his Magazin. But if his Rear and Flanks be not impal'd, if his back Door be not ſecur'd by the rigid Licencer, but that a bold Book may now and then iſſue forth, and give the Aſſault to ſome of his old Collections in their Trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to ſtand in watch, to ſet good Guards and Sentinels about his receiv'd Opinions, to walk the Round and Counter-round with his Fellow Inſpectors, fearing leaſt any of his Flock be ſeduc'd, who alſo then would be better inſtructed, better exercis'd and diſciplin'd. And God ſend that the Fear of this Diligence which muſt then be us'd, do not make us affect the Lazineſs of a Licenſing Church.

For if we be ſure we are in the right, and do not hold the Truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we our ſelves condemn not our own weak and frivolous Teaching and the People for an untaught and irreligious gadding Rout, what can be more fair, then when a Man Judicious,

Learned, and of a Conſcience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, ſhall not privily from Houſe to Houſe, which is more dangerous, but openly by Writing publiſh to the World what his Opinion is, what his Reaſons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be ſound. Chriſt urg'd it as wherewith to juſtifie himſelf, that he preach'd in Public; yet Writing is more public then Preaching; and more eaſie to Refutation: if need be, there being ſo many, whoſe Buſineſs and Profeſſion meerly it is, to be the Champions of Truth; which, if they neglect what can be imputed but their Sloth or Unability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and diſ-inur'd by this Courſe of Licenſing toward the true Knowledg of what we ſeem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the Liencers themſelves in the Calling of their Miniſtery, more then any ſecular Employment, if they will diſcharge that Office as they ought, ſo that of Neceſſity they muſt neglect either the one Duty or the other, I inſiſt not, becauſe it is a Particular, but leave it to their own Conſcience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible Loſs and Detriment that this Plot of Licenſing puts us to, more then if ſome Enemy at Sea ſhould ſtop up all our Havens and Ports and Creeks, it hinders and retards the Importation of our richeſt Merchandize, Truth: Nay it was firſt eſtabliſh'd and put in Practice by Antichriſtian Malice and Myſtery on ſet purpoſe to extinguiſh, if it were poſſible, the Light of Reformation, and to ſettle Falſhood; little differing from that Policy wherewith the *Turk* upholds his *Alcoran*, by the Prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confeſt, we are to ſend our Thanks and Vows to Heaven, louder then moſt of Nations, for that great Meaſure of Truth which we enjoy, eſpecially in thoſe main Points between us and the Pope, with his Appurtenances, the *Prelates*: But he who thinks we are to pitch our Tent here, and have attain'd the utmoſt Proſpect of Reformation, that the mortal Glaſs wherein we contemplate, can ſhew us, till we come to *beatific* Viſion, that Man by this very Opinion declares, that he is yet far ſhort of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the World with her Divine Maſter, and was a perfect Shape moſt glorious to look on: But when he aſcended, and his Apoſtles after him were laid aſleep, then ſtrait aroſe a wicked Race of Deceivers, who as that Story goes of the *Egyptian Typhon*, with his Conſpirators, how they dealt with the good *Oſiris* took the Virgin Truth, hew'd her lovely Form into a thouſand Pieces, and ſcatter'd them to the four Winds. From that Time ever ſince, the ſad Friends of Truth, ſuch as durſt appear, imitating the careful Search, that *Iſis* made for the mangl'd Body of *Oſiris*, went up and down gathering up Limb by Limb ſtill as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever ſhall do till her Maſters ſecond Coming; he ſhall bring together every Joint and Member, and ſhall mould them into an immortal Feature of Lovelineſs and Perfection. Suffer not theſe Licenſing Prohibitions to ſtand at every Place of Opportunity forbidding and diſturbing them that continue ſeeking, that continue to do our Obſequies to the torn Body of our Martyr'd Saint. We boaſt our Light; but if we look not wiſely on the Sun it ſelf, it ſmites us into Darkneſs. Who can diſcern thoſe Planets that are oft *Combuſt*, and thoſe Stars of brighteſt Magnitude that riſe and ſet with the Sun, until the oppoſite Motion of their Orbs bring them to ſuch a place in the Firmament, where they may be ſeen Evening or Morning. The Light which we have gain'd, was given us, not to be ever ſtaring on, but by it to diſcover onward Things more remote from our Knowledg. It is not the unfrocking of a Prieſt, the unmitring of a Biſhop, and the removing him from off the

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Presbyterian Shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other Things as great in the Church, and in the Rule of Life both Oeconomical and Political be not look'd into and reform'd, we have look'd ſo long upon the Blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up to us, that we are ſtark blind. There be, who perpetually complain of Schiſms and Sects, and make it ſuch a Calamity, that any Man diſſents from their Maxims. 'Tis their own Pride and Ignorance which cauſes the Diſturbing, who neither will hear with Meekneſs, nor can convince, yet all muſt be ſuppreſt which is not found in their *Syntagma*. They are the Troublers, they are the Dividers of Unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite thoſe diſſever'd Pieces which are yet wanting to the Body of Truth. To be ſtill ſearching what we know not, by what we know, ſtill cloſing up Truth to Truth as we find it (for all her Body is *Homogeneal* and *Proportional*) this is the golden Rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetic*, and makes up the beſt Harmony in a Church; not the forced and outward Union of cold and neutral and inwardly divided Minds.

Lords and Commons of *England*, conſider what Nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the Governours: A Nation not ſlow and dull, but of a quick, ingenuous and piercing Spirit, acute to invent, ſubtle and ſinewy to diſcourſe, not beneath the Reach of any Point, the higheſt that human Capacity can ſoar to. Therefore the Studies of Learning in her deepeſt Sciences have been ſo Ancient and ſo Eminent among us, that Writers of good Antiquity and ableſt Judgment, have been perſwaded that even the School of *Pythagoras* and the *Perſian* Wiſdom took Beginning from the old Philoſophy of this Iſland. And that wiſe and civil *Roman*, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæſar*, prefer'd the natural Wits of *Britain*, before the labour'd Studies of the *French*. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Tranſilvanian* ſends out yearly from as far as the mountanous Borders of *Ruſſia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* Wilderneſs, not their Youth, but their ſtay'd Men, to learn our Language, and our *Theologic* Arts. Yet that which is above all this, the Favour and the Love of Heaven, we have great Argument to think in a peculiar Manner propitious and propending towards us. Why elſe was this Nation choſen before any other, that out of her, as out of *Sion*, ſhould be proclaim'd and ſounded forth the firſt Tidings and Trumpet of Reformation to all *Europe*. And had it not been the obſtinate Perverſneſs of our Prelates againſt the divine and admirable Spirit of *Wickleff*, to ſuppreſs him as a *Schiſmatic* and *Innovator*, perhaps neither the *Behemian Huſſe* and *Jerom*, no nor the Name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin*, had been ever known: The Glory of Reforming all our Neighbours had been compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurate Clergy have with Violence demean'd the Matter, we are become hitherto the lateſt and the backwardeſt Scholars, of whom God offer'd to have made us the Teachers. Now once again by all Concurrence of Signs, and by the general Inſtinct of holy and devout Men, as they daily and ſolemnly expreſs their Thoughts, God is decreeing to begin ſome new and great Period in his Church, even to the Reforming of Reformation it ſelf: what does he then but reveal Himſelf to his Servants, and as his Manner is, *firſt*, to his *Engliſh*-Men; I ſay, as his Manner is, *firſt* to us, though we mark not the Method of his Counſels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vaſt City; a City of Refuge, the Manſion-Houſe of Liberty, encompaſt and ſurrounded with his Protection; the Shop of War hath not there more Anvils and Hammers working to faſhion out the Plates and Inſtruments of armed Juſtice in Defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be Pens and Heads there, ſitting by their ſtudious Lamps, muſing, ſearching, revolving new Notions and

Ideas

Ideas wherewith to preſent, as with their Homage and their Fealty the approaching Reformation: Others as faſt reading, trying all Things, aſſenting to the Force of Reaſon and Convincement. What could a Man require more from a Nation ſo pliant and ſo prone to ſeek after Knowledg. What wants there to ſuch a towardly and pregnant Soil, but wiſe and faithful Labourers, to make a knowing People, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages and of Worthies. We reckon more then five Months yet to Harveſt; there need not be five Weeks, had we but Eyes to lift up, the Fields are white already. Where there is much deſire to learn, there of neceſſity will be much Arguing, much Writing, many Opinions; for Opinion in good Men is but Knowledg in the making. Under theſe fantaſtic Terrors of Sect and Schiſm, we wrong the earneſt and zealous Thirſt after Knowledg and Underſtanding which God hath ſtirr'd up in this City. What ſome lament of, we rather ſhould rejoyce at, ſhould rather praiſe this pious Forwardneſs among Men, to re-aſſume the ill-deputed Care of their Religion into their own Hands again. A little generous Prudence, a little Forbearance of one another, and ſome Grain of Charity might win all theſe Diligences, to joyn and unite into one general and brotherly Search after Truth; could we but forego this Prelatical Tradition of crowding free Conſciences and Chriſtian Liberties into Canons and Precepts of Men. I doubt not, if ſome great and worthy Stranger ſhould come among us, wiſe to diſcern the Mould and Temper of a People, and how to govern it, obſerving the high Hopes and Aims, the diligent Alacrity of our extended Thoughts and Reaſonings in the Purſuance of Truth and Freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pyrrhus* did, admiring the *Roman* Docility and Courage, if ſuch were my *Epirots*, I would not deſpair the greateſt Deſign that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet theſe are the Men cry'd out againſt for *Schiſmatics* and *Sectaries*; as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, ſome cutting, ſome ſquaring the Marble, others hewing the Cedars, there ſhould be a Sort of irrational Men, who could not conſider there muſt be many Schiſms and many Diſſections made in the Quarry and in the Timber, e're the Houſe of God can be built. And when every Stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a Continuity, it can but be contiguous in this World; neither can every Piece of the Building be of one Form; nay, rather the Perfection conſiſts in this, that out of many moderate Varieties and brotherly Diſſimilitudes that are not vaſtly diſproportional, ariſes the goodly and the graceful *Symmetry* that commends the whole Pile and Structure. Let us therefore be more conſiderate Builders, more wiſe in ſpiritual Architecture, when great Reformation is expected. For now the Time ſeems come, wherein *Moſes* the great Prophet may ſit in Heaven rejoycing to ſee that memorable and glorious Wiſh of his fulfill'd, when not only our Seventy Elders, but all the Lords People are become Prophets. No marvel then though ſome Men, and ſome good Men too perhaps, but young in Goodneſs, as *Joſhua* then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own Weakneſs are in Agony, leaſt theſe Diviſions and Subdiviſions will undo us. The Adverſary again applauds and waits the Hour, when they have branch'd themſelves out, ſaith he, ſmall enough into Parties and Partitions, then will be our Time. Fool! He ſees not the firm Root, out of which we all grow, though into Branches: Nor will beware until he ſee our ſmall divided Maniples cutting through at every Angle of his ill-united and unweildy Brigade. And that we are to hope better of all theſe ſuppoſed Sects and Schiſms, and that we ſhall not need that Solicitude, honeſt perhaps, though over timorous of them that vex

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in this behalf, but ſhall laugh in the End, at thoſe malicious Applauders of our Differences, I have theſe Reaſons to perſwade me.

Firſt, when a City ſhall be as it were beſieg'd and block'd about, her navigable River infeſted, Inrodes and Incurſions round, Defiance and Battle oft rumor'd to be marching up even to her Walls and ſuburb Trenches, that then the People, or the greater Part, more then at other Times, wholly taken up with the Study of higheſt and moſt important Matters to be Reform'd, ſhould be diſputing, reaſoning, reading, inventing, diſcourſing, even to a Rarity and Admiration, Things not before diſcourſt or written of, argues *Firſt*, a ſingular good Will, Contentedneſs and Confidence in your prudent Foreſight and ſafe Government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it ſelf to a gallant Bravery and well grounded Contempt of their Enemies, as if there were no ſmall Number of as great Spirits among us, as his was, who when *Rome* was nigh beſieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that piece of Ground at no cheap Rate, whereon *Hanibal* himſelf encampt his own Regiment. Next, it is a lively and chearful Preſage of our happy Succeſs and Victory. For as in a Body, when the Blood is freſh, the Spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational Faculties, and thoſe in the acuteſt and the perteſt Operations of Wit and Subtlety, it argues in what good Plight and Conſtitution the Body is, ſo when the Chearfulneſs of the People is ſo ſprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well it's own Freedom and Safety, but to ſpare and to beſtow upon the ſolideſt and ſublimeſt Points of Controverſy and new Invention, it betokens us not degenerated nor drooping to a fatal Decay, but caſting off the old and wrinkled Skin of Corruption to outlive theſe Pangs and wax Young again, entring the glorious Ways of Truth and proſperous Vertue deſtin'd to become Great and Honourable in theſe latter Ages. Methinks I ſee, in my Mind, a noble and puiſſant Nation rouſing her ſelf, like a ſtrong Man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible Locks: Methinks I ſee her as an Eagle mueing her mighty Youth, and kindling her undazl'd Eyes at the full mid-day Beam; purging and unſcaling her long abuſed Sight at the Fountain it ſelf of heavenly Radiance; while the whole Noiſe of timorous and flocking Birds, with thoſe alſo that love the Twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what ſhe means, and in their envious Gabble would prognoſticate a Year of Sects and Schiſms.

What ſhould ye do then ſhould ye ſuppreſs all this flow'ry Crop of Knowledg and new Light, ſprung up and yet ſpringing daily in this City, ſhould ye ſet an *Oligarchy* of twenty Ingroſſers over it, to bring a Famine upon our Minds again, when we ſhall know nothing but what is meaſur'd to us by their Buſhel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counſel ye to ſuch a ſuppreſſing, do as good as bid you ſuppreſs your ſelves; and I will ſoon ſhew how. If it be deſir'd to know the immediate Cauſe of all this free Writing and free Speaking, there cannot be aſſign'd a truer then your own mild and free and human Government; it is the Liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy Counſels have purchas'd us, Liberty which is the Nurſe of all great Wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlightn'd our Spirits like the Influence of Heaven; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our Apprehenſions, Degrees above themſelves. Ye cannot make us now leſs capable, leſs knowing, leſs eagerly purſuing of the Truth, unleſs ye firſt make your ſelves, that made us ſo, leſs the Lovers, leſs the Founders of our true Liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutiſh, formal and ſlaviſh, as ye found us; but you then muſt firſt become that which ye cannot be, oppreſſive, arbitrary and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our Hearts are now more capacious, our Thoughts now more erected to the Search and

Expectation

Expectation of greateſt and exacteſt Things, is the Iſſue of your own Vertue propagated in us; ye cannot ſuppreſs that unleſs ye re-inforce an abrogated and mercileſs Law, that Fathers may diſpatch at Will their own Children. And who ſhall then ſtick cloſeſt to ye, and excite others? Not he who takes up Arms for Coat and Conduct, and his four Nobles of *Danegelt*. Although I diſpraiſe not the Defence of juſt Immunities, yet love my Peace better, if that were all. Give me the Liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to Conſcience, above all Liberties.

What would be beſt adviſ'd then, if it be found ſo hurtful and ſo unequal to ſuppreſs Opinions for the Newneſs, or the Unſuitableneſs to a cuſtomary Acceptance, will not be my Task to ſay; I only ſhall repeat what I have learnt from one of your Honourable Number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not ſacrifis'd his Life and Fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now miſt and bewail'd a worthy and undoubted Patron of this Argument. Ye know him, I am ſure; yet I for Honours Sake, and may it be Eternal to him, ſhall Name him, the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Epiſcopacy, and by the way treating of Sects and Schiſms, left ye his Vote, or rather now the laſt Words of his dying Charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd Regard with ye, ſo full of Meekneſs and breathing Charity, that next to his laſt Teſtament, who bequeath'd Love and Peace to his Diſciples, I cannot call to Mind where I have read or heard Words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with Patience and Humility thoſe, however they be miſcall'd, that deſire to live purely, in ſuch a Uſe of Gods Ordinances as the beſt Guidance of their Conſcience gives them, and to tolerate them though in ſome Diſconformity to our ſelves. The Book it ſelf will tell us more at large, being publiſh'd to the World, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both for his Life and for his Death deſerves that what Advice he left be not laid by without Peruſal.

And now the Time in ſpecial is, by Priviledge to write and ſpeak what may help to the further Diſcuſſing of Matters in Agitation. The Temple of *Janus* with his two *Controverſal* Faces might now not inſignificantly be ſet open. And though all the Winds of Doctrin were let looſe to play upon the Earth, ſo Truth be in the Field we do injuriouſly by Licenſing and Prohibiting to miſdoubt her Strength. Let her and Falſhood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worſe in a free and open Encounter. Her Confuting is the beſt and ſureſt Suppreſſing. He who hears what Praying there is for Light and clear Knowledge to be ſent down among us, would think of other Matters to be conſtituted beyond the Diſciplin of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabrick'd already to our Hands. Yet when the new Light, which we beg for, ſhines in upon us, there be who envy and oppoſe, if it come not firſt in at their Caſements. What a Colluſion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wiſe Man to uſe Diligence, *to ſeek for Wiſdom as for hidd'n Treaſures* early and late, that another Order ſhall enjoyn us to know nothing but by Statute. When a Man hath been labouring the hardeſt Labour in the deep Mines of Knowledg, hath furniſh'd out his Findings in all their Equipage, drawn forth his Reaſons as it were a Battle rang'd, ſcatter'd and defeated all Objections in the Way, calls out his Adverſary into the Plain, offers him the Advantage of Wind and Sun, if he pleaſe; only that he may try the Matter by Dint of Argument, for his Opponents then to ſculk, to lay Ambuſhments, to keep a narrow Bridge of Licenſing where the Challenger muſt paſs, though it be Valour enough in Souldier-ſhip, is but Weakneſs and Cowardiſe in the Wars of Truth. For who knows not, that Truth is ſtrong next to the Almighty, ſhe needs no Policies nor Stratagems, nor Licenſings to make her victorious thoſe are the Shifts and the Defences that Errour uſes againſt her Power: Give her but Room, and do not bind her when ſhe ſleeps,

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for then ſhe ſpeaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who ſpake Oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather ſhe turns her ſelf into all Shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her Voice according to the Time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, until ſhe be adjur'd into her own Likeneſs. Yet is it not impoſſible that ſhe may have more Shapes then one. What elſe is all that Rank of Things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this Side or on the other, without being unlike her ſelf. What but a vain Shadow elſe is the Abolition of *thoſe Ordinances that Hand-writing nail'd to the Croſs*, what great Purchaſe is this Chriſtian Liberty which *Paul* ſo often boaſts of. His Doctrin is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a Day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other Things might be tolerated in Peace, and left to Conſcience, had we but Charity, and were it not the chief ſtrong Hold of our Hypocriſy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron Yoke of outward Conformity hath left a ſlaviſh Print upon our Necks; the Ghoſt of a linnen Decency yet haunts us. We ſtumble, and are impatient at the leaſt Dividing of one viſible Congregation from another, though it be not in Fundamentals; and through our Forwardneſs to ſuppreſs, and our Backwardneſs to recover any enthrall'd Piece of Truth out of the Gripe of Cuſtom, we care not to keep Truth ſeparated from Truth, which is the fierceſt Rent and Diſunion of all. We do not ſee that while we ſtill affect by all Means a rigid and external Formality, we may as ſoon fall again into a groſs conforming Stupidity, a ſtark and dead Congealment of *Wood and Hay and Stubble* forc'd and frozen together, which is more to the ſudden Degenerating of a Church than many *Subdichotomies* of petty Schiſms. Not that I can think well of every light Separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *Gold and Silver and precious Stones:* It is not poſſible for a Man to ſever the Wheat from the Tares, the good Fiſh from the other Fry; that muſt be the Angels Miniſtry at the End of mortal Things. Yet if all cannot be of one Mind, as who looks they ſhould be, this doubtleſs is more wholeſom, more prudent and more Chriſtian, that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery and open Superſtition, which as it extirpates all Religions and Civil Supremacies, ſo it ſelf ſhould be extirpate, provided firſt that all charitable and compaſſionate Means be us'd to win and regain the Weak and the Miſled: That alſo which is impious or evil abſolutely either againſt Faith or Manners, no Law can poſſibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it ſelf: but thoſe neighbouring Differences, or rather Indifferences, are what I ſpeak of, whether in ſome Point of Doctrin or of Diſciplin, which, though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the Unity of the Spirit*, if we could but find among us *the Bond of Peace*. In the mean while, if any one would write, and bring his helpful Hand to the ſlow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have ſpoken to him before others, or but ſeem'd at leaſt to ſpeak, who hath ſo *be-jeſuited* us, that we ſhould trouble that Man with asking Licence to do ſo worthy a Deed? And not conſider this, that if it come to Prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then Truth it ſelf; whoſe firſt Appearance to our Eyes blear'd and dimm'd with Prejudice and Cuſtom, is more unſightly and unplauſible then many Errors, even as the Perſon is of many a great Man, ſlight and contemptible to ſee to. And what do they tell us vainly of new Opinions, when this very Opinion of theirs, that none muſt be heard, but whom they like, is the worſt and neweſt Opinion of all others; and is the chief Cauſe, why Sects and Schiſms do ſo much abound, and true Knowledg is kept at Diſtance from us; beſides yet a greater Danger which is in it. For when God ſhakes a Kingdom with ſtrong and healthful Commotions to a general Reforming, 'tis not untrue that many Sectaries and falſe Teachers are then buſieſt in ſeducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raiſes to his own Work-men of rare Abilities and more then

common Induſtry not only to look back and reviſe what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and go on, ſome new enlighten'd Steps in the Diſcovery of Truth. For ſuch is the Order of Gods enlightning in his Church, to diſpenſe and deal out by Degrees his Beam, ſo as our earthly Eyes may beſt ſuſtain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what Place theſe his choſen ſhall be firſt heard to ſpeak, for he ſees not as a Man ſees, chooſes not as Man chooſes, leaſt we ſhould devote our ſelves again to ſet Places and Aſſemblies and outward Callings of Men; planting our Faith one while in the old Convocation Houſe, and another while in the Chappel at *Weſtminſter*; when all the Faith and Religion that ſhall be there Canoniz'd, is not ſufficient, without plain Convincement, and the Charity of patient Inſtruction to ſupple the leaſt Bruiſe of Conſcience, to edifie the meaneſt Chriſtian, who deſires to walk in the Spirit and not in the Letter of human Truſt, for all the Number of Voices that can be there made: No, though *Henry* the Seventh, himſelf there, with all his Leige Tombs about him, ſhould lend them Voices from the Dead, to ſwell their Number. And if the Men be Erroneous who appear to be the leading Schiſmatics, what with-holds us but our Sloth, our Self-will, and Diſtruſt in the right Cauſe, that we do not give them gentle Meetings and gentle Diſmiſſions, that we debate not and examin the Matter throughly with liberal and frequent Audience; if not for their ſakes, yet for our own? Seeing no Man who hath taſted Learning, but will confeſs the many ways of profiting by thoſe who not contented with ſtale Receits are able to manage and ſet forth new Poſitions to the World. And were they but as the Duſt and Cinders of our Feet, ſo long as in that Notion they may yet ſerve to poliſh and brighten the Armoury of Truth, even for that reſpect they were not utterly to be caſt away. But if they be of thoſe whom God hath fitted for the ſpecial Uſe of theſe Times, with eminent and ample Gifts, and thoſe perhaps neither among the Prieſts, nor among the Phariſees, and we in the haſte of a precipitant Zeal ſhall make no Diſtinction, but reſolve to ſtop their Mouths, becauſe we fear they come with new and dangerous Opinions, as we commonly forejudge them, ere we underſtand them, no leſs then Wo to us, while thinking thus to defend the Goſpel, we are found the Perſecutors.

There have been not a few ſince the begining of this Parliament, both of the *Presbytery* and others, who by their unlicens'd Books to the Contempt of an *Imprimatur*, firſt broke that triple Ice clung about our Hearts, and taught the People to ſee Day: I hope that none of thoſe were the Perſwaders, to renew upon us this Bondage which they themſelves have wrought ſo much Good by contemning. But if neither the Check that *Moſes* gave to young *Joſhua*, nor the Countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was ſo ready to prohibite thoſe whom he thought Unlicens'd, be not enough to admoniſh our Elders how unacceptable to God their teſty Mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own Rememberance what Evil hath abounded in the Church by this Lett of Licenſing and what Good they themſelves have begun by Tranſgreſſing it, be not enough; but that they will perſwade and execute the moſt *Dominican* Part of the Inquiſition over us, and are already with one foot in the Stirrup ſo active at ſuppreſſing, it would be no unequal Diſtribution in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the Suppreſſors themſelves; whom the Change of their Condition hath puft up, more then their late Experience of harder times hath made Wiſe.

And as for Regulating the Preſs, let no Man think to have the Honour of adviſing ye better then your ſelves have done in that Order publiſh'd next before this, that no Book be Printed, unleſs the Printers and the Authors Name, or at leaſt the Printers be regiſter'd. Thoſe which otherwiſe come forth, if they be found Miſchievous and Libellous, the Fire and

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the Executioner will be the timelieſt and the moſt effectual Remedy, that Mans Prevention can uſe. For this *Authentic Spaniſh* Policy of Licenſing Books, if I have ſaid ought, will prove the moſt unlicens'd Book it ſelf within a ſhort while; and was the immediate Image of a Star-chamber Decree to that purpoſe made in thoſe very Times, when that Court did the reſt of thoſe her pious Works, for which ſhe is now fallen from the Stars with *Lucifer*. Whereby ye may gueſs what kind of State Prudence, what Love of the People, what Care of Religion, or good Manners, there was at the contriving, although with ſingular Hypocriſy it pretended to bind Books to their good Behaviour. And how it got the upper Hand of your precedent Order ſo well conſtituted before, if we may believe thoſe Men whoſe Profeſſion gives them Cauſe to enquire moſt, it may be doubted there was in it the Fraud of ſome old *Patentees* and *Monopolizers* in the Trade of *Book-ſelling*; who, under Pretence of the Poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the juſt retaining of each Man his ſeveral Copy, which God forbid ſhould be gainſaid, brought divers gloſing Colours to the Houſe, which were indeed but Colours, and ſerving to no End except it be to exerciſe a Superiority over their Neighbours, Men who do not therefore labour in an honeſt Profeſſion to which Learning is indebted, that they ſhould be made other Mens Vaſſals. Another End is thought was aim'd at by ſome of them in procuring by Petition this Order, that having Power in their Hands, malignant Books might the eaſier ſcape abroad, as the Event ſhews. But of theſe *Sophiſms* and *Elenchs* of Merchandize I skill not: This I know, that Errors in a good Government and in a bad are equally almoſt incident; for what Magiſtrate may not be miſ-inform'd, and much the ſooner, if Liberty of Printing be reduc'd into the Power of a few; but to redreſs willingly and ſpeedily what hath been erred, and in higheſt Authority to eſteem a plain Advertiſement more then others have done a ſumptuous Bribe, is a Vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) anſwerable to Your higheſt Actions, and whereof none can participate but greateſt and wiſeſt Men.

The E N D.

THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES:

PROVING,

That it is *Lawful*, and hath been held ſo through all *Ages*, for any, who have the *Power* to call to account a *Tyrant*, or wicked *K I N G*, and after due Conviction, to depoſe and put him to Death; if the ordinary *MAGISTRATE* have neglected, or deny'd to do it.

And that they, who, of late, ſo much blame *Depoſing*, are the Men that did it themſelves.

Publiſhed now the ſecond Time with ſome Additions, *and many* Teſtimonies *alſo added out of the beſt and learnedeſt among* Proteſtants *Divines aſſerting the Poſition of this Book.*

The Author *J. MILTON.*

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THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES.

IF Men within themſelves would be govern'd by Reaſon, and not generally give up their Underſtanding to a double Tyranny, of Cuſtom from without, and blind Affections within, they would diſcern better, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation. But being Slaves within doors, no wonder that they ſtrive ſo much to have the Public State conformably govern'd to the inward vitious Rule, by which they govern themſelves. For indeed none can love Freedom heartily, but good Men; the reſt love not Freedom, but Licence; which never hath more Scope or more Indulgence then under Tyrants. Hence is it, that Tyrants are not oft offended, nor ſtand much in doubt of bad Men, as being all naturally Servile; but in whom Vertue and true Worth moſt is Eminent, them they fear in earneſt, as by Right their Maſters, againſt them lies all their Hatred and Suſpicion. Conſequently neither do bad Men hate Tyrants, but have been always readieſt with the falſify'd Names of *Loyalty* and *Obedience*, to colour over their baſe Compliances. And although ſomtimes for ſhame, and when it comes to their own Grievances, of Purſe eſpecially, they would ſeem good *Patriots*, and ſide with the better Cauſe, yet when others for the Deliverance of their Country, endu'd with Fortitude and Heroic Vertue to fear nothing but the Curſe written againſt thoſe, *That do the Work of the Lord negligently*, would go on to remove, not only the Calamities and Thraldoms of a People, but the Roots and Cauſes whence they ſpring, ſtreight theſe Men and ſure Helpers at need, as if they hated only the Miſeries but not the Miſchiefs, after they have juggl'd and palter'd with the World, bandied and born Arms againſt their King, deveſted him, diſanointed him, nay, curs'd him all over in their Pulpits and their Pamphlets, to the ingaging of ſincere and real Men, beyond what is Poſſible or Honeſt to retreat from, not only turn Revolters from thoſe Principles, which only could at firſt move them, but lay the Stain of Diſloyalty and worſe, on thoſe Proceedings, which are the neceſſary Conſequences of their own former Actions; nor diſlik'd by themſelves, were they manag'd to the intire Advantages of their own Faction; not conſidering the while that he toward whom they boaſted their new Fidelity, counted them acceſſory; and by thoſe Statutes and Laws which they ſo impotently brandiſh againſt others, would have doom'd them to a Traytors Death, for what they have done already. 'Tis true, that moſt Men are apt enough to Civil Wars and Commotions as a Novelty, and for a Flaſh hot and active; but through Sloth or Inconſtancy and Weakneſs of Spirit either fainting, e're their own Pretences, though never ſo juſt, be half attain'd, or through an inbred Falſhood and Wickedneſs, betray oft-times to Deſtruction with themſelves, Men

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of noblest Temper joyn'd with them for Causes, whereof they in their rash Undertakings were not capable.

If God and a good Cause give them Victory, the Prosecution whereof for the most Part, inevitably draws after it the Alteration of Laws, Chang of Government, Downfal of Princes with their Families; then comes the Task to those Worthies which are the Soul of that Enterprize, to be swett and labour'd out amidst the Throng and Noises of Vulgar and Irrational Men. Some contesting for Privileges, Customs, Forms and that old Entanglement of Iniquity, their Gibrish Laws, though the Badge of their ancient Slavery. Others, who have been fiercest against their Prince, under the Notion of a Tyrant, and no mean Incendiaries of the War against him, when God out of his Providence and high Disposal hath deliver'd him into the Hand of their Brethren, on a suddain and in a new Garb of Allegiance, which their Doings have long since cancell'd; they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing him to the Tryal of Justice, which is the Sword of God, superiour to all mortal Things, in whose hand soever by apparent Signs his testified Will is to put it. But certainly, if we consider who and what they are, on a suddain grown so pitiful, we may conclude, their Pity can be no True and Christian Commiseration, but either Levity and Shallowness of Mind, or else a carnal admiring of that worldly Pomp and Greatness, from whence they see him fall'n; or rather *Lastly* a dissembl'd and seditious Pity, fain'd of Industry to beget new Discord. As for Mercy, if it be to a Tyrant, under which Name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of Angels, and the holy Church assembl'd, and there charg'd him with the spilling of more innocent Blood by far then ever *Nero* did, undoubtedly the Mercy which they pretend, is the Mercy of wicked Men; and their Mercies, we read are Cruelties; hazarding the Welfare of a whole Nation, to have sav'd one, whom so oft they have term'd *Agag*; and vilifying the Blood of many *Jonathans*, that have sav'd *Israel*; insisting with much Niceness on the unnecessariest Clause of their Covenant wrested, wherein the Fear of Change, and the absurd Contradiction of a flattering Hostility had hamper'd them, but not scrupling to give a way for Complements, to an implacable Revenge, the Heads of many thousand Christians more.

Another Sort there is, who coming in the Course of these Affairs, to have their share in great Actions, above the Form of Law or Custom, at least to give their Voice and Approbation, begin to swerve, and almost shiver at the Majesty and Grandeur of some noble Deed, as if they were newly enter'd into a great Sin; disputing Presidents, Forms and Circumstances, when the Commonwealth nigh perishes for want of Deeds in Substance, done with just and faithful Expedition. To these I wish better Instruction, and Vertue equal to their Calling; the former of which, that is to say, Instruction, I shall endeavour, as my Duty is, to bestow on them; and exhort them not to startle from the just and pious Resolution of adhering with all their Strength and Assistance to the present Parliament and Army, in the glorious Way wherein Justice and Victory hath set them; the only Warrants, through all Ages, next under immediate Revelation, to exercise Supreme Power in those Proceedings, which hitherto appear equal to what hath been done in any Age or Nation heretofore justly or magnanimously. Nor let them be discourag'd or deterr'd by any new Apostate Scare-crows, who under Shew of giving Counsel, send out their barking Monitories and *Memento*'s, empty of ought else but the Spleen of a frustrated Faction. For how can that pretended Counsel be either sound or faithful, when they that give it, see not for Madness and Vexation of their Ends lost, that those Statutes and Scriptures which both falsly and scandalously they wrest against their Friends and Associates, would by Sentence of the common Adversary fall

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firſt and heavieſt upon their own Heads. Neither let mild and tender Diſpoſitions be fooliſhly ſoftn'd from their Duty and Perſeverance, with the unmaſculine *Rhetorie* of any puling Prieſt or Chaplain, ſent as a friendly Letter of Advice, for Faſhion ſake in private, and forthwith publiſh'd by the Sender himſelf, that we may know how much of Friend there was in it, to caſt an odious Envy upon them to whom it was pretended to be ſent in Charity. Nor let any Man be deluded by either the Ignorance or the notorious Hypocriſy and Self-repugnance of our dancing Divines, who have the Conſcience and the Boldneſs to come with Scripture in their Mouths, gloſs'd and fitted for their Turns with a double Contradictory Senſe, transforming the ſacred Verity of God to an Idol with two Faces, looking at once two ſeveral Ways; and with the ſame Quotations to charge others, which in the ſame Caſe they made ſerve to juſtify themſelves. For while the Hope to be made Claſſic and Provincial Lords led them on, while Pluralities greas'd them thick and deep, to the Shame and Scandal of Religion, more then all the Sects and Hereſies they exclaim againſt, then to fight againſt the Kings Perſon, and no leſs a Party of his Lords and Commons, or to put Force upon both the Houſes, was good, was lawful, was no Reſiſting of Superior Powers; they only were Powers not to be reſiſted, who countenanc'd the Good and puniſh'd the Evil. But now that their cenſorious Domineering is not ſuffer'd to be univerſal, Truth and Conſcience to be freed, Tithes and Pluralities to be no more, though competent Allowance provided, and the warm Experience of large Gifts, and they ſo good at taking them; yet now to exclude and ſeize upon impeach'd Members, to bring Delinquents without Exemption to a fair Tribunal by the common National Law againſt Murther, is now to be no leſs then *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. He who but erewhile in the Pulpits was a curſed Tyrant, an Enemy to God and Saints, laden with all the innocent Blood ſpilt in three Kingdoms, and ſo to be fought againſt, is now, though nothing penitent or alter'd from his firſt Principles, a Lawful Magiſtrate, a Sovereign Lord, the Lords Anointed, not to be touch'd, though by themſelves impriſon'd. As if this only were Obedience, to preſerve the meer uſeleſs Bulk of his Perſon, and that only in Priſon, not in the Field, and to diſobey his Commands, deny him his Dignity and Office, every where to reſiſt his Power, but where they think it only ſurviving in their own Faction.

But who in particular is a Tyrant cannot be determin'd in a general Diſcourſe, otherwiſe then by Suppoſition; his particular Charge, and the ſufficient Proof of it muſt determin in that: Which I leave to Magiſtrates, at leaſt to the uprighter Sort of them, and of the People, though in Number leſs by many, in whom Faction leaſt hath prevail'd above the Law of Nature and right Reaſon, to judge as they find Cauſe. But this I dare own as Part of my Faith, that if ſuch a one there be, by whoſe Commiſſion whole Maſſacres have been committed on his faithful Subjects, his Provinces offer'd to Pawn or Alienation, as the Hire of thoſe whom he had ſolicited to come in and deſtroy whole Cities and Countries; be he King, or Tyrant, or Emperour, the Sword of Juſtice is above him; in whoſe Hand ſoever is found ſufficient Power to avenge the Effuſion, and ſo great a Deluge of innocent Blood. For if all human Power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the Wrath of God upon Evil-doers without Exception, be of God; then that Power, whether ordinary, or if that fail, extraordinary, ſo executing that Intent of God is Lawful, and not to be reſiſted. But to unfold more at large this whole Queſtion, though with all expedient Brevity, I ſhall here ſet down from firſt Beginning the Original of Kings; how and wherefore exalted to that Dignity above their Brethren; and from thence ſhall prove, that turning to Tyranny they may be as lawfully depos'd and puniſh'd, as they were at firſt elected: This I ſhall do by Authorities

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and Reaſons, not learnt in Corners among Schiſms and Hereſies, as our doubling Divines are ready to calumniate, but fetch'd out of the midſt of Choiceſt and moſt authentic Learning, and no prohibited Authors, nor many *Heathen*, but *Moſaical*, *Chriſtian*, *Orthodoxal*, and which muſt needs be more convincing to our Adverſaries, *Presbyterial*.

No Man who knows ought, can be ſo ſtupid to deny that all Men naturally were born Free, being the Image and Reſemblance of God himſelf, and were by Privilege above all the Creatures, born to command and not to obey: And that they lived ſo. Till from the Root of *Adam's* Tranſgreſſion, falling among themſelves to do Wrong and Violence, and foreſeeing that ſuch Courſes muſt needs tend to the Deſtruction of them all, they agreed by common League to bind each other from mutual Injury, and joyntly to defend themſelves againſt any that gave Diſturbance or Oppoſition to ſuch Agreement. Hence came Cities, Towns and Common-wealths. And becauſe no Faith in all was found ſufficiently binding, they ſaw it needful to ordain ſome Authority, that might reſtrain by Force and Puniſhment what was violated againſt Peace and common Right. This Authority and Power of Self-defence and Preſervation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all, for Eaſe, for Order, and leaſt each Man ſhould be his own partial Judge, they communicated and derived either to one, whom for the Eminence of his Wiſdom and Integrity they choſe above the reſt, or to more then one whom they thought of equal deſerving: The firſt was called a King; the other Magiſtrates. Not to be their Lords and Maſters (though afterward thoſe Names in ſome Places were given voluntarily to ſuch as had been Authors of ineſtimable good to the People) but, to be their Deputies and Commiſſioners, to execute, by vertue of their intruſted Power, that Juſtice which elſe every Man by the Bond of Nature and of Covenant muſt have executed for himſelf and for one another. And to him that ſhall conſider well why among free Perſons, one Man by Civil Right ſhould bear Authority and Juriſdiction over another, no other End or Reaſon can be imaginable. Theſe for a while Govern'd well, and with much Equity decided all Things at their own Arbitrement; till the Temptation of ſuch a Power left abſolute in their Hands, perverted them at length to Injuſtice and Partiality. Then did they, who now by Tryal had found the Danger and Inconveniences of committing Arbitrary Power to any, invent Laws either framed, or conſented to by all, that ſhould confine and limit the Authority of whom they choſe to govern them: That ſo Man, of whoſe failing they had Proof, might no more rule over them, but Law and Reaſon abſtracted as much as might be from perſonal Errors and Frailties. While as the Magiſtrate was ſet above the People, ſo the Law was ſet above the Magiſtrate. When this would not ſerve, but that the Law was either not executed, or miſapply'd, they were conſtrain'd from that Time, the only Remedy left them, to put Conditions and take Oaths from all Kings and Magiſtrates at their firſt Inſtalment to do impartial Juſtice by Law: Who, upon thoſe Terms and no other, received Allegiance from the People, that is to ſay, Bond or Covenant to obey them in Execution of thoſe Laws which they the People had themſelves made, or aſſented to. And this oft-times with expreſs Warning, that if the King or Magiſtrate prov'd unfaithful to his Truſt, the People would be diſingaged. They added alſo Counſelors and Parliaments, nor to be only at his beck, but with him or without him, at ſet Times, or at all Times, when any danger threatn'd to have Care of the public Safety. Therefore ſaith *Claudius Seſſel*, a *French* Stateſmen, *The Parliament was ſet as a Bridle to the King*; which I inſtance rather, not becauſe our *Engliſh* Lawyers have not ſaid the ſame long before, but becauſe that *French* Monarchy is granted by all to be a far more abſolute then ours. That this and the reſt of what hath hitherto

therto been ſpoken is moſt true, might be copiouſly made appear throughout all Stories, Heathen and Chriſtian; even of thoſe Nations where Kings and Emperours have ſought Means to aboliſh all ancient Memory of the Peoples Right by their Encroachments and Uſurpations. But I ſpare long Inſertions, appealing to the known Conſtitutions of both the lateſt Chriſtian Empires in *Europe*, the *Greek* and *German*, beſides the *French*, *Italian*, *Arragonian*, *Engliſh*, and not leaſt, the *Scottiſh* Hiſtories: Not forgetting this only by the way, that *William* the *Norman*, though a Conqueror, and not unſworn at his Coronation, was compell'd the ſecond Time to take Oath at St. *Albans*, e're the People would be brought to yeild Obedience.

It being thus manifeſt that the Power of Kings and Magiſtrates is nothing elſe, but what is only derivative, transferred and committed to them in Truſt from the People, to the Common Good of them all, in whom the Power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them without a Violation of their natural Birthright, and ſeeing that from hence *Ariſtotle* and the beſt of *Political* Writers have defined a King, him who Governs to the Good and Profit of his People, and not for his own Ends, it follows from neceſſary Cauſes, that the Titles of Sovereign Lords, Natural Lord and the like, are either Arrogancies or Flatteries, not admitted by Emperours and Kings of beſt Note, and diſlik'd by the Church both of *Jews*, *Iſa.* 26. 13. and Ancient *Chriſtians*, as appears by *Tertullian* and others. Although generally the People of *Aſia*, and with them the *Jews* alſo, eſpecially ſince the Time they choſe a King againſt the Advice and Counſel of God, are noted by wiſe Authors much inclinable to Slavery.

Secondly, that to ſay, as is uſual, the King hath as good Right to his Crown and Dignity, as any Man to his Inheritance, is to make the Subject no better then the Kings Slave, his Chattel, or his Poſſeſſion that may be Bought and Sold. And doubtleſs, if Hereditary Title were ſufficiently inquir'd, the beſt Foundation of it would be found either but in Courteſy or Convenience. But ſuppoſe it to be of right Hereditary, what can be more Juſt and Legal, if a Subject for certain Crimes be to forfeit by Law from himſelf and Poſterity, all his Inheritance to the King, then that a King for Crimes proportional, ſhould forfeit all his Title and Inheritance to the People: Unleſs the People muſt be thought Created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one Body inferior to him ſingle, which were a kind of Treaſon againſt the Dignity of Mankind to affirm.

Thirdly, it follows, that to ſay Kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all Law and Government. For if they may refuſe to give Account, then all Covenants made with them at Coronation; all Oaths are in vain, and meer Mockeries, all Laws which they ſwear to keep, made to no purpoſe; for if the King fear not God, as how many of them do not? We hold then our Lives and Eſtates, by the Tenure of his meer Grace and Mercy, as from a God, not a mortal Magiſtrate, a Poſition that none but Court Paraſites or Men beſotted would maintain. *Ariſtotle* therefore, whom we commonly allow for one of the beſt Interpreters of Nature and Morality, writes in the fourth of his *Policies Chap.* 10. that Monarchy unaccountable, is the worſt Sort of Tyranny; and leaſt of all to be endur'd by free born Men. And ſurely no Chriſtian Prince, not drunk with high Mind, and prouder then thoſe Pagan *Cæſars* that deifi'd themſelves, would arrogate ſo unreaſonably above human Condition, or derogate ſo baſely from a whole Nation of Men his Brethren, as if for him only ſubſiſting and toſerve his Glory; valuing them in compariſon of his own brute Will and Pleaſure, no more then ſo many Beaſts or Vermin under his Feet, not to be reaſon'd with, but to be trod on; among whom there might be found ſo many thouſand Men for Wiſdom, Vertue, Nobleneſs of Mind,

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and all other reſpects; but the Fortune of his Dignity, far above him. Yet ſome would perſwade us, that this abſurd Opinion was King *Davids*; becauſe in the 51 *Pſalm* he cries out to God, *Againſt thee only have I ſinned*; as if *David* had Imagin'd that to murder *Uriah* and Adulterate his Wife, had been no Sin againſt his Neighbour, whenas that Law of *Moſes* was to the King expreſly, *Deut.* 17. not to think ſo highly of himſelf above his Brethren. *David* therefore by thoſe Words could mean no other, then either that the Depth of his Guiltineſs was known to God only, or to ſo few as had not the Will or Power to queſtion him, or that the Sin againſt God was greater beyond Compare then againſt *Uriah*.

What ever his Meaning were, any wiſe Man will ſee, that the pathetical Words of a *Pſalm* can be no certain Deciſion to a Point that hath abundantly more certain Rules to go by. How much more rationally ſpake the Heathen King *Demophoon* in a Tragedy of *Euripides* then theſe Interpreters would put upon King *David*, *I rule not my People by Tyranny, as if they were Barbarians; but am my ſelf lyable, if I do unjuſtly, to ſuffer Juſtly.* Not unlike was the Speech of *Trajan*, the worthy Emperor, to one whom he made General of his Prætorian Forces. Take this drawn Sword, ſaith he, to uſe for me, if I reign well, if not to uſe againſt me. Thus *Dion* relates. And not *Trajan* only; but *Theodoſius* the younger, a Chriſtian Emperor and one of the beſt, caus'd it to be Enacted as a Rule undeniable and fit to be acknowledg'd by all Kings and Emperors, that a Prince is bound to the Laws; that on the Authority of Law, the Authority of a Prince depends, and to the Laws ought ſubmit. Which Edict of his remains yet in the *Code* of *Juſtinian. l.* 1. *tit.* 24. as a ſacred Conſtitution to all the ſucceeding Emperors. How then can any King in *Europe* maintain and write himſelf accountable to none but God, when Emperors in their own imperial Statutes have written and decreed themſelves accountable to Law. And indeed where ſuch Account is not fear'd, he that bids a Man reign over him above Law, may bid as well a Savage Beaſt.

It follows *Laſtly*, that ſince the King or Magiſtrate holds his Authority of the People, both Originally and Naturally for their Good in the firſt Place, and not his own, then may the People as oft as they ſhall judge it for the beſt, either chooſe him or reject him, retain him or depoſe him though no Tyrant, meerly by the Liberty and Right of Free born Men, to be govern'd as ſeems to them beſt. This, though it cannot but ſtand with plain Reaſon, ſhall be made good alſo by Scripture. *Deut.* 17. 14. *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt ſay I will ſet a King over me, like as all the Nations about me.* Theſe Words comfirm us, that the Right of chooſing, yea of changing their own Government is by the Grant of God himſelf in the People. And therefore when they deſir'd a King, though then under another Form of Goverment, and though their changing diſpleas'd him, yet he that was himſelf their King, and rejected by them, would not be a Hindrance to what they intended, further then by Perſwaſion; but that they might do therein as they ſaw Good, 1 *Sam.* 8. only he reſerv'd to himſelf the Nomination of who ſhould reign over them. Neither did that exempt the King, as if he were to God only accountable, though by his eſpecial Command anointed. Therefore *David, firſt made a Cov'nant with the Elders of* Iſrael, *and ſo was by them anointed King*, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. 1 *Chron.* 11. And *Jehoiada* the Prieſt making *Jehoaſh* King, made a Cov'nant between him and the People, 2 *Kings* 11. 17. Therefore when *Roboam* at his coming to the Crown, rejected thoſe Conditions which the *Iſraelites* brought him, hear what they anſwer him, *What Portion have we in* David, *or Inheritance in the Son of* Jeſſe? *See to thine own Houſe* David. And for the like Conditions not perform'd, all *Iſrael* before that time depos'd *Samuel*; not for his own Default; but for the Miſgovernment of his Sons. But ſome will

say to both these Examples, it was evilly done. I answer, that not the latter, because it was expressly allow'd them in the Law to set up a King if they pleas'd; and God himself joyn'd with them in the work; though in some sort it was at that time displeasing to him, in respect of old *Samuel*, who had govern'd them uprightly. As *Livy* praises the *Romans*, who took occasion from *Tarquinius* a wicked Prince to gain their Liberty, which to have extorted, saith he, from *Numa*, or any of the good Kings before, had not been seasonable. Nor was it in the former Example done unlawfully; for when *Roboam* had prepar'd a huge Army to reduce the *Israelites*, he was forbidd'n by the Prophet, 1 *Kings* 12. 24. *Thus saith the Lord ye shall not go up, nor fight against your Brethren, for this Thing is from me.* He calls them their Brethren, not Rebels, and forbids to be proceeded against them, owning the Thing himself, not by single Providence; but by Approbation, and that not only of the Act, as in the former Example; but of the fit Season also; he had not otherwise forbid to molest them. And those grave and wise Counselors whom *Rehoboam* first advis'd with, spake no such Thing, as our old gray headed Flatterers now are wont, stand upon your Birth-right, scorn to capitulate, you hold of God, not of them; for they knew no such Matter, unless conditionally; but gave him politic Councel, as in a Civil Transaction. Therefore Kingdom and Magistracy, whether Supreme or Subordinate, is without difference, call'd *a human Ordinance*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. &c. Which we are there taught is the Will of God we should alike submit to, so far as for the Punishment of Evil Doers and the Encouragement of them that do Well. *Submit* saith he, *as free Men.* But to any Civil Power Unaccountable, Unquestionable and not to be resisted, no not in Wickedness and violent Actions, how can we submit as free Men? *There is no Power but of God*, saith *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. as much as to say, God put it into Mans Heart to find out that way at first for Common Peace and Preservation, approving the Exercise thereof; else it contradicts *Peter* who calls the same Authority an Ordinance of Man. It must be also understood of lawful and just Power, else we read of great Power in the Affairs and Kingdoms of the World permitted to the Devil: For, saith he, to Christ, *Luke*, 4. 6. *All this Power will I give thee and the Glory of them, for it is delivered to me and to whomsoever I will, I give it*: Neither did he lie, or Christ gainsay what he affirm'd; for in the thirteenth of the *Revelation* we read how the Dragon gave to the Beast *his Power, his Seat and great Authority*: Which Beast so authoriz'd most expound to be the Tyranical Powers and Kingdoms of the Earth. Therefore Saint *Paul* in the forecited Chapter tells us, that such Magistrates he means, as are, not a Terror to the Good but to the Evil; such as bear not the Sword in vain; but to punish Offenders, and to encourage the Good. If such only be mentioned here as Powers to be obey'd and our Submission to them only requir'd, then doubtless those Powers that do the contrary, are no Powers Ordain'd of God, and by consequence no Obligation laid upon us to obey or not to resist them. And it may be well observ'd, that both these Apostles, whenever they give this Precept, express it in terms not *concrete* but *abstract*, as *Logicians* are wont to speak, that is, they mention the Ordinance, the Power, the Authority before the Persons that execute it; and what that Power is, least we should be deceiv'd, they describe exactly. So that if the Power be not such, or the Person execute not such Power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the Devil and by consequence to be resisted. From this Exposition *Chrysostom* also on the same Place dissents not; explaining that these Words were not written in behalf of a Tyrant. And this is verify'd by *David* himself a King and likeliest to be the Author of the *Psalm* 94. 20. which saith, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have Fellowship with thee?* And it were worth the knowing, since Kings in these days and that by Scripture, boast the Justness of their Title,

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by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot ſhow the Time when God ever ſet on the Throne them or their Forefathers, but only when the People choſe them, why, by the ſame Reaſon, ſince God aſcribes as oft to himſelf the caſting down of Princes from the Throne, it ſhould not be thought as Lawful, and as much from God, when none are ſeen to do it but the People, and that for juſt Cauſes. For if it needs muſt be a Sin in them to Depoſe, it may as likely be a Sin to have Elected. And contrary, if the Peoples Act in Election be pleaded by a King, as the Act of God, and the moſt juſt Title to Enthrone him, why may not the Peoples Act of Rejection, be as well pleaded by the People as the Act of God, and the moſt juſt Reaſon to Depoſe him? So that we ſee the Title and juſt Right of Reigning or Depoſing, in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; viſible only in the People, and depending meerly upon Juſtice and Demerit. Thus far hath been conſider'd briefly the Power of Kings and Magiſtrates; how it was and is Originally the Peoples, and by them conferr'd in Truſt only to be imploy'd to the common Peace and Benefit; with Liberty therefore and Right remaining in them to reaſſume it to themſelves, if by Kings or Magiſtrates it be abus'd; or to diſpoſe of it by any Alteration, as they ſhall judg moſt conducing to the public Good.

We may from hence with more eaſe and force of Argument determin, what a Tyrant is, and what the People may do againſt him. A Tyrant whether by Wrong or by Right coming to the Crown, is he who regarding neither Law nor the common Good, reigns only for himſelf and his Faction: Thus St. *Baſil* among others defines him. And becauſe his Power is great, his Will boundleſs and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the moſt Part accompanied with innumerable Wrongs and Oppreſſions of the People, Murthers, Maſſacres, Rapes, Adulteries, Deſolation and Subverſion of Cities and whole Provinces, look how great a Good and Happineſs a Juſt King is, ſo great a Miſcheif is a Tyrant; as he the public Father of his Country, ſo this the common Enemy. Againſt whom what the People lawfully may do, as againſt a common Peſt and Deſtroyer of Mankind, I ſuppoſe no Man of clear Judgment need go further to be guided then by the very Principles of Nature in him. But becauſe it is the vulgar Folly of Men to deſert their own Reaſon, and ſhutting their Eyes to think they ſee beſt with other Mens, I ſhall ſhew by ſuch Examples as ought to have moſt Weight with us, what hath been done in this Caſe heretofore. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, as their prime Authors witneſs, held it not only Lawful, but a Glorious and Heroic Deed, rewarded publicly with Statues and Garlands, to kill an infamous Tyrant at any time without Tryal: And but Reaſon, that he who trod down all Law, ſhould not be vouchſafed the Benefit of Law. Inſomuch that *Seneca* the *Tragedian* brings in *Hercules* the grand Suppreſſor of Tyrants, thus ſpeaking,

——Victima haud ulla amplior
Poteſt, magiſque Opima mactari Jovi
Quam Rex iniquus——————
——There can be ſlain
No Sacrifice to God more acceptable
Then an unjuſt and wicked King——

But of theſe I name no more, leſt it be objected they were *Heathen*; and come to produce another Sort of Men that had the Knowledg of true Religion. Among the *Jews* this Cuſtom of Tyrant-killing was not unuſual. *Firſt*, *Ehud*, a Man whom God had raiſed to deliver *Iſrael* from *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who had conquered and ruled over them eighteen Years,

being ſent to him as an Ambaſſador with a Preſent, ſlew him in his own Houſe. But he was a Foreign Prince, an Enemy, and *Ehud* beſides had ſpecial Warrant from God. To the firſt I anſwer, it imports not whether Foreign or Native: For no Prince ſo Native but profeſſes to hold by Law; which when he himſelf overturns, breaking all the Covenants and Oaths that gave him Title to his Dignity, and were the Bond and Alliance between him and his People, what differs he from an outlandiſh King, or from an Enemy? For look how much Right the King of *Spain* hath to govern us at all, ſo much Right hath the King of *England* to govern us Tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any League, coming from *Spain* in Perſon to ſubdue us or to deſtroy us, might lawfully by the People of *England* either be ſlain in Fight, or put to death in Captivity, what hath a Native King to plead, bound by ſo many Covenants, Benefits and Honours to the Welfare of his People, why he, through the Contempt of all Laws and Parliaments, the only Tie of our Obedience to him, for his own Wills ſake, and a boaſted Prerogative unaccountable, after ſeven Years warring and deſtroying of his beſt Subjects, overcome and yeilded Priſoner, ſhould think to ſcape unqueſtionable, as a thing Divine, in reſpect of whom ſo many thouſand Chriſtians deſtroy'd, ſhould lie unaccounted for, polluting with their ſlaughter'd Carcaſſes all the Land over, and crying for Vengeance againſt the living that ſhould have righted them. Who knows not that there is a mutual Bond of Amity and Brother-hood between Man and Man over all the World, neither is it the *Engliſh* Sea that can ſever us from that Duty and Relation: A ſtraighter Bond yet there is between Fellow-Subjects, Neighbours and Friends: But when any of theſe do one to another ſo as Hoſtility could do no worſe, what doth the Law decree leſs againſt them, then open Enemies and Invaders? Or if the Law be not Preſent or too Weak, what doth it Warrant us to leſs then Single Defence or Civil War? And from that time forward the Law of Civil Defenſive War, differs nothing from the Law of Foreign Hoſtility. Nor is it Diſtance of Place that makes Enmity, but Enmity that makes Diſtance. He therefore that keeps Peace with me, near or remote, of whatſoever Nation, is to me as far as all Civil and Human Offices an *Engliſh*-Man and a Neighbour: But if an *Engliſh*-Man forgetting all Laws, Human, Civil and Religious, offend againſt Life and Liberty, to him offended and to the Law in his behalf, though born in the ſame Womb, he is no better then a *Turk*, a *Sarazen*, a *Heathen*. This is Goſpel, and this was ever Law among Equals; how much rather then in Force againſt any King whatever, who in reſpect of the People is confeſſed Inferior and not Equal: To diſtinguiſh therefore of a Tyrant by Outlandiſh or Domeſtic is a weak Evaſion. To the Second that he was an Enemy, I anſwer, what Tyrant is not? Yet *Eglon* by the *Jews* had been acknowledg'd as their Sovereign; they had ſerv'd him eighteen Years, as long almoſt as we our *William* the Conqueror, in all which Time he could not be ſo unwiſe a Stateſman but to have taken of them Oaths of Fealty and Allegeance, by which they made themſelves his proper Subjects, as their Homage and Preſent ſent by *Ehud* teſtify'd. To the Third, that he had ſpecial Warrant to kill *Eglon* in that Manner, it cannot be granted, becauſe not expreſſed; 'tis plain, that he was raiſed by God to be a Deliverer, and went on juſt Principles, ſuch as were then and ever held allowable, to deal ſo by a Tyrant that could no otherwiſe be deal'd with. Neither did *Samuel*, though a *Prophet*, with his own Hand abſtain from *Agag*; a Foreign Enemy no doubt; but mark the Reaſon. *As thy Sword hath made Women Childleſs*; a Cauſe that by the Sentence of Law it ſelf nullifies all Relations. And as the Law is between Brother and Brother, Father and Son, Maſter and Servant, wherefore not between King or rather Tyrant and People? And whereas *Jehu* had ſpecial Command to ſlay *Jehoram* a Succeſſive and Hereditary

ditary Tyrant, it seems not the less imitable for that; for where a Thing grounded so much on natural Reason, hath the Addition of a Command from God, what does it but establish the Lawfulness of such an Act. Nor is it likely that God who had so many Ways of punishing the House of *Ahab*, would have sent a Subject against his Prince, if the Fact in it self, as done to a Tyrant, had been of bad Example. And if *David* refus'd to lift his Hand against the Lords anointed, the Matter between them was not Tyranny, but private Enmity, and *David* as a private Person had been his own Revenger, not so much the Peoples. But when any Tyrant at this Day can shew to be the Lords Anointed, the only mention'd Reason why *David* withheld his Hand, he may then, but not till then, presume on the same Priviledg.

We may pass therefore hence to Christian Times. And first our Saviour himself, how much he favour'd Tyrants, and how much intended they should be found or honour'd among Christians, declares his Mind not obscurely; accounting their absolute Authority no better then *Gentilism*, yea though they flourish'd it over with the splendid Name of Benefactors; charging those that would be his Disciples to usurp no such Dominion; but that they, who were to be of most Authority among them, should esteem themselves Ministers and Servants to the Public. *Mat.* 20. 25. *The Princes of the* Gentiles *exercise Lordship over them.* and *Mark* 10. 42. *They that seem to rule*, saith he, either slighting or accounting them no lawful Rulers, *but ye shall not be so, but the greatest among you shall be your Servant.* And although he himself were the meekest, and came on Earth to be so, yet to a Tyrant we hear him not vouchsafe an humble Word; but, *Tell that Fox, Luke* 13. [So far we ought to be from thinking, that Christ and his Gospel should be made a Sanctuary for Tyrants from Justice, to whom his Law before never gave such Protection.] And wherefore did his Mother, the Virgin Mary, give such Praise to God in her Prophetic Song, that he had now by the Coming of Christ, *Cut down* Dynasta's *or proud Monarchs from the Throne*, if the Church, when God manifests his Power in them to do so, should rather choose all Misery and Vassalage to serve them, and let them still sit on their potent Seats to be ador'd for doing Mischief. Surely it is not for nothing, that Tyrants by a kind of natural Instinct both hate and fear none more then the true Church and Saints of God, as the most dangerous Enemies and Subverters of Monarchy, though indeed of Tyranny; hath not this been the perpetual Cry of Courtiers and Court-*Prelates?* Whereof no likelier Cause can be alledg'd, but that they well discern'd the Mind and Principles of most devout and zealous Men, and indeed the very Discipline of Church, tending to the Dissolution of all Tyranny. No Marvel then, if since the Faith of Christ receiv'd, in purer or impurer Times, to depose a King and put him to Death for Tyranny, hath been accounted so just and requisite, that neighbour Kings have both upheld and taken part with Subjects in the Action. And *Ludovicus Pius*, himself an Emperor, and Son of *Charles* the Great, being made Judge, *Du Haillan* is my Author, between *Milegast* King of the *Vultzes* and his Subjects, who had depos'd him, gave his Verdict for the Subjects, and for him whom they had chos'n in his room. Note here, that the Right of electing whom they please is by the impartial Testimony of an Emperor in the People. For, said he, *A just Prince ought to be preferr'd before an unjust, and the End of Government before the Prerogative.* And *Constantinus Leo*, another Emperor, in the *Byzantine* Laws saith, *That the End of a King is for the general Good, which he not performing is but the Counterfeit of a King.* And to prove that some of our own Monarchs have acknowledg'd that their high Office exempted them not from Punishment, they had the Sword of St. *Edward* born before them by an Officer, who was call'd Earl of the Palace, even at the Times of

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their higheſt Pomp and Solemnities, to mind them, ſaith *Matthew Paris*, the beſt of our Hiſtorians, that if they err'd, the Sword had Power to reſtrain them. And what Reſtraint the Sword comes to at length, having both Edge and Point, if any *Sceptic* will doubt, let him feel. It is alſo affirm'd from diligent Search made in our ancient Books of Law, that the Peers and Barons of *England* had a Legal Right to judge the King: Which was the Cauſe moſt likely, for it could be no ſlight Cauſe, that they were call'd his Peers or Equals. This however may ſtand immoveable, ſo long as Man hath to deal with no better then Man; that if our Law judge all Men to the loweſt by their Peers, it ſhould in all Equity aſcend alſo, and judge the higheſt. And ſo much I find both in our own and foreign Story, that Dukes, Earls and Marqueſſes were at firſt not hereditary, not empty and vain Titles, but Names of Truſt and Office, and with the Office ceaſing, as induces me to be of Opinion, that every worthy Man in Parliament, for the Word Baron imports no more, might for the public Good be thought a fit Peer and Judge of the King; without Regard had to petty *Caveats* and Circumſtances, the chief Impediment in high Affairs, and ever ſtood upon moſt by circumſtantial Men. Whence doubtleſs our Anceſtors who were not ignorant with what Rights either Nature or ancient Conſtitution had endow'd them, when Oaths both at Coronation and renew'd in Parliament would not ſerve, thought it no way illegal to depoſe and put to Death their Tyrannous Kings. Inſomuch that the Parliament drew up a Charge againſt *Richard* the II. and the Commons requeſted to have Judgment decreed againſt him, that the Realm might not be endanger'd. And *Peter Martyr*, a Divine of foremoſt Rank, on the third of *Judges* approves their Doings. Sir *Thomas Smith* alſo a Proteſtant and a Stateſman, in his Commonwealth of *England*, putting the Queſtion, whether it be lawful to riſe againſt a Tyrant, anſwers, that the Vulgar judge of it according to the Event, and the Learned according to the Purpoſe of them that do it. But far before theſe Days, *Gildas*, the moſt ancient of all our Hiſtorians, ſpeaking of thoſe Times wherein the *Roman* Empire decaying, quitted and relinquiſh'd what Right they had by Conqueſt to this Iſland, and reſign'd it all into the Peoples Hands, teſtifies, that the People thus re-inveſted with their own original Right, about the Year 446, both elected them Kings, whom they thought beſt (the firſt Chriſtian *Britiſh* Kings that ever reign'd here ſince the *Romans*) and by the ſame Right, when they apprehended Cauſe, uſually depos'd and put them to Death. This is the moſt fundamental and ancient Tenure that any King of *England* can produce or pretend to; in compariſon of which all other Titles and Pleas are but of yeſterday. If any object, that *Gildas* condemns the *Britains* for ſo doing, the Anſwer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for ſo doing, then he did before for chooſing ſuch, for, ſaith he, *They anointed them Kings, not of God, but ſuch as were more bloody then the reſt.* Next, he condemns them not at all for depoſing or putting them to Death, but for doing it over haſtily, without Tryal or well examining the Cauſe, and for electing others worſe in their room. Thus we have here both domeſtic and moſt ancient Examples, that the People of *Britain* have depos'd and put to Death their Kings in thoſe Primitive Chriſtian Times. And to couple Reaſon with Example, if the Church in all Ages, Primitive, *Romiſh* or Proteſtant, held it ever no leſs their Duty then the Power of their Keys, though without expreſs Warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both King and Peaſant under the utmoſt Rigor of their Canons and Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, even to the ſmiting him with a final Excommunion, if he perſiſt impenitent, what hinders but that the temporal Law both may and ought, though without a ſpecial Text or Precedent, extend with like Indifference the Civil Sword, to the cutting off without Exemption him that capitally offends. Seeing that Juſtice and Religion are from the ſame God, and Works of Juſtice oft-times

more

more acceptable. Yet becauſe that ſome lately, with the Tongues and Arguments of malignant Backſliders, have written that the Proceedings now in Parliament againſt the King are without Precedent from any Proteſtant State or Kingdom, the Examples which follow ſhall be all Proteſtant, and chiefly *Presbyterian.*

In the Year 1546. The Duke of *Saxony*, *Lantgrave* of *Heſſen*, and the whole Proteſtant League rais'd open War againſt *Charles* the V. their Emperor, ſent him a Defiance, renounc'd all Faith and Allegiance towards him, and debated long in Councel whether they ſhould give him ſo much as the Title of *Cæſar. Sleidan. l.* 17. Let all Men judge what this wanted of Depoſing or of Killing, but the Power to do it.

In the Year 1559. The *Scotch* Proteſtants claiming Promiſe of their Queen Regent for Liberty of Conſcience, ſhe anſwering, that Promiſes were not to be claim'd of Princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told her to her Face in the Parliament then at *Sterling*, that if it were ſo, they renounc'd their Obedience; and ſoon after betook them to Arms. *Buchanan* Hiſt. l. 16. certainly when Allegiance is renounc'd, that very Hour the King or Queen is in effect depos'd.

In the Year 1564. *John Knox* a moſt famous Divine and the Reformer of *Scotland* to the *Presbyterian* Diſciplin, at a general Aſſembly maintain'd openly in a Diſpute againſt *Lethington* the Secretary of State, that Subjects might and ought execute Gods Judgments upon their King; that the Fact of *Jehu* and others againſt their King having the Grounds of Gods ordinary Command to put ſuch and ſuch Offenders to Death was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferred the Honour of God to the Affection of fleſh and wicked Princes; that Kings, if they offend, have no Priviledg to be exempted from the Puniſhments of Law more then any other Subject; ſo that if the King be a Murtherer, Adulterer or Idolator, he ſhould ſuffer, not as a King, but as an Offender; and this Poſition he repeats again and agin before them. Anſwerable was the Opinion of *John Craig*, another Learned Divine, and that Laws made by the Tyranny of Princes, or the Negligence of People, their Poſterity might abrogate and reform all Things according to the original Inſtitution of Commonwealths. And *Knox* being commanded by the Nobility to write to *Calvin* and other Learned Men for their Judgment in that Queſtion, refus'd; alledging, that both himſelf was fully reſolv'd in Conſcience, and had heard their Judgments, and had the ſame Opinion under Hand-writing of many the moſt Godly and moſt Learned that he knew in *Europe*; that if he ſhould move the Queſtion to them again, what ſhould he do but ſhew his own Forgetfulneſs or Inconſtancy. All this is far more largly in the *Eccleſiaſtic* Hiſtory of *Scotland* l. 4. with many other Paſſages to this effect all the Book over; ſet out with diligence by *Scotchmen* of beſt Repute among them at the beginning of theſe Troubles, as if they labour'd to inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like Occaſion.

And to let the World know, that the whole Church and Proteſtant State of *Scotland* in thoſe pureſt Times of Reformation, were of the ſame Belief three Years after, they met in the Field *Mary* their Lawful and Hereditary Queen, took her Priſoner, yielding before Fight, kept her in Priſon, and the ſame Year depos'd her. *Buchan.* Hiſt. l. 18.

And four Years after that, the *Scots* in Juſtification of their depoſing Queen *Mary*, ſent Ambaſſadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and in a written Declaration alledged, that they had us'd toward her more Lenity then ſhe deſerv'd; that their Anceſtors had heretofore puniſh'd their Kings by Death or Baniſhment; that the *Scots* were a free Nation, made King whom they freely choſe, and with the ſame Freedom Unking'd him, if they ſaw Cauſe, by Right of ancient Laws and Ceremonies yet remaining, and old Cuſtoms

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yet among the High-landers, in chooſing the Head of their Clanns or Families; all which with many other Arguments bore Witneſs, that Regal Power was nothing elſe but a mutual Covenant or Stipulation between King and People. *Buch.* Hiſt. l. 20. Theſe were *Scotchmen* and *Presbyterians*; but what Meaſure then have they lately offer'd, to think ſuch Liberty leſs beſeeming us then themſelves, preſuming to put him upon us for a Maſter whom their Law ſcarce allows to be their own Equal? If now then we hear them in another ſtrain then heretofore in the pureſt Times of their Church, we may be confident it is the Voice of Faction ſpeaking in them, not of Truth and Reformation. [Which no leſs in *England* then in *Scotland*, by the Mouths of thoſe Faithful Witneſſes commonly called *Puritans* and *Nonconformiſts*, ſpake as clearly for the putting down, yea the utmoſt puniſhing of Kings, as in their ſeveral Treatiſes may be read; even from the firſt Reign of *Elizabeth* to theſe times. Inſomuch, that one of them, whoſe Name was *Gibſon*, foretold King *James*, he ſhould be rooted out and conclude his Race, if he perſiſted to uphold Biſhops. And that very Inſcription ſtampt upon the firſt Coins at his Coronation, a naked Sword in a Hand with theſe Words, *Si mereor, in me, Againſt me, if I deſerve*, not only manifeſted the Judgment of that State, but ſeem'd alſo to preſage the Sentence of Divine Juſtice in this Event upon his Son.]

In the year 1581. the States of *Holland*, in a general Aſſembly at the *Hague*, abjur'd all Obedience and Subjection to *Philip* King of *Spain*; and in a Declaration juſtifie their ſo doing; for that by his Tyrannous Government againſt Faith ſo many times given and broken, he had loſt his Right to all the *Belgic* Provinces; that therefore they Depos'd him and declar'd it Lawful to chooſe another in his ſtead. *Thuan. l.* 74. From that time to this, no State or Kingdom in the World hath equally proſper'd: But let them remember not to look with an evil and prejudicial Eye upon their Neighbours walking by the ſame Rule.

But what need theſe Examples to *Presbyterians*, I mean to thoſe who now of late would ſeem ſo much to abhorr Depoſing, when as they to all Chriſtendom have given the lateſt and the livelieſt Example of doing it themſelves. I Queſtion not the Lawfulneſs of raiſing War againſt a Tyrant in Defence of Religion, or civil Liberty; for no Proteſtant Church from the firſt *Waldenſes* of *Lyons* and *Languedoc* to this day but have done it round and maintain'd it Lawful. But this I doubt not to affirm, that the *Presbyterians*, who now ſo much condemn Depoſing, were the Men themſelves that Depoſed the King, and cannot with all their Shifting and Relapſing, waſh off the Guiltineſs from their own Hands. For they themſelves, by theſe their late Doings have made it Guiltineſs and turn'd their own warrantable Actions into Rebellion.

There is nothing that ſo actually makes a King of *England*, as rightful Poſſeſſion and Supremacy *in all Cauſes both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical*: And nothing that ſo actually makes a Subject of *England*, as thoſe two Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy obſerv'd *without Equivocating, or any mental Reſervation.* Out of doubt then, when the King ſhall command Things already conſtituted in Church, or State, Obedience is the true Eſſence of a Subject, either to do, if it be Lawful, or if he hold the Thing unlawful, to ſubmit to that Penalty which the Law impoſes, ſo long as he intends to remain a Subject. Therefore when the People or any Part of them ſhall riſe againſt the King and his Authority executing his Law in any thing eſtabliſh'd, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, I do not ſay it is Rebellion, if the thing commanded, though Eſtabliſh'd, be unlawful, and that they ſought firſt all due Means of Redreſs (and no Man is further bound to Law) but I ſay it is an abſolute Renouncing both of Supremacy and Allegiance, which in one Word is an actual and total Depoſing of the King, and ſetting up of another Supreme Authority over them

them. And whether the *Presbyterians* have not done all this and much more, they will not put me, I ſuppoſe, to reckon up a ſeven Years Story freſh in the Memory of all Men. Have they not utterly broke the Oath of Allegiance, rejecting the Kings Command and Authority ſent them from any Part of the Kingdom, whether in Things lawful or unlawful? Have they not abjur'd the Oath of Supremacy by ſetting up the Parliament without the King, ſupreme to all their Obedience, and though their Vow and Covenant bound them in general to the Parliament, yet ſometimes adhering to the leſſer Part of Lords and Commons that remain'd Faithful, as they term it, and even of them, one while to the Commons without the Lords, another while to the Lords without the Commons? Have they not ſtill declar'd their Meaning, whatever their Oath were, to hold them only for Supreme whom they found at any Time moſt yeilding to what they petition'd? Both theſe Oaths which were the ſtraighteſt Bond of an *Engliſh* Subject in reference to the King, being thus broke and made void, it follows undeniably that the King from that Time was by them in Fact abſolutely depoſed, and they no longer in Reality to be thought his Subjects, notwithſtanding their fine Clauſe in the Covenant to preſeve his Perſon, Crown and Dignity, ſet thereby ſome dodging Caſuiſt with more Craft then Sincerity to mitigate the Matter in Caſe of ill Succeſs, and not taken I ſuppoſe by any honeſt Man, but as a Condition ſubordinate to every the leaſt Particle that might more concern Religion, Liberty or the public Peace. To prove it yet more plainly, that they are the Men who have depos'd the King, I thus argue. We know that King and Subject are Relatives, and Relatives have no longer being then in the Relation; the Relation between King and Subject, can be no other then Regal Authority and Subjection. Hence I infer, paſt their defending, that if the Subject who is one Relative, take away the Relation, of Force he takes away alſo the other Relative; but the *Presbyterians*, who were one Relative, that is to ſay Subjects, have for this ſeven years taken away the Relation, that is to ſay, the Kings Authority, and their Subjection to it, therefore the *Presbyterians* for theſe ſeven Years have remov'd and extinguiſh'd the other Relative, that is to ſay, the King, or to ſpeak more in brief, have depos'd him; not only by depriving him the Execution of his Authority, but by conferring it upon others. If then their Oaths of Subjection broken, new Supremacy obey'd, new Oaths and Covenants taken, notwithſtanding frivolous Evaſions, have in plain Terms unking'd the King, much more then hath their ſeven Years War not depos'd him only, but outlaw'd him, and defied him as an Alien, a Rebel to Law, and Enemy to the State. It muſt needs be clear to any Man, not averſe from Reaſon, that Hoſtility and Subjection are two direct and poſitive Contraries; and can no more in one Subject ſtand together in reſpect of the ſame King, then one Perſon at the ſame Time can be in two remote Places. Againſt whom therefore the Subject is in Act of Hoſtility we may be confident that to him he is in no Subjection: And in whom Hoſtility takes place of Subjection; for they can by no Means conſiſt together, to him the King can be not only no King, but an Enemy. So that from hence we ſhall not need diſpute, whether they have depos'd him, or what they have defaulted towards him as no King, but ſhew manifeſtly how much they have done toward the Killing him. Have they not levied all theſe Wars againſt him whether Offenſive or Defenſive (for Defence in War equally offends, and moſt prudently before Hand) and given Commiſſion to ſlay where they knew his Perſon could not be exempt from Danger? And if Chance or Flight had not ſav'd him, how often had they kill'd him, directing their Artillery without Blame or Prohibition to the very Place where they ſaw him ſtand? Have they not ſequeſter'd him, judg'd or unjudg'd, and converted his Revenue to other Uſes, detaining from him, as a grand Delinquent, all Means of Lively-hood, ſo that for them long

ſince he might have periſh'd or have ſtarv'd? Have they not hunted and purſu'd him round about the Kingdom with Sword and Fire? Have they not formerly deny'd to treat with him, and their now recanting Miniſters preach'd againſt him, as a Reprobate incurable, an Enemy to God and his Church mark'd for Deſtruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not beſieged him, and to their Power forbid him Water and Fire, ſave what they ſhot againſt him to the Hazard of his Life? Yet while they thus aſſaulted and endanger'd it with hoſtile Deeds, they ſwore in Words to defend it with his Crown and Dignity; not in Order, as it ſeems now, to a firm and laſting Peace or to his Repentance after all this Blood; but ſimply, without Regard, without Remorſe, or any comparable Value of all the Miſeries and Calamities ſuffer'd by the poor People, or to ſuffer hereafter through his Obſtinacy or Impenitence. No underſtanding Man can be ignorant, that Covenants are ever made according to the preſent State of Perſons and of Things; and have ever the more general Laws of Nature and of Reaſon included in them, though not expreſs'd. If I make a voluntary Covenant as with a Man, to do him good, and he prove afterward a Monſter to me, I ſhould conceive a Diſobligment. If I covenant, not to hurt an Enemy, in Favour of him and Forbearance, and Hope of his Amendment, and he, after that, ſhall do me ten-fold Injury and Miſchief, to what he had done when I ſo covenanted, and ſtill be plotting what may tend to my Deſtruction, I queſtion not but that his after Actions releaſe me; nor know I Covenant ſo Sacred that withholds me from demanding Juſtice on him. Howbeit, had not their Diſtruſt in a good Cauſe, and the Faſt and Looſe of our prevaricating Divines overſway'd, it had been doubtleſs better not to have inſerted in a Covenant unneceſſary Obligations and Words not Works of a ſuperarogating Allegiance to their Enemy; no way advantageous to themſelves, had the King prevail'd, as to their coſt many would have felt; but full of Snare and Diſtraction to our Friends, uſeful only, as we now find, to our Adverſaries, who under ſuch a Latitude and Shelter of ambiguous Interpretation have ever ſince been plotting and contriving new Opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it been, and more becoming an undaunted Vertue, to have declar'd openly and boldly whom and what Power the People were to hold Supreme; as on the like Occaſion *Proteſtants* have done before, and many conſcientious Men now in theſe Times have more then once beſought the Parliament to do, that they might go on upon a ſure Foundation, and not with a ridling Covenant in ther Mouths, ſeeming to ſwear Counter almoſt in the ſame Breath Allegiance and no Allegiance; which doubtleſs had drawn off all the Minds of ſincere Men from ſiding with them, had they not diſcern'd their Actions far more depoſing him then their Words upholding him; which Words made now the Subject of cavillous Interpretations, ſtood ever in the Covenant, by Judgment of the more diſcerning Sort, an evidence of their Fear, not of their Fidelity. What ſhould I return to ſpeak on, of thoſe Attempts for which the King himſelf hath often charged the *Preſbyterians* of ſeeking his Life, whenas in the due Eſtimation of Things, they might without a Fallacy be ſaid to have done the Deed out-right. Who knows not that the King is a Name of Dignity and Office, not of Perſon: Who therefore kills a King, muſt kill him while he is a King. Then they certainly who by depoſing him have long ſince taken from him the Life of a King, his Office and his Dignity, they in the trueſt Senſe may be ſaid to have killed the King: Not only by their depoſing and waging War againſt him, which beſides the Danger to his perſonal Life, ſet him in the fartheſt oppoſite Point from any vital Function of a King, but by their holding him in Priſon, vanquiſh'd and yeilded into their abſolute and deſpotic Power, which

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brought him to the lowest Degradement and Incapacity of the Regal Name. I say not by whose matchless Valour next under God, least the Story of their Ingratitude thereupon carry me from the Purpose in hand, which is to convince them, that they which I repeat again, were the Men who in the truest Sense kill'd the King, not only as is prov'd before, but by depressing him their King far below the Rank of a Subject to the Condition of a Captive, without Intention to restore him, as the Chancellor of *Scotland* in a Speech told him plainly at *Newcastle*, unless he granted fully all their Demands, which they knew he never meant. Nor did they treat or think of Treating with him, till their Hatred to the Army that deliver'd them, not their Love or Duty to the King, joyn'd them with Men sentenc'd so oft for Reprobates in their own Mouths, by whose subtle Inspiring they grew mad upon a most tardy and improper Treaty. Whereas if the whole Bent of their Actions had not been against the King himself, but only against his evil Counsellors, as they feign'd and publish'd, wherefore did they not restore him all that while to the true Life of a King, his Office, Crown and Dignity, when he was in their Power, and they themselves his neareſt Counsellors. The Truth therefore is, both that they would not, and that they could not without their own certain Destruction; having reduc'd him to such a final Pass, as was the very Death and Burial of all in him that was Regal, and from whence never King of *England* yet reviv'd, but by the new Re-inforcement of his own Party, which was a kind of Resurrection to him. Thus having quite extinguish'd all that could be in him of a King, and from a total Privation clad him over, like another specifical Thing, with Forms and Habitudes destructive to the former, they left in his Person, dead as to the Law and all the Civil Right either of King or Subject, the Life only of a Prisoner, a Captive and a Malefactor. Whom the equal and impartial Hand of Justice finding, was no more to spare then another ordinary Man; not only made obnoxious to the Doom of Law by a Charge more then once drawn up against him, and his own Confession to the first Article of *Newport*, but summon'd and arraign'd in the Sight of God and his People, curs'd and devoted to Perdition worse then any *Ahab* or *Antiochus*, with Exhortation to curse all those in the Name of God that made not War against him, as bitterly as *Meroz* was to be curs'd, that went not out against a *Canaanitish* King, almost in all the Sermons, Prayers and Fulminations that have been utter'd this seven years by those cloven Tongues of Falshood and Dissention; who now, to the stirring up of new Discord, acquit him; and against their own Discíplin, which they boast to be the Throne and Scepter of Christ, absolve him, unconfound him, though unconverted, unrepentant, unsensible of all their precious Saints and Martyrs Blood they have so oft laid upon his Head: And now again with a new Sovereign Anointment can wash it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckon'd for, then the Blood of so many Dogs in the time of Pestilence: Giving the most opprobrious Lie to all the acted Zeal that for these many years hath fill'd their Bellies, and fed them fat upon the foolish People. Ministers of Sedition, nor of the Gospel, who while they saw it manifestly tend to Civil War and Blood-shed, never ceas'd exasperating the People against him; and now that they see it likely to breed new Commotion, cease not to incite others against the People that have sav'd them from him, as if Sedition where their only Aim, whether against him or for him. But God, as we have cause to trust, will put other Thoughts into the People, and turn them from giving Ear or Heed to those Mercenary Noisemakers, of whose Fury and false Prophesies we have enough Experience; and from the Murmurs of new Discord will incline them to hearken rather with erected Minds to the Voice of our Supreme Magistracy, calling us to Liberty and the flourishing Deeds of a Reformed Commonwealth; with this Hope, that as God was heretofore

angry with the *Jews*, who rejected him and his Form of Government to chooſe a King, ſo that he will bleſs us, and be propitious to us who reject a King, to make him only our Leader and ſupreme Government in the Conformity as near as may be of his own ancient Government; if we have at leaſt but ſo much Worth in us to entertain the Senſe of our future Happineſs and the Courage to receive what God vouchſafes us: Wherein we have the Honour to preceede other Nations who are now labouring to be our Followers. For as to this Queſtion in hand what the People by their juſt Right may do in Change of Government or of Governour, we ſee it clear'd ſufficiently; beſides other ample Authority ev'n from the Mouths of Princes themſelves. And ſurely they that ſhall boaſt, as we do, to be a free Nation and not have in themſelves the Power to remove, or to aboliſh any Government Supreme or Subordinate, with the Government it ſelf upon urgent Cauſes, may pleaſe their Fancy with a ridiculous and painted Freedom, fit to coz'n Babies; but are indeed under Tyranny and Servitude; as wanting that Power, which is the Root and Courſe of all Liberty, to diſpoſe and *Oeconomize* in the Land which God hath giv'n them, as Maſters of Families in their own Houſe and free Inheritance. Without which natural and eſſential Power of a free Nation, though bearing high their Heads, they can in due Eſteem be thought no better then Slaves and Vaſſals born, in the Tenure and Occupation of another inheriting Lord. Whoſe Government, though not illegal, or intolerable, hangs over them as a Lordly Scourge, not as free Government; and therefore to be abrogated. How much more juſtly then may they fling off Tyranny or Tyrants; who being once depos'd can be no more then private Men, as ſubject to the reach of Juſtice and Arraignment as any other Tranſgreſſors. And certainly if Men, not to ſpeak, of Heathen, both wiſe and religious have done Juſtice upon Tyrants what way they could ſooneſt, how much more mild and human then is it, to give them fair and open Tryal? To teach lawleſs Kings, and all who ſo much adore them, that not mortal Men or his imperious Will, but Juſtice is the only true Sovereign and Supreme Majeſty upon Earth. Let Men ceaſe therefore out of Faction and Hypocriſie to make Outcries and horrid Things of Things ſo juſt and honourable. [Though perhaps till now to Proteſtant State or Kingdom can be alleg'd to have op'nly put to Death their King, which lately ſome have written and imputed to their great Glory; much miſtaking the Matter. It is not, neither ought to be, the Glory of a Proteſtant State, never to have put their King to Death; it is the Glory of a Proteſtant King never to have deſerved Death.] And if the Parliament and Military Councel do what they do without Precedent, if it appear their Duty, it argues the more Wiſdom, Vertue and Magnanimity, that they knew themſelves able to be a Precedent to others. Who perhaps in future Ages if they prove not too degenerat, will look up with Honour and aſpire toward theſe exemplary and matchleſs Deeds of their Anceſtors, as to the higheſt Top of their Civil Glory and Emulation. Which heretofore, in the Purſuance of Fame and foreign Dominion, ſpent it ſelf vain-glorioufly abroad; but henceforth may learn a better Fortitude, to dare execute higheſt Juſtice on them that ſhall by Force of Arms endeavour the oppreſſing and bereaving of Religion and their Liberty at home: That no unbridl'd Potentate or Tyrant, but to his Sorrow for the future, may preſume ſuch high and irreſponſible Licence over Mankind, to havock and turn upſide-down whole Kingdoms of Men, as though they were no more in Reſpect of his perverſe Will then a Nation of Piſmires. As for the Party call'd *Presbyterian*, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Chriſtians, though miſled by ſome of turbulent Spirit, I wiſh them earneſtly and calmly not to fall off from their firſt Principles; nor to affect Rigor and Superiority over Men not under them; not to compel uncomfortable Things, in Religion eſpecially, which if not voluntary, becomes a Sin; nor to aſ-

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sist the Clamor and malicious Drifts of Men whom they themselves have judg'd to be the worst of Men, the obdurat Enemies of God and his Church: Nor to dart against the Actions of their Brethren, for want of other Argument, those wrested Laws and Scriptures thrown by *Prelates* and *Malignants* against their own sides, which though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the Condemnation of their own Doings, give Scandal to all Men, and discover in themselves either extream Passion, or Apostacy. Let them not oppose their best Friends and Associates, who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their Liberties, unless they call it their Liberty to bind other Mens Consciences, but are still seeking to live at Peace with them and brotherly Accord. Let them beware an old and perfect Enemy, who though he hope by sowing Discord to make them his Instruments, yet cannot forbear a Minute the open threatning of his destin'd Revenge upon them, when they have serv'd his Purposes. Let them fear therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, then what remains to do, and be warn'd in Time they put no Confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, least they be added to the Examples of those that miserably have tasted the Event. Stories can inform them how *Christiern* the II. King of *Denmark* not much above a hundred Years past, driven out by his Subjects, and receiv'd again upon new Oaths and Conditions, broke through them all to his most bloody Revenge; slaying his chief Opposers, when he saw his Time, both them and their Children invited to a Feast for that Purpose. How *Maximilian* dealt with those of *Bruges*, though by Mediation of the *German* Princes reconcil'd to them by solemn and public Writings drawn and seal'd. How the Massacre at *Paris* was the Effect of that credulous Peace which the *French Protestants* made with *Charles* the IX. their King: And that the main visible Cause, which to this Day hath sav'd the *Netherlands* from utter Ruin, was their final not believing the perfidious Cruelty, which, as a constant Maxim of State, hath been us'd by the *Spanish* Kings on their Subjects that have taken Arms and after trusted them; as no latter Age but can testify, heretofore in *Belgia* it self, and this very Year in *Naples*. And to conclude with one past Exception, though far more ancient, *David*, whose sanctify'd Prudence might be alone sufficient, not to warrant us only, but to instruct us, when once he had taken Arms, never after that trusted *Saul*, though with Tears and much Relenting he twice promised not to hurt him. These Instances, few of many, might admonish them both *English* and *Scotch* not to let their own Ends, and the driving on of a Faction betray them blindly into the Snare of those Enemies whose Revenge looks on them as the Men who first begun, fomented and carried on, beyond the Cure of any sound or safe Accommodation, all the Evil which hath since unavoidably befallen them and their King.

I have something also to the Divines, though brief to what were needful; not to be Disturbers of the Civil Affairs, being in Hands better able, and more belonging, to manage them; but to study harder and to attend the Office of good Pastors, knowing that he whose Flock is least among them hath a dreadful Charge, not perform'd by mounting twice into the Chair with a formal Preachment huddl'd up at the odd Hours of a whole lazy Week, but by incessant Pains and watching *in Season and out of Season, from House to House* over the Souls of whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well consider'd, how little Leisure would they find to be the most pragmatical Sidesmen of every popular Tumult and Sedition? And all this while are to learn what the true End and Reason is of the Gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious Lording over Conscience. It would be good also they lived so as might perswade the People they hated Covetousness, which worse then Heresy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities and all kind of Simony; left rambling

bling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves, seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, 'twere good they held not Conversation with such as are: Let them be sorry that being call'd to Assemble about Reforming the Church, they fell to progging and solliciting the Parliament, though they had renounced the Name of Priests, for a new setling of their Tithes and Oblations; and double lin'd themselves with spiritual Places of Commodity beyond the possible Discharge of their Duty. Let them assemble in Consistory with their Elders and Deacons, according to ancient Ecclesiastical Rule, to the preserving of Church-disciplin, each in his several Charge, and not to a Pack of Clergy-Men by themselves to Belly-chear in their presumptuous *Sion*, or to promote Designs, abuse and gull the simple *Laity*, and stir up Tumult, as the *Prelates* did, for the Maintenance of their Pride and Avarice. These Things if they observe and wait with Patience, no doubt but all Things will go well without their Importunities or Exclamations: and the Printed Letters which they send subscrib'd with the Ostentation of great Characters and little Moment, would be more Considerable then now they are. But if they be the Ministers of *Mammon* instead of Christ, and Scandalize his Church with the filthy Love of Gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all Tyrants, upon the Conscience, and fall notoriously into the same Sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accus'd the *Prelates*, as God rooted out those wicked ones immediately before, so will he root out them their Imitators: And to vindicate his own Glory and Religion, will uncover their Hypocrisy to the open World; and Visit upon their own Heads that *Curse ye Meroz*, the very *Motto* of their Pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as *Meroz*, but more like *Atheists* they have blasphem'd the Vengeance of God, and traduced the Zeal of his People. And that they be not what they go for, true Ministers of the *Protestant* Doctrin, taught by those abroad, famous and religious Men, who first Reform'd the Church, or by those no less zealous, who withstood Corruption and the Bishops here at home, branded with the Name of *Puritans* and *Nonconformists*, we shall abound with Testimonies to make appear; That Men may yet more fully know the Difference between *Protestant* Divines and these Pulpit-firebrands.

Luther.

Lib. contra Rusticos apud Sleidan. l. 5.

Is est hodie rerum Status, &c. *Such is the State of Things at this Day, that Men neither can, nor will, nor indeed ought to endure longer the Domination of you Princes.*

Neque vero Cæsarem, &c. *Neither is* Cæsar *to make War as Head of* Christendom, *Protector of the Church, Defender of the Faith; these Titles being false and windy, and most Kings being the greatest Enemies to Religion. Lib. De bello contra Turcas. apud Sleid.* l. 14. What binders then, but that we may depose or punish them?

These also are recited by *Cochlæus* in his *Miscellanies* to be the Words of *Luther*, or some other eminent Divine, then in *Germany*, when the *Protestants* there entred into solemn Covenant at *Smalcaldia*. Ut ora iis obturem, &c. *That I may stop their Mouths, the Pope and Emperor are not born but elected, and may also be depos'd, as hath been often done.* If *Luther*, or whoever else thought so, he could not stay there; for the Right of Birth or Succession, can be no Privilege in Nature to let a Tyrant sit irremoveable over a Nation free born, without transforming that Nation from the Nature and Condition of Men born free, into Natural, Hereditary and Successive Slaves. Therefore he saith further; *To displace and throw down*

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this Exactor, this Phalaris, *this* Nero, *is a Work well pleaſing to God*; namely, for being ſuch a one: Which is a moral Reaſon. Shall then ſo ſlight a Conſideration as his hap to be not elective ſimply, but by Birth, which was a meer Accident, overthrow that which is Moral, and make unpleaſing to God that which otherwiſe had ſo well pleas'd him? Certainly not: For if the Matter be rightly argu'd, Election much rather then Chance, binds a Man to content himſelf with what he ſuffers by his own bad Election. Though indeed neither the one nor other binds any Man, much leſs any People to a neceſſary Sufferance of thoſe Wrongs and Evils, which they have Ability and Strength enough given them to remove.

Zwinglius. Tom. 1. *articul.* 42.

Quando vero perfidè, &c. *When Kings reign perfidiouſly, and againſt the Rule of Chriſt, they may according to the Word of God be depos'd.*

Mihi ergo compertum non eſt, &c. *I know not how it comes to paſs that Kings reign by Succeſſion, unleſs it be with Conſent of the whole People.* ibid.

Quum vero Conſenſu, &c. *But when by Suffrage and Conſent of the whole People, or the better Part of them, a Tyrant is depos'd or put to death, God is the chief Leader in that Action.* ibid.

Nunc cum tam tepidi ſumus, &c. *Now that we are ſo lukewarm in upholding public Juſtice, we endure the Vices of Tyrants to reign now a Days with Impunity; juſtly therefore by them we are trod underfoot, and ſhall at length with them be puniſh'd. Tet ways are not wanting by which Tyrants may be remov'd, but there wants public Juſtice.* ibid.

Cavete vobis ô Tyranni, &c. *Beware ye Tyrants for now the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt ſpreading far and wide, will renew the Lives of many to love Innocence and Juſtice; which if ye alſo ſhall do, ye ſhall be honour'd. But if ye ſhall go on to Rage and do Violence, ye ſhall be trampl'd on by all Men.* ibid.

Romanum Imperium imò quodq; &c. *When the* Roman *Empire or any other ſhall begin to oppreſs Religion, and we negligently ſuffer it, we are as much Guilty of Religion ſo violated, as the Oppreſſors themſelves.* Idem Epiſt. ad Conrad. Somium.

Calvin on Daniel, *c.* 4. *v.* 25.

Hodie Monarchæ ſemper in ſuis Titulis, &c. *Now adays Monarchs pretend always in their Titles, to be Kings by the Grace of God: But how many of them to this End only pretend it, that they may Reign without Controul; for to what Purpoſe is the Grace of God mention'd in the Title of Kings, but that they may acknowledge no Superiour? In the mean while God, whoſe Name they uſe to ſupport themſelves, they willingly would tread under their Feet. It is therefore a meer Cheat when they boaſt to Reign by the Grace of God.*

Abdicant ſe terreni Principes, &c. *Earthly Princes depoſe themſelves while they riſe againſt God, yea they are unworthy to be number'd among Men: Rather it behoves us to ſpit upon their Heads then to obey them.* On Dan. *c.* 6. *v.* 22.

Bucer on Matth. *c.* 5.

Si Princeps ſuperior, &c. *If a Sovereign Prince endeavour by Arms to defend Tranſgreſſors, to ſubvert thoſe Things which are taught in the Word of God, they who are in Authority under him, ought firſt to diſſwade him; if they prevail not, and that he now bears himſelf not as a Prince, but as an Enemy, and ſeeks to violate Priviledges and Rights granted to inferior Magiſtrates or Commonalties, it is the Part of Pious Magiſtrates, imploring firſt, the*

the Assistance of God, rather to try all Ways and Means, then to betray the Flock of Christ to such an Enemy of God: For they also are to this End ordain'd, that they may defend the People of God, and maintain those Things which are good and just. For to have supreme Power lessens not the Evil committed by that Power, but makes it the less tolerable by how much the more generally hurtful. Then certainly the less tolerable, the more unpardonably to be punish'd.

Of *Peter Martyr* we have spoke before.

Paræus in Rom. 13.

Quorum est constituere Magistratus, &c. *They whose Part it is to set up Magistrates, may restrain them also from outragious Deeds, or pull them down; but all Magistrates are set up either by Parliament, or by Electors, or by other Magistrates; they therefore who exalted them, may lawfully degrade and punish them.*

Of the *Scotch* Divines I need not mention others then the famousest among them, *Knox* and his Fellow-labourers in the Reformation of *Scotland*; whose large Treatises on this Subject defend the same Opinion. To cite them sufficiently, were to insert the whole Books written purposely on this Argument. *Knox Appeal*; and to the Reader; where he promises in a Postscript, that the Book which he intended to set forth, call'd, *The second Blast of the Trumpet*, should maintain more at large, that the same Men most justly may depose and punish him whom unadvisedly they have elected, notwithstanding Birth, Succession, or any Oath of Allegiance. Among our own Divines, *Cartwright* and *Fenner*, two of the Learned'st, may in Reason satisfie us what was held by the rest. *Fenner* in his Book of *Theology* maintaining, *That they who have Power, that is to say, a Parliament, may either by fair Means or by Force depose a Tyrant*, whom he defines to be him that wilfully breaks all or the principal Conditions made between him and the Commonwealth. *Fen. Sac. Theolog. c.* 13. and *Cartwright* in a prefix'd Epistle testifies his Approbation of the whole Book.

Gilby de Obedientiâ. P. 25. & 105.

Kings have their Authority of the People, who may upon Occasion re-assume it to themselves.

Englands Complaint against the Canons.

The People may kill wicked Princes as Monsters and cruel Beasts.

Christopher Goodman of Obedience.

When Kings or Rulers become Blasphemers of God, Oppressors and Murtherers of their Subjects, they ought no more to be accounted Kings or lawful Magistrates, but as private Men to be examin'd, accus'd, condemn'd and punish'd by the Law of God, and being convicted and punish'd by that Law, it is not Mans but Gods Doing, *C.* 10. *p.* 139.

By the Civil Laws a Fool or Idiot born, and so prov'd, shall loose the Lands and Inheritance whereto he is born, because he is not able to use them aright. And especially ought in no Case be suffer'd to have the Government of a whole Nation; but there is no such Evil can come to the Commonwealth by Fools and Idiots as doth by the Rage and Fury of ungodly Rulers; such therefore being without God ought to have no Authority over Gods People, who by his Word requireth the contrary. *C.* 11. *p.* 143, 144.

No Person is exempt by any Law of God from this Punishment, be he King, Queen or Emperor, he must dye the Death, for God hath not plac'd them above others, to transgress his Laws as they list, but to be subject to them

them as well as others, and if they be subject to his Laws, then to the Punishment also, so much the more as their Example is more dangerous. *C.* 13. *p.* 184.

When Magistrates cease to do their Duty, the People are as it were without Magistrates, yea worse, and then God giveth the Sword into the Peoples Hand, and he himself is become immediatly their Head. *p.* 185.

If Princes do Right and keep Promise with you, then do you owe to them all humble Obedience: If not, ye are discharg'd, and your Study ought to be in this Case, how ye may depose and punish, according to the Law, such Rebels against God, and Oppressors of their Country, *p.* 190.

This *Goodman* was a Minister of the *English* Church at *Geneva*, as *Dudley Fenner* was at *Middleborough*, or some other Place in that Country. These were the Pastors of those Saints and Confessors who flying from the bloody Persecution of Queen *Mary*, gather'd up at length their scatter'd Members into many Congregations; whereof some in upper, some in lower *Germany*, part of them settl'd at *Geneva*, where this Author having preach'd on this Subject, to the great Liking of certain learned and godly Men who heard him, was by them sundry Times and with much Instance requir'd to write more fully on that Point. Who thereupon took it in hand, and conferring with the best Learned in those Parts (among whom *Calvin* was then living in the same City) with their special Approbation he publish'd this Treatise, aiming principally, as is testify'd by *Whittingham* in the Preface, that his Brethren of *England*, the Protestants, might be perswaded in the Truth of that Doctrine concerning Obedience to Magistrates. *Whittingham in Præfat.*

These were the true Protestant Divines of *England*, our Fathers in the Faith we hold; this was their Sense, who for so many years labouring under *Prelacy*, through all Storms and Persecutions kept Religion from extinguishing; and deliver'd it pure to us, till there arose a covetous and ambitious Generation of Divines (for Divines they call themselves) who feigning on a sudden to be new Converts and *Proselytes* from Episcopacy, under which they had long temporiz'd, open'd their Mouths at length, in Shew against Pluralities and *Prelacy*, but with Intent to swallow them down both; gorging themselves like Harpies on those Simoniacal Places and Preferments of their outed Predecessors, as the Quarry for which they hunted, not to Plurality only but to Multiplicity: For possessing which they had accus'd them their Brethren, and aspiring under another Title to the same Authority and Usurpation over the Consciences of all Men.

Of this Faction diverse Reverend and Learned Divines, as they are stil'd in the Phylactery of their own Title-page, pleading the Lawfulness of defensive Arms against this King, in a Treatise call'd *Scripture and Reason*, seem in Words to disclaim utterly the Deposing of a King; but both the Scripture and the Reasons which they use, draw Consequences after them, which without their bidding conclude it lawful. For if by Scripture, and by that especially to the *Romans*, which they most insist upon, Kings, doing that which is contrary to St. *Pauls* Definition of a Magistrate, may be resisted, they may altogether with as much Force of Consequence be depos'd or punish'd. And if by Reason the unjust Authority of Kings *may be forfeited in Part, and his Power be re-assum'd in Part, either by the Parliament or People, for the Case in Hazard and the present Necessity*, as they affirm, *p.* 34. there can no Scripture be alledg'd, no imaginable Reason given, that Necessity continuing, as it may always, and they in all Prudence and their Duty may take upon them to foresee it, why in such a Case they may not finally amerce him with the Loss of his Kingdom, of whose Amendment they have no Hope. And if one wicked Action persisted in against Religion, Laws and Liberties may warrant us to thus much in Part, why may

not forty Times as many Tyrannies, by him committed, warrant us to proceed on reſtraining him, till the Reſtraint become Total. For the ways of Juſtice are exacteſt Proportion; if for one Treſpaſs of a King it requires ſo much remedy or ſatisfaction, then for twenty more as hainous Crimes, it requires of him Twentyfold; and ſo proportionably, till it come to what is utmoſt among Men. If in theſe Proceedings againſt their King they may not finiſh by the uſual Courſe of Juſtice what they have begun, they could not Lawfully begin at all. For this golden Rule of Juſtice and Morality, as well as of *Arithmtic*, out of three Terms which they admit, will as certainly and unavoidably bring out the fourth, as any Problem that ever *Euclid*, or *Apollonius* made good by Demonſtration.

And if the Parliament, being undepoſable but by themſelves, as is affirm'd, *p.* 37, 38. might for his whole Life, if they ſaw Cauſe, take all Power, Authority and the Sword out of his Hand, which in effect is to unmagiſtrate him, why might they not, being then themſelves the ſole Magiſtrates in force, proceed to puniſh him, who being lawfully depriv'd of all Things that define a Magiſtrate, can be now no Magiſtrate to be degraded lower, but an Offender to be puniſh'd. *Laſtly*, whom they may defie and meet in Battel, why may they not as well proſecute by Juſtice? For lawful War is but the Execution of Juſtice againſt them who refuſe Law. Among whom if it be lawful (as they deny not, *p.* 19, 20.) to ſlay the King himſelf coming in Front at his own Peril, wherefore may not Juſtice do that intendedly, which the Chance of a defenſive War might without blame have done caſually, nay purpoſely, if there it find him among the reſt. They ask *p.* 19. *By what Rule of Conſcience or God, a State is bound to Sacrifice Religion, Laws and Liberties, rather then a Prince defending ſuch as ſubvert them, ſhould come in Hazard of his Life.* And I ask by what Conſcience, or Divinity, or Law, or Reaſon, a State is bound to leave all theſe ſacred Concernments under a perpetual Hazard and Extremity of Danger, rather then cut off a wicked Prince, who ſits Plotting day and night to ſubvert them: They tell us, that the Law of Nature juſtifies any Man to Defend himſelf, ev'n againſt the King in Perſon: let them ſhew us then why the ſame Law may not juſtifie much more a State or whole People, to do Juſtice upon him, againſt whom each private Man may lawfully defend himſelf; ſeeing all kind of Juſtice done, is a Defence to good Men, as well as a Puniſhment to Bad; and Juſtice done upon a Tyrant is no more but the neceſſary Self-defence of a whole Commonwealth. To war upon a King, that his Inſtruments may be brought to condign Puniſhment, and thereafter to puniſh them the Inſtruments, and not to ſpare only; but to defend and honour him the Author, is the ſtrangeſt peice of Juſtice to be call'd Chriſtian and the ſtrangeſt piece of Reaſon to be call'd Human, that by Men of Reverence and Learning, as their Stile imports them, ever yet was vented. They maintain in the third and fourth Section, that a Judge or inferior Magiſtrate, is anointed of God, is his Miniſter, hath the Sword in his Hand, is to be obey'd by St. *Peters* Rule, as well as the Supreme, and without Difference any where expreſt: And yet will have us fight againſt the Supreme till he remove and puniſh the inferior Magiſtrate (for ſuch were greateſt Delinquents) whenas by Scripture and by Reaſon, there can no more Authority be ſhown to reſiſt the one then the other; and altogether as much, to puniſh or depoſe the Supreme himſelf, as to make War upon him, till he puniſh or deliver up his inferior Magiſtrates, whom in the ſame Terms we are commanded to obey, and not to reſiſt. Thus while they, in a cautious Line or two here and there ſtuft in, are only verbal againſt the pulling down or puniſhing of Tyrants, all the Scripture and the Reaſon which they bring, is in every Leaf direct and rational to inſer it altogether as lawful, as to

reſiſt

reſiſt them. And yet in all their Sermons, as hath by others been well noted, they went much further. For Divines, if ye obſerve them, have their Poſtures and their Motions no leſs expertly, and with no leſs Variety then they that practice Feats in the Artillery-ground. Sometimes they ſeem furiouſly to march on and preſently march counter; by and by they ſtand, and then retreat; or if need be can face about, or wheel in a whole Body, with that Cunning and Dexterity as is almoſt unperceivable; to wind themſelves by ſhifting ground into Places of more Advantage. And Providence only muſt be the Drum, Providence the Word of Command, that calls them from above, but always to ſome larger Benefice, or acts them into ſuch or ſuch Figures and Promotions. At their turns and doublings no Men readier; to the right, or to the left; for it is their turns which they ſerve chiefly; herein only ſingular, that with them there is no certain Hand right or left; but as their own Commodity thinks beſt to call it. But if there come a Truth to be defended, which to them, and their Intereſt of this World ſeems not ſo profitable, ſtrait theſe nimble Motioniſts can find no ev'n Leggs to ſtand upon: And are no more of uſe to Reformation throughly perform'd and not ſuperficially, or to the Advancement of Truth (which among mortal Men is always in her Progreſs) then if on a ſudden they were ſtrook maim and crippl'd. Which the better to conceal, or the more to countnance by a general Conformity to their own Limping, they would have *Scripture*, they would have *Reaſon* alſo made to halt with them for Company; and would put us off with impotent Concluſions, lame and ſhorter then the Premiſes. In this Poſture they ſeem to ſtand with great Zeal and Confidence on the Wall of *Sion*; but like *Jebuſites*, not like *Iſraelites*, or *Levites*: Blind alſo as well as lame, they diſcern not *David* from *Adonibezec*: But cry him up for the Lords Anointed, whoſe Thumbs and great Toes not long before they had cut off upon their Pulpit Cuſhions. Therefore he who is our only King, the Root of *David*, and whoſe Kingdom is eternal Righteouſneſs, with all thoſe that war under him, whoſe Happineſs and final Hopes are laid up in that only juſt and rightful Kingdom (which we pray inceſſantly may come ſoon, and in ſo praying wiſh haſty Ruin and Deſtruction to all Tyrants) ev'n he our immortal King, and all that love him, muſt of neceſſity have in Abomination theſe blind and lame Defenders of *Jeruſalem*; as the Soul of *David* hated them, and forbid them Entrance into Gods Houſe, and his own. But as to thoſe before them, which I cited firſt (and with an eaſie Search, for many more might be added) as they there ſtand, without more in Number, being the beſt and chief of Proteſtant Divines, we may follow them for faithful Guides, and without doubting may receive them, as Witneſſes abundant of what we here affirm concerning Tyrants. And indeed I find it generally the clear and poſitive Determination of them all (not Prelatical, or of this late Faction Subprelatical) who have writt'n on this Argument; that to do Juſtice on a lawleſs King, is to a private Man unlawful, to an inferior Magiſtrate lawful: Or if they were divided in Opinion, yet greater then theſe here alledg'd, or of more Authority in the Church, there can be none produc'd. If any one ſhall go about by bringing other Teſtimonies to diſable theſe, or by bringing theſe againſt themſelves in other cited Paſſages of their Books, he will not only fail to make good that falſe and impudent Aſſertion of thoſe mutinous Miniſters, that the depoſing and puniſhing of a King or Tyrant, *is againſt the conſtant Judgment of all Proteſtant Divines*, it being quite the contrary, but will prove rather, what perhaps he intended not, that the Judgment of Divines, if it be ſo various and inconſtant to it ſelf, is not conſiderable, or to be eſteem'd at all. E're which be yeilded, as I hope it never will, theſe ignorant Aſſertors in their own Art will have prov'd themſelves more and more, not to be Proteſtant Divines, whoſe conſtant Judgment in this Point they have

ſo audaciouſly bely'd, but rather to be a Pack of hungry Church-wolves, who in the Steps of *Simon Magus* their Father, following the hot Scent of double Livings and Pluralities, Advowſons, Donatives, Inductions and Augmentations, though uncall'd to the Flock of Chriſt, but by the meer Suggeſtion of their Bellies, like thoſe Prieſts of *Bel*, whoſe Pranks *Daniel* found out, have got Poſſeſſion, or rather ſeis'd upon the Pulpit, as the ſtrong Hold and Fortreſs of their Sedition and Rebellion againſt the Civil Magiſtrate. Whoſe friendly and victorious Hand having reſcu'd them from the Biſhops, their inſulting Lords, fed them plenteouſly, both in Public and in Private, rais'd them to be high and rich of poor and baſe; only ſuffer'd not their Covetouſneſs and fierce Ambition, which as the Pit that ſent out their Fellow-locuſts, hath been ever bottomleſs and boundleſs, to interpoſe in all Things, and over all Perſons, their impetuous Ignorance and Importunity.

The E N D.

BRIEF NOTES Upon a LATE SERMON, TITULED, *The* Fear *of* God *and the* King.

Preach'd, and ſince Publiſh'd, By *MATTHEW GRIFFITH*, D.D.

AND

CHAPLAIN To the LATE KING;

WHEREIN

Many *Notorious Wreſtings* of *Scripture* and other *Falſities* are obſerv'd by *J. MILTON.*

I Affirm'd in the Preface of a late Diſcourſe, Entitul'd, *The ready Way to Eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth, and the Dangers of re-admitting Kingſhip in this Nation*, that *the Humor of returning to our old Bondage, was inſtill'd of late by ſome Deceivers*; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without juſt Ground, one of thoſe Deceivers I preſent here to the People: And if I prove him not ſuch, refuſe not to be ſo accounted in his ſtead.

He

He begins in his Epiſtle to the General; and moves cunningly for a Licence to be admitted Phyſitian both to Church and State; then ſets out his Practice in Phyſical Terms, *an wholſom Electuary to be taken every Morning next our Hearts*: Tells of the Oppoſition which he met with from the College of State-Phyſitians, then lays before you his Drugs and Ingredients; *ſtrong Purgatives in the Pulpit, contemper'd of the Myrrhe of Mortification, the Aloes of Confeſſion and Contrition, the Rubarb of Reſtitution and Satisfaction*; a pretty fantaſtic Doſe of Divinity from a Pulpit-Mountibank, not unlike the Fox, that turning *Pedler*, open'd his Pack of Ware before the Kid; though he now would ſeem *to perſonate the good* Samaritan, undertaking to *deſcribe the Riſe and Progreſs of our national Malady, and to preſcribe the only Remedy*: Which how he performs, we ſhall quickly ſee.

Firſt, he would ſuborn Saint *Luke* as his Spokeſman to the General, preſuming, it ſeems, *to have had as perfect Underſtanding of Things from the very firſt*, as the *Evangeliſt* had of his Goſpel; that the General who hath ſo eminently born his Part in the whole Action, *might know the Certainty of thoſe Things* better from him a partial Sequeſter'd Enemy: For ſo he preſently appears, though covertly and like the Tempter; commencing his Addreſs with an impudent Calumny and Affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleas'd, *to carry on what he had ſo happily begun in the Name and Cauſe* not of God only, which we doubt not, but *of his Anointed*, meaning the late Kings Son: Which is to charge him moſt audaciouſly and falſly with the Renouncing of his own Public Promiſes and Declarations both to the Parliament and the Army, and we truſt his Actions e're long will deter ſuch inſinuating Slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuſe him; for the *Comforter* himſelf 'ſcapes not his Preſumption, avouch'd as falſly, to have *impowr'd* to thoſe Deſigns *him and him only*, who hath ſolemnly declar'd the contrary. What *Phanatick* againſt whom he ſo often enveighs, could more preſumptuouſly affirm whom the *Comforter* hath *impowr'd*, then this *Antiſanatic*, as he would be thought?

The TEXT.

Prov. 24. 21. *My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be Seditious or deſirous of Change*, &c.

Letting paſs Matters not in Controverſy, I come to the main Driſt of your Sermon, *the King*; which Word here is either to ſignify any ſupreme Magiſtrate, or elſe your latter Object of Fear is not Univerſal, belongs not at all to many Parts of Chriſtendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King ſince the putting down of Kingſhip in this Commonwealth, is manifeſt by this laſt Parliament, who to the Time of their diſſolving not only made no Addreſs at all to any King, but ſummon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a Free Commonwealth, without Reſtitution or the leaſt Mention of any Kingly Right or Power; which could not be, if there were at Preſent any King of *England*. The main Part therefore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the uſual Senſe, is either impertinent and abſurd, exhorting your Auditory to fear that which is not, or if King here be, as it is, underſtood for any Supreme Magiſtrate, by your own Exhortation they are in the firſt Place not to *meddle* with you, as being your Self moſt of all the *Seditious* meant here, and the *deſirous of Change*, in ſtirring them up to *fear* a *King*, whom the preſent Government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain Viſion, *God and the King at the firſt bluſh* (which will not be your laſt bluſh) *ſeeming to ſtand in* your *Text like thoſe two* Cherubins *on the Mercy-Seat, looking on each other*. By this Similitude, your conceited Sanctuary, worſe then the Altar of *Ahaz*, pattern'd from *Damaſcus*, de-

degrades God to a *Cherub*, and raiſes your King to be his collateral in Place, notwithſtanding the other differences you put: Which well agrees with the Court-letters, lately publiſh'd from this Lord to to'ther Lord, that cry him up for no leſs then *Angelical* and *Cæleſtial.*

Your firſt Obſervation, *pag.* 8. is, *That God and the King are coupl'd in the Text, and what the Holy Ghoſt hath thus firmly combin'd, we may not, we muſt not, dare to put aſunder*; and your ſelf is the firſt Man who puts them aſunder by the firſt Proof of your Doctrin immediately following, *Judg.* 7. 20. which *couples the Sword of the Lord and* Gideon, a Man who not only was no King, but refus'd to be a King or Monarch, when it was offer'd him, in the very next Chapter, v. 22, 23. *I will not Rule over you, neither ſhall my Son Rule over you; the Lord ſhall Rule over you.* Here we ſee that this worthy Heroic Deliverer of his Country thought it beſt govern'd, if the Lord govern'd it in that Form of a Free Commonwealth, which they then enjoy'd without a ſingle Perſon. And this is your firſt Scripture, abus'd and moſt impertinently cited, nay againſt your ſelf, to prove, that *Kings at their Coronation have a Sword given them,* which you interpret *the Militia, the Power of Life and Death put into their Hands,* againſt the declar'd Judgment of our Parliaments, nay of all our Laws, which reſerve to themſelves only the Power of Life and Death, and render you in their juſt Reſentment of this Boldneſs, another, Doctor *Manwaring.*

Your next Proof is as falſe and frivolous, *The King,* ſay you, *is Gods Sword-bearer*; true, but not the King only, for *Gideon* by whom you ſeek to prove this, neither was, nor would be a King; and as you your Self confeſs, *p.* 40. *There be divers Forms of Government. He bears not the Sword in vain, Rom.* 13. 4. this alſo is as true of any lawful Rulers, eſpecially Supreme, ſo that Rulers, *v.* 3. and therefore this preſent Government, without whoſe Authority you excite the People to a King, bear the Sword as well as Kings, and as little in Vain. *They fight againſt God, who reſiſt his Ordinance, and go about to wreſt the Sword out of the Hands of his Anointed.* This is likewiſe granted; but who is *his Anointed?* Not every King, but they only who were Anointed or made Kings by his ſpecial Command; as *Saul, David,* and his Race, which ended in the *Meſſiah* (from whom no Kings at this Day can derive their Title) *Jehu, Cyrus,* and if any other were by Name appointed by him to ſome particular Service: As for the reſt of Kings, all other ſupreme Magiſtrates are as much the Lords Anointed as they; and our Obedience commanded equally to them all: *For there is no Power but of God, Rom.* 13. 1. And we are exhorted in the Goſpel to obey Kings, as other Magiſtrates, not that they are call'd any where the Lord's Anointed, but as they are *the Ordinance of Man,* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. You therefore and other ſuch falſe Doctors, preaching Kings to your Auditory, as the Lord's only Anointed, to withdraw People from the preſent Government, by your own Text are ſelf-condemn'd, and not to be follow'd, not to be *medl'd with,* but to be noted, as moſt of all others the *Seditious and deſirous of Change.*

Your third Proof is no leſs againſt your Self. *Pſal.* 105. 15. *Touch not mine Anointed.* For this is not ſpoken in behalf of Kings, but ſpoken to reprove Kings, that they ſhould not touch his anointed Saints and Servants, the Seed of *Abraham,* as the Verſe next before might have taught you: *He reproved Kings for their Sakes; ſaying, touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*; according to that, 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. *He who hath Anointed us, is God.* But how well you confirm one wreſted Scripture with another, 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but me*: Groſly miſapplying theſe Words; which were not ſpoken to any who had *reſiſted or rejected* a King, but to them who much againſt the Will of God hath ſought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth, wherein they might have lived happily under the

the Reign of God only, their King. Let the Words interpret themſelves: *v.* 6, 7. *But the Thing diſpleaſed* Samuel, *when they ſaid, give us a King to judge us*: *And* Samuel *pray'd unto the Lord. And the Lord ſaid unto* Samuel, *hearken unto the Voice of the People in all that they ſay unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not Reign over them.* Hence you conclude, *ſo indiſſoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King.* O notorious Abuſe of Scripture! Whenas you ſhould have concluded, ſo unwilling was God to give them a King, ſo wide was the disjunction of God from a King. Is this the Doctrin you boaſt of to be *ſo clear in it ſelf, and like a Mathematical Principle, that needs no further Demonſtration.* Bad Logic, bad Mathematics (for Principles can have no Demonſtration at all) but worſe Divinity. O People of an implicit Faith no better then *Romiſh*, if theſe be thy prime Teachers; who to their credulous Audience dare thus jugle with Scripture, to alledge thoſe Places for the Proof of their Doctrin, which are the plain Refutation: And this is all the Scripture which he brings to confirm his Point.

The reſt of his Preachment is meer groundleſs Chat, ſave here and there a few Grains of Corn ſcatter'd to intice the ſilly Fowl into his Net, interlac'd here and there with ſome human Reading; though ſlight, and not without Geographical and Hiſtorical Miſtakes: As *p.* 29, *Suevia* the *German* Dukedom, for *Suecia* the *Northren* Kingdom, *Philip* of *Macedon*, who is generally underſtood of the great *Alexander*'s Father only, made contemporary, *p.* 31. with *T. Quintus the* Roman *Commander*, inſtead of *T. Quintius* and the latter *Philip*: And *p.* 44. *Tully* cited *in his third Oration againſt* Verres, to ſay of him, *that he was a wicked Conſul*, who never was a *Conſul*: Nor *Trojan Sedition ever portrai'd* by that Verſe of *Virgil*, which you cite *p.* 47. as *that* of *Troy*: School-boys could have told you, that there is nothing of *Troy* in that whole Portraiture, as you call it, of *Sedition*. Theſe groſs Miſtakes may juſtly bring in doubt your other looſe Citations; and that you take them up ſome where at the ſecond or third Hand raſhly and without due conſidering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your Fable. The Frogs (**being once a free Nation** ſaith the Fable) *petitioned* Jupiter *for a King: He tumbl'd among them a Log. They found it Inſenſible: They petitioned then for a King that ſhould be active: He ſent them a Crane* (a **Stork** ſaith the Fable) *which ſtraight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the Reproof of them who deſire Change: Whereas indeed the true Moral ſhews rather the Folly of thoſe, who being Free ſeek a King; which for the moſt part either as a Log lies heavy on his Subjects, without doing ought worthy of his Dignity and the Charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up and devouring them.

But by our fundamental Laws, the King is the higheſt Power, Page 40. If we muſt hear Mooting and Law-lectures from the Pulpit, what ſhame is it for a Doctor of Divinity, not firſt to conſider, that no Law can be *Fundamental*, but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature or right Reaſon, commonly call'd *Moral Law*: which no Form of Government was ever counted; but Arbitrary, and at all Times in the Choice of every Free People, or their Repreſenters. This Choice of Government is ſo Eſſential to their Freedom, that longer then they have it, they are not Free. In this Land not only the late King and his Poſterity, but Kingſhip it ſelf hath been abrogated by a Law; which involves with as good Reaſon the Poſterity of a King forfeited to the People, as that Law heretofore of Treaſon againſt the King, attainted the Children with the Father. This Law againſt both King and Kingſhip they who moſt queſtion, do no leſs queſtion all enacted without the King and his Anti-Parliament at *Oxford*, though call'd Mungrel by himſelf. If no Law muſt be held Good, but what paſſes in full Parliament, then

ſurely

ſurely in Exactneſs of Legality no Member muſt be miſſing: For look how many are miſſing, ſo many Counties or Cities that ſent them want their Repreſenters. But if being once choſen, they ſerve for the whole Nation, then any Number which is ſufficient, is full, and moſt of all in Times of Diſcord, Neceſſity and Danger. The King himſelf was bound by the old Mode of Parliaments, not to be abſent, but in Caſe of Sickneſs or ſome extraordinary Occaſion, and then to leave his Subſtitute; much leſs might any Member be allow'd to abſent himſelf. If the King then and many of the Members with him, without leaving any in his ſtead, forſook the Parliament upon a meer *Panic* Fear, as was at that Time judg'd by moſt Men, and to levy War againſt them that ſate, ſhould they who were left ſitting, break up, or not dare enact ought of neareſt and preſenteſt Concernment to public Safety, for the Punctilio wanting of a full Number, which no Law-book in ſuch extraordinary Caſes hath determin'd? Certainly, if it were lawful for them to fly from their Charge upon Pretence of private Safety, it was much more lawful for theſe to ſit and act in their Truſt what was neceſſary for public. By a Law therefore of Parliament, and of a Parliament that conquer'd both *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and all their Enemies in *England*, defended their Friends, were generally acknowledg'd for a Parliament both at home and abroad, Kingſhip was aboliſh'd: This Law now of late hath been negatively repeal'd; yet Kingſhip not poſitively reſtor'd; and I ſuppoſe never was eſtabliſh'd by any certain Law in this Land, nor poſſibly could be: For how could our Foreſathers bind us to any certain Form of Government more then we can bind our Poſterity? If a People be put to War with their King for his Miſgovernment, and overcome him, the Power is then undoubtedly in their own Hands how they will be govern'd. The War was granted juſt by the King himſelf at the Beginning of his laſt Treaty, and ſtill maintain'd to be ſo by this laſt Parliament, as appears by the Qualification preſcrib'd to the Members of this next enſuing, That none ſhall be elected, who have born Arms againſt the Parliament ſince 1641. If the War were juſt, the Conqueſt was alſo juſt by the Law of Nations. And he who was the chief Enemy, in all Right ceas'd to be the King, eſpecially after Captivity, by the deciding Verdict of War; and Royalty with all her Laws and Ptetenſions, yet remains in the Victors Power, together with the Choice of our future Government. Free Commonwealths have been ever counted fitteſt and propereſt for civil, vertuous and induſtrious Nations, abounding with prudent Men worthy to govern: Monarchy fitteſt to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious People. If we deſire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler then a free Commonwealth: If we will needs condemn our ſelves to be of the latter, deſpairing of our own Vertue, Induſtry and the Number of our able Men, we may then, conſcious of our own Unworthineſs to be govern'd better, ſadly betake us to our befitting Thraldom: Yet chooſing out of our own Number one who hath beſt aided the People, and beſt merited againſt Tyranny, the ſpace of a Reign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious People ſhould give up themſelves to the vanquiſh'd, was never yet heard of; ſeems rather void of all Reaſon and good Policy, and will in all Probability ſubject the Subduers to the Subdu'd, will expoſe to Revenge, to Beggary, to Ruin and perpetual Bondage the Victors under the Vanquiſh'd; then which what can be more unworthy?

From miſinterpreting our Law, you return to do again the ſame with Scripture, and would prove the Supremacy of *Engliſh* Kings from 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. as if that were the Apoſtles Work: Wherein if he ſaith that *the King is Supreme*, he ſpeaks ſo of him but as *an Ordinance of Man*, and in reſpect of thoſe *Governours that are ſent by him*, not in reſpect of Parliaments, which by the Law of this Land are his Bridle; in vain his Bridle, if not alſo his Rider:

Rider: And therefore hath not only *Co-ordination* with him, which you falſly call *ſeditious*, but hath Superiority above him, and that neither *againſt Religion* nor *right Reaſon:* No nor againſt common Law; for our Kings reign'd only by Law, but the Parliament is above all poſitive Law, whether Civil or Common, makes or unmakes them both, and ſtill the latter Parliament above the former, above all the former Lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent Laws, entail'd the Crown on whom it pleas'd; and, as a great Lawyer ſaith, *is ſo tranſcendent and abſolute, that it cannot be confin'd either for Cauſes or Perſons, within any Bounds.* But your Cry is, no Parliament without a King. If this be ſo, we have never had lawful Kings, who have all been created Kings either by ſuch Parliaments or by Conqueſt: If by ſuch Parliaments, they are in your Allowance none: If by Conqueſt, that Conqueſt we have now conquer'd. So that as well by your own Aſſertion as by ours, there can at preſent be no King. And how could that be abſolutely Supreme, who reign'd, not under Law only, but under Oath of his good Demeanour given to the People at his Coronation, e're the People gave him his Crown? And his principal Oath was to maintain thoſe Laws which the People ſhould chooſe? If then the Law it ſelf, much more he who was but the Keeper and Miniſter of Law, was in their Choice; and both he ſubordinate to the Performance of his Duty ſworn, and our ſworn Allegiance in order only to his Performance.

You fall next on the *Conſiſtorian Schiſmatics*; for ſo you call *Presbyterians*, p. 40. and judge them to have *enervated the Kings Supremacy by their Opinions and Practice, differing in many Things only in Terms from Popery*; though ſome of thoſe Principles which you there cite concerning Kingſhip are to be read in *Ariſtotles Politics*, long e're Popery was thought on. The *Presbyterians* therefore it concerns to be well forewarn'd of you betimes, and to them I leave you.

As for your Examples of ſeditious Men, *p.* 54, *&c. Corah*, *Abſalom*, *Zimri*, *Sheba*, to theſe you might with much more Reaſon have added your own Name, who *blow the Trumpet of Sedition* from your Pulpit againſt the preſent Government: In Reward whereof they have ſent you by this Time, as I hear, *to your own Place*, for Preaching open Sedition, while you would ſeem to Preach againſt it.

As for your *Appendix* annex'd of the *Samaritan reviv'd*, finding it ſo foul a Libel againſt all the Well-affected of this Land, ſince the very Time of *Ship-money*, againſt the whole Parliament, both Lords and Commons, except thoſe that fled to *Oxford*, againſt the whole Reformed Church, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but all over *Europe* (in Compariſon whereof you and your *Prelatical* Party are more true *Schiſmatics* and *Sectarians*, nay more properly *Fanatics* in your *Fanes* and gilded Temples, then thoſe whom you revile by thoſe Names) and meeting with no more Scripture or ſolid Reaſon in your *Samaritan Wine and Oyl*, then hath been already found ſophiſticated and adulterate: I leave your malignant Narrative, as needing no other Confutation, then the juſt Cenſure already paſs'd upon you by the Councel of State.

The E N D.

OF TRUE

RELIGION, HERESIE, SCHISM, TOLERATION,

And what beſt Means may be us'd againſt the Growth of

POPERY.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

IT is unknown to no Man, who knows ought of Concernment among us, that the Increaſe of Popery is at this day no ſmall Trouble and Offence to greateſt Part of the Nation; and the rejoycing of all good Men that it is ſo; the more their Rejoycing, that God hath giv'n a Heart to the People to remember ſtill their great and happy Deliverance from Popiſh Thraldom, and to eſteem ſo highly the precious Benefit of his Goſpel, ſo freely and ſo peaceably enjoy'd among them. Since therefore ſome have already in Public with many conſiderable Arguments exhorted the People to beware the Growth of this *Romiſh* Weed; I thought it no leſs then a common Duty to lend my Hand, how unable ſoever, to ſo good a Purpoſe. I will not now enter into the Labyrinth of Councels and Fathers, an intangl'd Wood which the Papiſt love to fight in, not with hope of Victory, but to obſcure the Shame of an open Overthrow: Which yet in that kind of Combate, many heretofore, and one of late hath eminently giv'n them. And ſuch manner of Diſpute with them, to Learned Men is uſeful and very commendable: But I ſhall inſiſt now on what is plainer to common Apprehenſion, and what I have to ſay, without longer Introduction.

True Religion is the true Worſhip and Service of God, learnt and believ'd from the Word of God only. No Man or Angel can know how God would be worſhip'd and ſerv'd, unleſs God reveal it: He hath reveal'd and taught

taught it us in the Holy Scriptures by inſpir'd Miniſters, and in the Goſpel by his own Son and his Apoſtles, with ſtricteſt Command to reject all other Traditions or Additions whatſoever. According to that of St. *Paul, Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel, unto you; than that which we have preach'd unto you, let him be Anathema or Accurſt.* And *Deut.* 4. 2. *Ye ſhall not add to the Word which I command you, neither ſhall you diminiſh ought from it.* Rev. 22. 18, 19. *If any Man ſhall add,* &c. *If any Man ſhall take away from the Words,* &c. With good and religious Reaſon therefore all Proteſtant Churches with one Conſent and particularly the Church of *England* in her thirty nine Articles, Artic. *6th,* 19, *20th, 21ſt,* and elſewhere, maintain theſe two Points, as the main Principles of true Religion: That the Rule of true Religion is the Word of God only: And that their Faith ought not to be an implicit Faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, againſt or without expreſs Authority of Scripture. And if all Proteſtants as univerſally as they hold theſe two Principles, ſo attentively and religiouſly would obſerve them, they would avoid and cut off many Debates and Contentions, Schiſms and Perſecutions, which too oft have been among them and more firmly unite againſt the common Adverſary. For hence it directly follows, that no true Proteſtant can perſecute or not tolerate his Fellow Proteſtant, though diſſenting from him in ſome Opinions, but he muſt flatly deny and Renounce theſe two his own main Principles, whereon true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifeſt Word of God, to an implicit Faith (which he himſelf condemns) to the endangering of his Brothers Soul, whether by raſh Belief, or outward Conformity: For *whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin.*

I will now as briefly ſhow what is falſe Religion or Hereſie, which will be done as eaſily: For of Contraries the Definitions muſt needs be contrary. Hereſie therefore is a Religion taken up and believ'd from the Traditions of Men and Additions to the Word of God. Whence alſo it follows clearly, that of all known Sects or pretended Religions at this Day in Chriſtendom, Popery is the only or the greateſt Hereſie: And he who is ſo forward to brand all others for Hereticks, the obſtinate Papiſt, the only Heretic. Hence one of their own famous Writers found juſt Cauſe to ſtile the *Romiſh* Church, *Mother of Error, School of Hereſie.* And whereas the Papiſt boaſts himſelf to be a *Roman* Catholic, it is a meer contradiction, one of the Popes Bulls, as if he ſhould ſay, Univerſal Particular a Catholic Schiſmatic. For Catholic in *Greek* ſignifies Univerſal: And the Chriſtian Church was ſo call'd as conſiſting of all Nations to whom the Goſpel was to be preach'd, in Contradiction to the *Jewiſh* Church, which conſiſted for the moſt part of *Jews* only.

Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a falſe, when Men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers ſake, whom they think almoſt infallible; and this becomes, through Infirmity, implicit Faith, and the Name Sectary pertains to ſuch a Diſciple.

Schiſm is a Rent or Diviſion in the Church, when it comes to the ſeparating of Congregations; and may alſo happen to a true Church as well as to a falſe; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of Communion; if they can agree in the right Adminiſtration of that wherein they communicate, keeping their other Opinions to themſelves, not being deſtructive to Faith. The *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* were two Sects, yet both meet together in their common Worſhip of God at *Jeruſalem.* But here the Papiſt will angrily demand, what! Are *Lutherans, Calviniſts, Anabaptiſts, Socinians, Arminians,* no *Hereticks?* I anſwer, all theſe may have ſome Errors; but are no Heretics. Hereſie is in the Will and Choice profeſſly againſt Scripture; Error is againſt the Will, in miſunderſtanding the Scripture after all ſincere Endeavours to underſtand it rightly: Hence it was ſaid well by one of the

Ancients, *Err I may, but a* Heretic *I will not be.* It is a human Frailty to err, and no Man is infallible here on Earth. But ſo long as all theſe profeſs to ſet the Word of God only before them as the Rule of Faith and Obedience; and uſe all Diligence and Sincerity of Heart, by Reading, by Learning, by Study, by Prayer for Illumination of the Holy Spirit, to underſtand the Rule and obey it, they have done what Man can do: God will aſſuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of *Job*, good and pious Men, though much miſtaken, as there it appears, in ſome Points of Doctrin. But ſome will ſay, with Chriſtians it is otherwiſe, whom God hath promis'd by his Spirit to teach all Things. True, all Things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation: But the hotteſt Diſputes among *Proteſtants* calmly and charitably inquir'd into, will be found leſs then ſuch. The *Lutherans* hold Conſubſtantiation; an Error indeed, but not mortal. The *Calviniſt* is tax'd with Predeſtination, and to make God the Author of Sin; not with any diſhonourable Thought of God, but it may be over zealouſly aſſerting his abſolute Power, not without Plea of Scripture. The *Anabaptiſt* is accus'd of denying Infants their Right to Baptiſm; again they ſay, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The *Arrian* and *Socinian* are charg'd to diſpute againſt the Trinity: They affirm to believe the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, according to the Scripture and the Apoſtolic Creed: As for Terms of Trinity, Triniunity, Co-eſſentiality, Triperſonality, and the like, they reject them as Scholaſtic Notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general *Proteſtant* Maxim is plain and perſpicuous abundantly to explain its own Meaning in the propereſt Words, belonging to ſo high a Matter, and ſo neceſſary to be known; a Myſtery indeed in their Sophiſtic Subtleties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrin. Their other Opinions are of leſs Moment. They diſpute the Satisfaction of Chriſt, or rather the Word *Satisfaction*, as not Scriptural: But they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour. The *Arminian*, laſtly, is condemn'd for ſetting up free Will againſt free Grace; but that Imputation he diſclaims in all his Writings, and grounds himſelf largly upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd, that the Authors or late Revivers of all theſe Sects or Opinions were Learned, Worthy, Zealous and Religious Men, as appears by their Lives written, and the ſame of their many eminent and learned Followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblameable in their Lives: And it cannot be imagin'd, that God would deſert ſuch painful and zealous Labourers in his Church, and oft times great Sufferers for their Conſcience, to damnable Errors and a reprobate Senſe, who have ſo often implor'd the Aſſiſtance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man infallible, that he hath pardon'd their Errors, and accepts their pious Endeavours, ſincerely ſearching all Things according to the Rule of Scripture, with ſuch Guidance and Direction as they can obtain of God by Prayer. What *Proteſtant* then, who himſelf maintains the ſame Principles, and diſavows all implicit Faith, would perſecute, and not rather charitably tolerate ſuch Men as theſe, unleſs he mean to abjure the Principles of his own Religion? If it be ask'd how far it ſhould be tolerated? I anſwer doubtleſs equally, as being all *Proteſtants*; that is on all Occaſions to give Account of their Faith, either by Arguing, Preaching in their ſeveral Aſſemblies, public Writing, and the Freedom of Printing. For if the *French* and *Polonian* Proteſtants enjoy all this Liberty among *Papiſts*, much more may a *Proteſtant* juſtly expect it among *Proteſtants*, and yet ſometimes here among us, the one perſecutes the other upon every ſlight Pretence.

But he is wont to ſay, he enjoys only things indifferent. Let them be ſo ſtill, who gave him Authority to change their Nature by enjoyning them? If by his own Principles, as is prov'd, he ought to tolerate controverted Points of Doctrin, not ſlightly grounded on Scripture, much more ought he not

not impoſe Things indifferent without Scripture. In Religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be impos'd, is either a Command or a Prohibition, and ſo conſequently an Addition to the Word of God, which he profeſſes to diſallow. Beſides, how unequal, how uncharitable muſt it needs be, to impoſe that which his Conſcience cannot urge him to impoſe upon him whoſe Conſcience forbids him to obey? What can it be but Love of Contention for Things not neceſſary to be done, to moleſt the Conſcience of his Brother, who holds them neceſſary to be not done? To conclude, let ſuch a one but call to Mind his own Principles above mention'd, and he muſt neceſſarily grant, that neither he can impoſe, nor the other believe or obey ought in Religion, but from the Word of God only. More amply to underſtand this, may be read the 14th. and 15th. *Chapters* to the *Romans*, and the Contents of the 14th. ſet forth no doubt but with full Authority of the Church of *England*; the Gloſs is this: *Men may not contemn or condemn one the other for Things indifferent.* And in the 6th. Article above mention'd, *Whatſoever is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be prov'd thereby, is not to be requir'd of any Man as an Article of Faith, or neceſſary to Salvation.* And certainly what is not ſo is not to be requir'd at all; as being an Addition to the Word of God expreſly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot Conteſt, Whether *Proteſtants* ought to tolerate one another, if Men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more Words to compoſe it.

Let us now enquire whether Popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold Power, Eccleſiaſtical and Political, both uſurp'd, and the one ſupporting the other.

But Eccleſiaſtical is ever pretended Political. The Pope by this mix'd Faculty pretends Right to Kingdoms and States, and eſpecially to this of *England*, thrones and unthrones Kings, and abſolves the People from their Obedience to them; ſometimes interdicts to whole Nations the Public Worſhip of God, ſhutting up their Churches: And was wont to drain away greateſt Part of the Wealth of this then miſerable Land, as Part of his Patrimony, to maintain the Pride and Luxury of his Court and *Prelates*: And now ſince, through the infinite Mercy and Favour of God, we have ſhaken off his *Babyloniſh* Yoke, hath not ceas'd by his Spies and Agents, Bulls and Emiſſaries, once to deſtroy both King and Parliament; perpetually to ſeduce, corrupt and pervert as many as they can of the People. Whether therefore it be fit or reaſonable to tolerate Men thus Princip'd in Religion towards the State, I ſubmit it to the Conſideration of all Magiſtrates, who are beſt able to provide for their own and the public Safety. As for tolerating the Exerciſe of their Religion, ſuppoſing their State-activities not to be dangerous, I anſwer, that Toleration is either public or private; and the Exerciſe of their Religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: Not publickly, without grievous and unſufferable Scandal given to all conſcientious Beholders; not privately, without great Offence to God, declar'd againſt all kind of Idolatry, though ſecret. *Ezek.* 8. 7, 8. *And he brought me to the Door of the Court, and when I looked, behold a Hole in the Wall. Then ſaid he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the Wall; and when I had digged, behold a Door, and he ſaid unto me, go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here.* And Ver. 12. *Then ſaid he unto me, Son of Man, haſt thou ſeen what the Ancients of the Houſe of* Iſrael *do in the dark?* &c. And it appears by the whole Chapter, that God was no leſs offended with theſe ſecret Idolatries then with thoſe in public; and no leſs provok'd, then to bring on and haſten his Judgments on the whole Land for theſe alſo.

Having ſhewn thus, that Popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it muſt be now thought how to remove

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it and hinder the Growth thereof. I mean in our Natives and not Foreigners, priviledg'd by the Law of Nations. Are we to puniſh them by corporal Puniſhment, or Fines in their Eſtates, upon Account of their Religion? I ſuppoſe, it ſtands not with the Clemency of the Goſpel, more then what appertains to the Security of the State: But firſt we muſt remove their Idolatry, and all the Furniture thereof, whether Idols, or the Maſs wherein they adore their God under Bread and Wine: For the Commandment forbids to adore, not only *any graven Image, but the Likeneſs of any thing in Heaven above or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip them, for I the Lord thy God am a Jealous God.* If they ſay, that by removing their Idols we violate their Conſciences, we have no Warrant to regard Conſcience which is not grounded on Scripture: And they themſelves confeſs in their late Defences, that they hold not their Images neceſſary to Salvation, but only as they are enjoyn'd them by Tradition.

Shall we condeſcend to diſpute with them? The Scripture is our only Principle in Religion; and by that only they will not be judg'd, but will add other Principles of their own, which, forbidden by the Word of God, we cannot aſſent to. And [in ſeveral Places of the Goſpel] The common Maxim alſo in *Logic* is, *againſt them who deny Principles, we are not to diſpute.* Let them bound their Diſputations on the Scripture only, and an ordinary *Proteſtant*, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their Doctors. They will not go about to prove their Idolatries by the Word of God, but run to Shifts and Evaſions and frivolous Diſtinctions: Idols they ſay are *Laymens* Books, and a great Means to ſtir up pious Thoughts and Devotion in the Learned'ſt. I ſay they are no Means of Gods appointing, but plainly the Contrary: Let them hear the Prophets; *Jer.* 10. 8. *The Stock is a Doctrin of Vanities:* Habakkuk 2. 18. *What profiteth the graven Image that the Maker thereof hath graven it: The Molten Image and a Teacher of Lyes?* But they alledge in their late Anſwers, that the Laws of *Moſes* given only to the *Jews*, concern not us under the Goſpel: And remember not that Idolatry is forbidden as expreſly, but with theſe Wiles and Fallacies *compaſſing Sea and Land, like the* Phariſees *of old, to make one Proſelyte*, they lead away privily many ſimple and ignorant Souls, Men or Women, *and make them twofold more the Children of Hell then themſelves*, *Matt.* 23. 15. But the Apoſtle hath well warn'd us, I may ſay, from ſuch Deceivers as theſe, for their Myſtery was then working. *I beſeech you, Brethren*, ſaith he, *mark them which cauſe Diviſions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrin which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are ſuch ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own Belly, and by good Words and fair Speeches deceive the Heart of the Simple*, Rom. 16, 17, 18.

The next Means to hinder the Growth of *Popery*, will be to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which as St. *Paul* ſaith to *Timothy*, who had known them from a Child, *are able to make wiſe unto Salvation.* And to the whole Church of *Coloſſi*; *Let the Word of Chriſt dwell in you plentifully, with all Wiſdom, Coloſ.* 3. 16. The *Papal Antichriſtian* Church permits not her *Laity* to read the Bible in their own Tongue: Our Church on the contrary hath propos'd it to all Men, and to this End tranſlated it into *Engliſh*, with profitable Notes on what is met with obſcure, though what is moſt neceſſary to be known be ſtill plaineſt: That all Sorts and Degrees of Men, not underſtanding the Original, may read it in their Mother Tongue. Neither let the Countryman, the Tradeſman, the Lawyer, the Phyſician, the Stateſman excuſe himſelf by his much Buſineſs from the ſtudious Reading thereof. Our Saviour ſaith, *Luke* 10. 41, 42. *Thou art careful and troubled about many Things, but one Thing is needful.* If they were ask'd, they would be loath to ſet earthly Things, Wealth or Honour, before the Wiſdom of Salvation. Yet moſt Men in the Courſe and Practice of their Lives are found

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to do ſo; and through unwillingneſs to take the Pains of underſtanding their Religion by their own diligent Study, would fain be ſav'd by a Deputy. Hence comes implicit Faith, ever learning and never taught, much Hearing and ſmall Proficience, till Want of fundamental Knowledg eaſily turns to Superſtition or Popery: Therefore the *Apoſtle* admoniſhes, *Eccleſ.* 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more Children toſſed too and fro and carry'd about with every Wind of Doctrin, by the ſlight of Men, and cunning Craftineſs whereby they lye in wait to deceive.* Every Member of the Church, at leaſt of any Breeding or Capacity, ſo well ought to be grounded in ſpiritual Knowledg, as, if need be, to examine their Teachers themſelves, *Acts* 17. 11. *They ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe Things were ſo.* Rev. 2. 2. *Thou haſt try'd them which ſay they are Apoſtles, and are not.* How ſhould any private Chriſtian try his Teachers unleſs he be well grounded himſelf in the Rule of Scripture, by which he is taught. As therefore among *Papiſts*, their Ignorance in Scripture chiefly upholds *Popery*; ſo among *Proteſtant* People, the frequent and ſerious reading thereof will ſooneſt pull *Popery* down.

Another Means to abate *Popery* ariſes from the conſtant Reading of Scripture, wherein Believers who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual Forbearance and Charity one towards the other, though diſſenting in ſome Opinions. It is written, that the Coat of our Saviour was without Seam; whence ſome would infer, that there ſhould be no Diviſion in the Church of Chriſt. It ſhould be ſo indeed; Yet Seams in the ſame Cloath, neither hurt the Garment, nor misbecome it; and not only Seams, but Schiſms will be while Men are fallible: But if they who diſſent in Matters not eſſential to Belief, while the common Adverſary is in the Field, ſhall ſtand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be ſoon routed and ſubdued. The *Papiſt* with open Mouth makes much Advantage of our ſeveral Opinions; not that he is able to confute the worſt of them, but that we by our continual Jangle among our ſelves, make them worſe then they are indeed. To ſave our ſelves therefore, and reſiſt the common Enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within our ſelves, that with joyn'd Forces we may not only hold our own, but get Ground; and why ſhould we not? The Goſpel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various Opinions, and hath promiſed a good and happy Event thereof, *Phil.* 3. 15. *Let us therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded; and if in any Thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal even this unto you.* And we are bid, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 21. *Prove all Things, hold faſt that which is good.* St. *Paul* judg'd that not only to tolerate, but to examin and prove all Things, was no Danger to our holding faſt of that which is good. How ſhall we prove all Things, which includes all Opinions, at leaſt founded on Scripture, unleſs we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and ſeriouſly read them? If he who thinks himſelf in the Truth profeſſes to have learnt it, not by implicit Faith, but by attentive Study of the Scriptures and full Perſwaſion of Heart, with what Equity can he refuſe to hear or read him, who demonſtrates to have gain'd his Knowledg by the ſame way? Is it a fair Courſe to aſſert Truth by arrogating to himſelf the only Freedom of Speech, and ſtopping the Mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct Way to bring in that *Papiſtical* implicit Faith which we all diſclaim. They pretend it would unſettle the weaker Sort: The ſame groundleſs Fear is pretended by the *Romiſh* Clergy. At leaſt then let them have Leave to write in *Latin*, which the common People underſtand not; that what they hold may be diſcuſt among the Learned only. We ſuffer the Idolatrous Books of *Papiſts*, without this Fear, to be ſold and read as common as our own. Why not much rather of *Anabaptiſts*, *Arians*, *Arminians* and *Socinians*? There is no Learned Man but will confeſs he hath much profited by reading Controverſies, his Senſes awak'd, his Judgment ſharpn'd, and the Truth which he holds more firmly eſtabliſh'd. If

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then it be profitable for him to read; why ſhould it not at leaſt be tolerable and free for his Adverſary to write? In *Logic* they teach, that Contraries laid together more evidently appear: It follows then, that all Controverſy being permitted, Falſhood will appear more falſe, and Truth the more true: Which muſt needs conduce much, not only to the Confounding of *Popery*, but to the general Confirmation of unimplicit Truth.

The laſt Means to avoid *Popery*, is to amend our Lives: It is a general Complaint, that this Nation of late Years is grown more numerouſly and exceſſively vitious then heretofore; Pride, Luxury, Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Curſing, Swearing, bold and open Atheiſm every where abounding. Where theſe grow, no wonder if *Popery* alſo grow apace. There is no Man ſo wicked, but at ſometimes his Conſcience will wring him with Thoughts of another World, and the Peril of his Soul, the Trouble and Melancholy which he conceives of true Repentance and Amendment he endures not; but enclines rather to ſome carnal Superſtition, which may pacify and lull his Conſcience with ſome more pleaſing Doctrin. None more ready and officious to offer her ſelf then the *Romiſh*, and opens wide her Office, with all her Faculties to receive him; eaſy Confeſſion, eaſy Abſolution, Pardons, Indulgences, Maſſes for him both quick and dead, *Agnus Dei's*, Relicks and the like: And he, inſtead of *Working out his Salvation with Fear and Trembling*, ſtraight thinks in his Heart (like another kind of Fool then he in the *Pſalms*) to bribe God as a corrupt Judge, and by his Proctor, ſome Prieſt or Fryer, to buy out his Peace with Money, which he cannot with his Repentance. For God, when Men ſin outragiouſly, and will not be admoniſh'd, gives over chaſtizing them, perhaps by Peſtilence, Fire, Sword or Famin, which may all turn to their Good, and takes up his ſevereſt Puniſhments, Hardneſs, Beſottedneſs of Heart and Idolatry, to their final Perdition. Idolatry brought the *Heathen* to heinous Tranſgreſſions, *Rom.* 2. And heinous Tranſgreſſions oft-times bring the ſlight Profeſſors of true Religion, to groſs Idolatry: 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 11, 12. *For this Cauſe, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong Deluſion that they ſhould believe a Lye, that they all might be damn'd who believe not the Truth, but had Pleaſure in Unrighteouſneſs.* And *Iſa.* 44. 18. Speaking of Idolaters, *They have not known nor underſtood, for he hath ſhut their Eyes that they cannot ſee, and their Hearts that they cannot underſtand.* Let us therefore uſing this laſt Means, laſt here ſpoken of, but firſt to be done, amend our Lives with all ſpeed, leaſt through Impenitency ye run into that ſtupidly, which we now ſeek all Means ſo warily to avoid, the worſt of Superſtitions, and the heavieſt of all Gods Judgments, *Popery*.

The END.

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ

IN

A N S W E R

TO A

B O O K

ENTITULED

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

THE

PROTRAITURE of his Sacred *MAJESTY*

IN HIS

Solitudes and Sufferings.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Prov. xxviii. xv, xvi, xvii.

15. *As a roaring Lyon and a ranging Bear, ſo is a wicked Ruler over the poor People.*
16. *The Prince that wanteth Underſtanding, is alſo a great Oppreſſor, but he that hateth Covetouſneſs ſhall prolong his days.*
17. *A Man that doth violence to the Blood of any Perſon, ſhall fly to the Pit, let no Man ſtay him.*

Saluſt. Conjurat. Catilin.

Regium Imperium, quod initio, conſervandæ Libertatis, atque augendæ reipub. causâ fuerat, in ſuperbiam, dominationemque ſe convertit.
Regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt; ſemperque his aliena Virtus formidoloſa eſt.
Quidlibet impune facere, hoc ſcilicet regium eſt.

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

I spare this Book from the Flames for
the sake of Paradise-Lost. W. T.

THE

PREFACE.

TO descant on the Misfortunes of a Person fall'n from so high a Dignity, who hath also paid his final Debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it self a thing commendable, nor the Intention of this Discourse. Neither was it fond ambition or the vanity to get a Name, Present, or with Posterity, by writing against a King: I never was so thirsty after Fame, nor so destitute of other hopes and means, better and more certain to attain it. For Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from their Favorers by writing against private Men, as Henry the VIII. did against Luther; but no Man, ever gain'd much honour by writing against a King, as not usually meeting with that force of Argument in such Courtly Antagonists, which to convince might add to his reputation. Kings, most commonly, though strong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accustom'd from the Cradle to use their Will only as their right Hand, their Reason always as their left. Whence unexpectedly constrain'd to that kind of Combat, they prove but Weak and Puny Adversaries. Nevertheless for their sakes, who through Custom, Simplicity, or want of better Teaching, have not more seriously considered Kings, then in the gaudy Name of Majesty, and admire them and their doings, as if they breath'd not the same breath with other mortal Men, I shall make no scruple to take up (for it seems to be the Challenge both of him and all his Party) to take up this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalf of Liberty and the Common-wealth.

And further, since it appears manifestly the cunning Drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the same Advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regal Name and Authority, and intend it not so much the Defence of his former Actions, as the Promoting of their own future Designs; making thereby the Book their own rather then the Kings, as the Benefit now must be their own more then his, now the third time to corrupt and disorder the Minds of weaker Men, by new Suggestions and Narrations, either falsly or fallaciously representing the State of Things, to the Dishonour of this present Government, and the retarding of a general Peace, so needful to this afflicted Nation, and so nigh obtain'd, I suppose it no Injury to the Dead, but a good Deed rather to the living, if by better Information giv'n them, or, which is enough, by any remembring them the Truth of what they themselves know to be here mis-affirm'd, they may be kept from entring the third time unadvisedly into War and Bloodshed. For as to any moment of Solidity in the Book it self, stuft with naught else but the common Grounds of Tyranny and Popery, sugar'd a little over; or any need of answering in respect of staid and well-principl'd Men, I take it on me as a Work assign'd rather then by me chos'n or affected. Which was the Cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely, in the midst of other Imployments and Diversions. And if the late King had thought sufficient those Answers and Defences made for him in his Life-time, they whoen the other side accus'd his evil Government, judging that on their behalf enough also hath been reply'd, the heat of this Controversy was in likelyhood drawing to an end; and the further Mention of his deeds not so much unfortunate as faulty, had in tenderness to his late Sufferings, been willingly forborn; and perhaps for the present Age might have slept with him unrepeated; while his Adversaries, calm'd and asswag'd with the Success of their Cause, had been the less unfavorable to his Memory. But since he himself, making new Appeal to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the best Advocate and Interpreter of his own Actions, and that his Friends by publishing, dispersing, commending, and almost adoring it, seem to place therein the chief Strength and Nerves of their Cause, it would argue doubtless in the other Party great Deficience and Distrust of themselves, not to meet the Force of his Reason in any field whatsoever, the Force and Equipage of whose Arms they have so oft'n met victoriously. And he who at the Bar stood excepting against the Form and Manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard, neither he nor his Friends shall have that Cause now to find fault; being met and debated with in this open and monumental Court of his own erecting; and not only heard uttering his whole Mind at large, but answer'd. Which to do effectually, if it be necessary, that to his Book no thing the more respect be had for being his, they of his own Party can have no just reason to exclaim. For it were too unreasonable that he, because dead, should have the Liberty in his Book to speak all Evil of the Parliament; and they, because living, should be expected to have less Freedom, or any for them to speak home the plain Truth of a full and pertinent Reply. As he, to acquit himself, hath not spar'd his Adversaries to load them with all sorts of Blame and Accusation, so to him as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtship then he uses; but what is properly his own Guilt, not imputed any more to his evil Counselors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parliament then he himself desir'd) shall be laid here without Circumlocutions at his own door. That they who from the first beginning, or but now of late, by what Unhappiness I know not, are so much affatuated not with his Person only, but with his palpable Faults, and dote upon his Deformities,

may have none to blame but their own Folly, if they live and die in ſuch a ſtrook'n Blindneſs, as next to that of Sodom hath not happen'd to any ſort of Men more groſs, or more miſleading.

Firſt, then that ſome Men (whether this were by him intended or by his Friends) have by Policy accompliſh'd after Death that revenge upon their Enemies, which in Life they were not able, hath been oft related. And among other Examples we find that the laſt Will of Cæſar being read to the People, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them, wrought more in that vulgar Audience, to the avenging of his Death, then all the Art he could ever uſe, to win their Favour in his Life-time. And how much their Intent, who publiſh'd theſe over-late Apologies and Meditations of the dead King, drives to the ſame end of ſtirring up the People to bring him that Honour, that Affection, and by Conſequence, that Revenge to his dead Corps, which he himſelf living could never gain to his Perſon, it appears both by the conceited Portraiture before his Book, drawn out to the full Meaſure of a Maſking Scene, and ſet there to catch Fools and ſilly Gazers, and by thoſe Latin Words after the end, Vota dabunt quæ Bella negarunt, intimating, that what he could not compaſs by War, he ſhould atchieve by his Meditations. For in Words which admit of various Senſe, the Liberty is ours to chooſe that Interpretation which may beſt mind us of what our reſtleſs Enemies endeavour, and what we are timely to prevent. And here may be well obſerv'd the looſe and negligent Curioſity of thoſe who took upon them to adorn the ſetting out of this Book: For though the Picture ſet in Front would Martyr him and Saint him to befool the People, yet the Latin Motto in the end, which they underſtand not, leaves him, as it were, a politic Contriver to bring about that Intereſt by fair and plauſible Words, which the Force of Arms deny'd him. But quaint Emblems and Devices begg'd, from the old Pageantry of ſome Twelf-nights Entertainment at Whitehall, will do but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the People reſolve to take him Sainted at the rate of ſuch a Canonizing, I ſhall ſuſpect their Calendar more then the Gregorian. In one thing I muſt commend his Openneſs who gave the Title to this Book, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, that is to ſay, The Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dreſſes out for him, certainly, would have the People come and worſhip him. For which Reaſon this Anſwer alſo is intitl'd Εἰκονοκλάστης the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in their Zeal to the Commond of God, after long Tradition of Idolatry in the Church, took Courage and broke all ſuperſtitious Images to Pieces. But the People, exorbitant and exceſſive in all their motions, are prone oft-times not to a religious only, but to a civil kind of Idolatry in Idoliz'ing their Kings; though never more miſtak'n in the Object of their worſhip; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints, thoſe faithful and couragious Barons, who loſt their Lives in the Field, making glorious War againſt Tyrants for the common Liberty; as Simon de Momford, Earl of Leiceſter againſt Henry the Third; Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaſter, againſt Edward the Second. But now with a beſotted and degenerate baſeneſs of Spirit, except ſome few, who yet retain in them the old Engliſh Fortitude and Love of Freedom, and have teſtifi'd it by their matchleſs deeds, the reſt imbaſtardiz'd from the ancient Nobleneſs of their Anceſtors, are ready to fall flat and give Adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man, who hath offer'd at more cunning Fetches to undermine our Liberties and put Tyranny into an Art, then any Britiſh King before him. Which low dejection and debaſment of Mind in the People, I muſt confeſs I cannot willingly aſcribe to the natural diſpoſition of an Engliſhman, but rather to two other cauſes. Firſt to the Prelats and their Fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whoſe Pulpit-ſtuff, both firſt and laſt, hath been the Doctrin and perpetual Infuſion of ſervility and wretchedneſs to all their Hearers; and their Lives the Type of Worldlineſs and Hypocriſie, without the leaſt true Pattern of Vertue, Righteouſneſs, or Selfe-denyal in their whole Practice. I attribute it next to the factious Inclination of moſt Men divided from the public by ſeveral ends and humours of their own. At firſt no Man leſs belov'd, no Man more generally condemn'd, then was the King; from the time that it became his Cuſtom to break Parliaments at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray Proteſtants abroad, to the beginning of theſe Combuſtions. All Men inveigh'd againſt him, all Men, except Court-vaſſals, oppos'd him and his Tyrannical Proceedings; the Cry was univerſal, and this full Parliament was at firſt unanimous in their Diſlike and Proteſtation againſt his evil Government. But when they who ſought themſelves and not the Public, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the ſame way attain to their ambitious Purpoſes, then was the King, or his Name at leaſt, as a fit Property, firſt made uſe of, his Doings made the beſt of, and by degrees juſtifi'd: Which begot him ſuch a Party, as after many Wiles and Struglings with his inward Fears, imbolden'd him at length to ſet up his Standard againſt the Parliament. Whereas before that time, all his Adherents, conſiſting moſt of diſſolute Swordmen and Suburb-roiſters, hardly amounted to the making up of one ragged Regiment ſtrong enough to aſſault the unarmed Houſe of Commons. After which Attempt ſeconded by a tedious and bloody War on his Subjects, wherein he hath ſo far exceeded thoſe his arbitrary Violences in time of Peace, they who before hated him for his high Miſgovernment, nay, fought againſt him with diſplay'd Banners in the Field, now applaud him and extol him for the wiſeſt and moſt religious Prince that liv'd. By ſo ſtrange a Method amongſt the mad Multitude is a ſudden Reputation won, of Wiſdom by Wilfulneſs and ſhuttle Shifts, of Goodneſs by multiplying Evil, of Piety by endeavouring to root out true Religion.

But it is evident that the cheif of his Adherents never lov'd him, never honour'd either him or his Cauſe, but as they took him to ſet a Face upon their own malignant Deſigns, nor bemoan his Loſs at all,

but

but the Loſs of their own aſpiring Hopes: Like thoſe captive Women whom the Poet notes in his Iliad, *to have bewail'd the Death of* Patroclus *in outward Shew, but indeed their own Condition.*

Πάτροκλον τοῖσιν, σφῶν δὲ ἑκάστης κῆδε' ἐτύχθη. Hom. Iliad. τ.

And it needs muſt be ridiculous to any Judgment uninthrall'd, that they who in other Matters expreſs ſo little Fear either of God or Man, ſhould in this one Particular outſtrip all Preciſianiſm with their Scruples and Caſes, and fill Mens Ears continually with Noiſe of their conſcientious Loyalty and Allegiance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all their Actions beſide: much leſs, that they whoſe profeſs'd Loyalty and Allegiance led them to direct Arms againſt the Kings Perſon, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hoſtility drawn by them againſt him, ſhould now in earneſt think him violated by the unſparing Sword of Juſtice, which undoubtedly ſo much the leſs in vain ſhe bears among Men, by how much greater in higheſt Place the Offender. Elſe Juſtice, whether Moral or Political, were not Juſtice, but a falſe Counterfeit of that impartial and Godlike Vertue. The only Grief is, that the Head was not ſtrook off to the beſt Advantage and Commodity of them that held it by the Hair: Which Obſervation, though made by a Common Enemy, may for the Truth of it hereafter become a Proverb. But as to the Author of theſe Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is vulgarly believ'd, or any ſecret Co-adjutor, *and ſome ſtick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor ſhall take from the weight, if any be, of Reaſon which he brings. But Allegations, not Reaſons are the main Contents of this Book; and need no more then other contrary Allegations to lay the Queſtion before all Men in an ev'n Balance; though it were ſuppos'd that the Teſtimony of one Man in his own Cauſe affirming, could be of any Moment to bring in doubt the Authority of a Parliament denying. But if theſe his fair ſpok'n Words ſhall be here fairly confronted and laid Parallel to his own far differing Deeds, manifeſt and viſible to the whole Nation, then ſurely we may look on them, who notwithſtanding ſhall perſiſt to give to bare Words more Credit then to op'n Deeds, as Men whoſe Judgments was not rationally evinc'd and perſwaded, but fatally ſtupifi'd and bewitch'd, into ſuch a blind and obſtinate Belief. For whoſe Cure it may be doubted, not whether any Charm, though never ſo wiſely murmur'd, but whether any Prayer can be available.*

EIKO-

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

UPON THE

KINGS

Calling his Laſt

PARLIAMENT.

THAT which the King lays down here as his firſt Foundation, and as it were the Head-ſtone of his whole Structure, that *He call'd this laſt Parliament not more by others Advice and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, then by his own Choice and Inclination,* is to all knowing Men ſo apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauſpicious Sentence and more betok'ning the Downfal of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his Mind. For who knows not, that the Inclination of a Prince is beſt known, either by thoſe next about him, and moſt in favour with him, or by the Current of his own Actions. Thoſe neareſt to this King and moſt his Favorites were Courtiers and *Prelates*; Men whoſe chief Study was to find out which way the King inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly. How theſe Men ſtood affected to Parliaments, cannot be forgott'n. No Man but may remember it was their continual Exerciſe to diſpute and preach againſt them; and in their common Diſcourſe nothing was more frequent, then that *they hoped the King ſhould now have no need of Parliaments any more.* And this was but the Copy which his Paraſites had induſtriouſly tak'n from his own Words and Actions, who never called a Parliament but to ſupply his Neceſſities; and having ſupply'd thoſe, as ſuddenly and ignominiouſly diſſolv'd it, without redreſſing any one Greivance of the People. Sometimes chooſing rather to miſs of his Subſidies, or to raiſe them by illegal Courſes, then that the People ſhould not ſtill miſs of their hopes, to be reliev'd by Parliaments.

The firſt he broke off at his Coming to the Crown; for no other Cauſe then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* againſt them who had accus'd him, beſides other heinous Crimes, of no leſs then Poyſoning the deceaſed King his Father. And ſtill the latter breaking was with more Affront and Indignity put upon the Houſe and her worthieſt Members, then the former. Inſomuch that in the fifth Year of his Reign, in a Proclamation he ſeems offended at the very Rumor of a Parliament divulg'd among the People: As if he had tak'n it for a kind of Slander, that Men ſhould think him that way exorable, much leſs inclin'd: And forbids it as a Preſumption to preſcribe him any time for Parliaments; that is to ſay, either by Perſwaſion or Petition, or ſo much as the reporting of ſuch a Rumor; for other manner of preſcribing was at that time not ſuſpected. By which fierce Edict, the People forbidd'n to complain as well as forc'd to ſuffer, began from thenceforth to deſpair of Parliaments. Whereupon ſuch illegal Actions, and eſpecially to get vaſt Sums of Money, were put in Practice by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulſive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the ſeizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances under the Pretence of Foreſt, or Crown-Lands, Corruption and

Bribery

Bribery compounded for, with Impunities granted for the future, as gave evident Proof that the King never meant, nor could it ſtand with the reaſon of his Affairs, ever to recal Parliaments; having brought by theſe irregular Courſes the Peoples Intereſt and his own to ſo direct an Oppoſition, that he might foreſee plainly, if nothing but a Parliament could ſave the People, it muſt neceſſarily be his undoing.

Till eight or nine Years after, proceeding with a high hand in theſe Enormities, and having the ſecond time levied an injurious War againſt his native Country *Scotland*, and finding all thoſe other ſhifts of raiſing Money, which bore out his firſt Expedition, now to fail him, not *of his own choice and inclination*, as any Child may ſee, but urg'd by ſtrong Neceſſities, and the very Pangs of State which his own violent Proceedings had brought him to, he calls a Parliament; firſt in *Ireland*, which only was to give him four Subſidies and ſo to expire; then in *England*, where his firſt Demand was but twelve Subſidies, to maintain a *Scotch* War, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promiſing their Grievances ſhould be conſider'd afterwards. Which when the Parliament, who judg'd that War it ſelf one of their main Grievances, made no haſt to grant, not enduring the Delay of his impatient Will, or elſe fearing the Conditions of their Grant, he breaks off the the whole Seſſion, and diſmiſſes them and their Grievances with Scorn and Fruſtration.

Much leſs therefore did he call this laſt Parliament by his own Choice and Inclination; but having firſt try'd in vain all undue Ways to procure Mony, his Army of their own Accord being beat'n in the *North*, the Lords petitioning and the general Voice of the People, almoſt hiſſing him and his ill-acted Regality off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his Wants, and by his Fears upon meer Extremity he ſummon'd this laſt Parliament. And how is it poſſible, that he ſhould willingly incline to Parliaments, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subſidies, and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true End of Parliaments, the Redreſs of Grievances; but ſtill put them off and prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; And was indeed the Author of all thoſe Grievances. To ſay therefore, that he call'd this Parliament of his own Choice and Inclination, argues how little Truth we can expect from the Sequel of this Book, which ventures in the very firſt Period to affront more then one Nation with an Untruth ſo remarkable; and preſumes a more implicit Faith in the People of *England*, then the Pope ever commanded from the *Romiſh* Laity; or elſe a natural Sottiſhneſs fit to be abus'd and ridd'n. While in the Judgment of Wiſe Men, by laying the Foundation of his Defence on the Avouchment of that which is ſo manifeſtly untrue, he hath giv'n a worſe Foil to his own Cauſe, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrown. They therefore who think ſuch great Service done to the Kings Affairs in Publiſhing this Book, will find themſelves in the end miſtak'n: If Senſe and right Mind, or but any Mediocrity of Knowledg and Remembrance, hath not quite forſak'n Men.

But to prove his Inclination to Parliaments, he affirms here, *To have always thought the right way of them, moſt ſafe for his Crown, and beſt pleaſing to his People.* What he thought we know not; but that he ever took the contrary way we ſaw; and from his own Actions we felt long ago what he thought of Parliaments, or of pleaſing his People: A ſurer Evidence then what we hear now too late in Words.

He alledges, that *the Cauſe of forbearing to convene Parliaments was the Sparks which ſome Mens Diſtempers there ſtudied to kindle.* They were indeed not temper'd to his Temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the Rule by which all other Tempers were to be try'd; but they were eſteem'd and choſen for the fitteſt Men in their ſeveral Counties, to allay and quench

thoſe

thoſe Diſtempers which his own inordinate Doings had inflam'd. And if that were his refuſing to *convene*, till thoſe Men had been qualifi'd to his Temper, that is to ſay, his Will, we may eaſily conjecture what hope there was of Parliaments, had not Fear and his inſatiat Poverty in the midſt of his exceſſive Wealth conſtrain'd him.

He hoped by his Freedom and their Moderation to prevent Miſ-underſtandings. And wherefore not by their Freedom and his Moderation; But Freedom he thought too high a Word for them; and moderation too mean a Word for himſelf: This was not the way to prevent Miſunderſtandings. He ſtill *fear'd Paſſion and Prejudice in other Men*; not in himſelf: *And doubted not by the weight of his* own *Reaſon, to counterpoiſe any Faction*; it being ſo eaſie for him, and ſo frequent, to call his Obſtinacy, Reaſon, and other Mens Reaſon, Faction. We in the mean while muſt believe that Wiſdom and all Reaſon came to him, by Title, with his Crown; Paſſion, Prejudice and Faction came to others by being Subjects.

He was ſorry to hear with what popular Heat Elections were carry'd in many Places. Sorry rather that Court Letters and Intimations prevail'd no more, to divert, or to deterr the People from their free Election of thoſe Men, whom they thought beſt affected to Religion and their Countries Liberty, both at that time in danger to be loſt. And ſuch Men they were as by the Kingdom were ſent to adviſe him, not ſent to be cavill'd at, becauſe elected, or to be entertain'd by him with an Undervalue and Miſpriſion of their Temper, Judgment or Affection. In vain was a Parliament thought fitteſt by the known Laws of our Nation, to adviſe and regulate unruly Kings, if they, inſtead of hearkning to Advice, ſhould be permitted to turn it off, and refuſe it by vilifying and traducing their Adviſers, or by accuſing of a popular Heat thoſe that lawfully elected them.

His own and his Childrens Intereſt oblig'd him to ſeek and to preſerve the Love and Welfare of his Subjects. Who doubts it? But the ſame Intereſt, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all ſeek that, which was indeed beſt for themſelves and their Poſterity. All Men by their own and their Childrens Intereſt are oblig'd to Honeſty and Juſtice: But how little that Conſideration works in private Men, how much leſs in Kings, their Deeds declare beſt.

He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies and to exceed their Deſires, did they but pretend to any modeſt and ſober Sence; miſtaking the whole Buſineſs of a Parliament. Which met not to receive from him Obligations but Juſtice; nor he to expect from them their Modeſty, but their grave Advice, utter'd with Freedom in the public Cauſe. His Talk of Modeſty in their Deſires of the Common-welfare, argues him not much to have underſtood what he had to grant, who miſconciev'd ſo much the Nature of what they had to deſire. And for *Sober Senſe* the Expreſſion was too mean; and recoils with as much diſhonour upon himſelf, to be a King, where ſober Senſe could poſſibly be ſo wanting in a Parliament.

The Odium and Offences which ſome Mens Rigour, or Remiſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon his Government, he reſolved to have expiated with better Laws and Regulations. And yet the worſt of Miſ-demeanours committed by the worſt of all his Favourites, in the Height of their Dominion, whether Acts of Rigor or Remiſneſs, he hath from time to time continued, own'd and taken upon himſelf by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergy, or any other of his Inſtruments felt themſelves overburdn'd with the Peoples hatred. And who knows not the ſuperſtitious Rigor of his Sundays Chappel and the licentious Remiſneſs of his Sundays Theater; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical* Jigs and Maypoles, publiſh'd in his own Name, and deriv'd from the Example of his Father *James*. Which teſtifies all that Rigor in Superſtition, all that Remiſneſs in Religion to have

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iſſu'd out originally from his own Houſe and from his own Authority. Much rather then may thoſe general Miſ-carriages in State, his proper Sphear, be imputed to no other Perſon chiefly then to himſelf. And which of all thoſe oppreſſive Acts or Impoſitions did he ever diſclaim or diſavow, till the fatal Awe of this Parliament hung ominouſly over him. Yet here he ſmoothly ſeeks to wipe off all the Envy of his evil Government upon his Subſtitutes and Under-officers: And promiſes, though much too late, what Wonders he purpos'd to have done in the Reforming of Religion; a work wherein all his Undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no Judgment. Neither could his Breeding or his Courſe of Life aquaint him with a Thing ſo ſpiritual. Which may well aſſure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him; either ſome politic Form of an impos'd Religion, or elſe perpetual Vexation and Perſecution to all thoſe that comply'd not with ſuch a Form. The like Amendment he promiſes in State; not a Step further *then his Reaſon and Conſcience told him was fit to be deſired*; wiſhing *he had kept within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffer'd his own Judgment to have been over-born in ſome Things*, of which Things one was the Earl of *Stafford*'s Execution. And what ſignifies all this, but that ſtill his Reſolution was the ſame, to ſet up an Arbitrary Government of his own; and that all *Britain* was to be ty'd and chain'd to the Conſcience, Judgment and Reaſon of one Man; as if thoſe Gifts had been only his Peculiar and Prerogative, entail'd upon him with his Fortune to be a King. Whenas doubtleſs no Man ſo Obſtinate or ſo much a Tyrant, but profeſſes to be guided by that which he calls his Reaſon and his Judgment, though never ſo corrupted, and pretends alſo his Conſcience. In the mean while, for any Parliament or the whole Nation to have either Reaſon, Judgment or Conſcience, by this Rule was altogether in vain, if it thwarted the Kings Will; which was eaſie for him to call by any other more plauſible Name. And thus we find theſe fair and ſpecious Promiſes, made upon the Experience of many hard Sufferings, and his moſt mortifi'd Retirements, being throughly ſifted, to contain nothing in them much different from his former Practices, ſo croſs and ſo averſe to all his Parliaments, and both the Nations of this *Iſland*. What Fruits they could in likelyhood have produced in his Reſtorement, is obvious to any Prudent Foreſight.

And this is the Subſtance of his firſt *Section*, till we come to the Devout of it model'd into the Form of a private *Pſalter*. Which they who ſo much admire either for the Matter or the Manner, may as well admire the Arch-Biſhops late *Breviary*, and many other as good *Manuals* and *Handmaids* of *Devotion*, the Lip-work of every Prelatical *Liturgiſt*, clap'd together, and quilted out of Scripture-Phraſe, with as much Eaſe and as little Need of Chriſtian Diligence or Judgment, as belongs to the Compiling of any ordinary and ſaleable Piece of *Engliſh* Divinity, that the Shops value. But he who from ſuch a kind of *Pſalmiſtry*, or any other verbal Devotion, without the Pledge and Earneſt of ſuitable Deeds, can be perſwaded of a Zeal and true Righteouſneſs in the Perſon, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepeſt Policy of a Tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit Religions. And *Ariſtotle* in his Politics, hath mention'd that ſpecial Craft among Twelve other Tyrannical *Sophiſms*. Neither want we Examples. *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantine* Emperor, though a moſt cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Nicetas* to have been a conſtant Reader of St. *Paul*'s *Epiſtles*; and by continual Study had ſo incorporated the Phraſe and Stile of that tranſcendent Apoſtle into all his familiar Letters, that the Imitation ſeem'd to vie with the Original. Yet this avail'd not to deceive the People of that Empire; who notwithſtanding his Saints Vizard, tore him to pieces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this Nature both Ancient and Modern which abound, the Poets alſo, and ſome *Engliſh*, have been in this Point ſo mindful of *Decorum*, as

to put never more pious Words in the Mouth of any Perſon then of a Tyrant. I ſhall not inſtance an abſtruſe Author, wherein the King might be leſs converſant, but one whom we well know was the Cloſet Companion of theſe his Solitudes, *William Shakeſpear*; who introduces the Perſon of *Richard* the III. ſpeaking in as high a Strain of Piety and Mortification, as is utter'd in any Paſſage of this Book; and ſometimes to the ſame Senſe and Purpoſe with ſome Words in this Place; *I intended*, ſaith he, *not only to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies.* The like ſaith *Richard*, *Act.* 2. *Scen.* 1.

I do not know that Engliſhman *alive,*
With whom my Soul is any Jot at odds,
More then the Infant that is born to night;
I thank my God for my Humility.

Other ſtuff of this Sort may be read throughout the whole Tragedy, wherein the Poet us'd not much Licence in departing from the Truth of Hiſtory, which delivers him a deep Diſſembler, not of his Affections only, but of Religion.

In Praying therefore, and in the outward Work of Devotion, this King we ſee hath not at all exceeded the worſt of Kings before him. But herein the worſt of Kings, profeſſing *Chriſtianiſm*, have by far exceeded him. They, for ought we know, have ſtill pray'd their own, or at leaſt borrow'd from fit Authors. But this King, not content with that, which although in a thing holy, is no holy Theft, to attribute to his own Making other Mens whole Prayers, hath as it were unhallow'd and unchriſtn'd the very Duty of Prayer it ſelf, by borrowing to a *Chriſtian* uſe Prayers offer'd to a *Heathen* God. Who would have imagin'd ſo little Fear in him of the true All-ſeeing *Deity*, ſo little Reverence of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe Office is to dictate and preſent our *Chriſtian* Prayers, ſo little Care of Truth in his laſt Words, or Honour to himſelf, or to his Friends, or Senſe of his Afflictions, or of that ſad Hour which was upon him, as immediately before his Death to pop into the Hand of that grave Biſhop who attended him, as a ſpecial Relick of his ſaintly Exerciſes, a Prayer ſtolen Word for Word from the Mouth of a *Heathen* Woman, praying to a *Heathen* God; and that in no ſerious Book, but in the vain amatorious *Poem* of Sir *Philip Sidney*'s *Arcadia*; a Book in that kind full of Worth and Wit, but among religious Thoughts and Duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any Time without good Caution; much leſs in time of Trouble and Affliction to be a *Chriſtians* Prayer-Book. It hardly can be thought upon without ſome Laughter, that he who had acted over us ſo ſtately and ſo tragically, ſhould leave the World at laſt with ſuch a ridiculous *Exit*, as to bequeath among his deifying Friends that ſtood about him, ſuch a Piece of Mockery to be publiſh'd by them, as muſt needs cover both his and their Heads with Shame and Confuſion. And ſure it was the Hand of God that let them fall and be taken in ſuch a fooliſh Trap, as hath expos'd them to all Deriſion, if for nothing elſe, to throw Contempt and Diſgrace in the ſight of all Men upon this his Idoliz'd Book, and the whole Roſary of his Prayers; thereby teſtifying how little he accepted them from thoſe who thought no better of the Living God, then of a Buzzard Idol, that would be ſerv'd and worſhip'd with the polluted Traſh of *Romances* and *Arcadia*'s, without diſcerning the Affront ſo irreligiouſly and ſo boldly offer'd him to his Face.

Thus much be ſaid in General to his Prayers; and in Special to that *Arcadian* Prayer us'd in his Captivity; enough to undeceive us what Eſteem we are to ſet upon the reſt.

And thus far in the whole Chapter we have ſeen and conſider'd, and it cannot but be clear to all Men, how, and for what Ends, what Concernments

and

and Neceſſities the late King was no way induc'd, but every way conſtrain'd to call this laſt Parliament; yet here in his firſt Prayer he trembles not to avouch as in the Ears of God, *That he did it with an upright Intention, to his Glory and his Peoples Good:* Of which dreadful Atteſtation, how ſincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow'd, can only judge; and he hath judg'd already; and hath written his impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Chriſtendom; and beſides hath taught us, that there be ſome, whom he hath given over to Deluſion; whoſe very Mind and Conſcience is defil'd; of whom Saint *Paul* to *Titus* makes mention.

II. *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.*

THIS next Chapter is a penitent Confeſſion of the King, and the ſtrangeſt, if it be well weigh'd, that ever was Auricular. For he repents here of giving his Conſent, though moſt unwillingly, to the moſt ſeaſonable and ſolemn Piece of Juſtice, that had been done of many Years in the Land: But his ſole Conſcience thought the contrary. And thus was the Welfare, the Safety, and within a little, the unanimous Demand of three populous Nations to have attended ſtill on the Singularity of one Mans opinionated Conſcience; if Men had always been ſo tame and ſpiritleſs; and had not unexpectedly found the Grace to underſtand, that if his Conſcience were ſo narrow and peculiar to it ſelf, it was not fit his Authority ſhould be ſo ample and univerſal over others. For certainly a private Conſcience ſorts not with a public Calling; but declares that Perſon rather meant by Nature for a private Fortune. And this alſo we may take for Truth, that he whoſe Conſcience thinks it Sin to put to death a capital Offender, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous Perſon. But let us hear what the Sin was that lay ſo ſore upon him, and, as his Prayer given to Dr. *Juxton* teſtifies, to the very day of his Death; it was his ſigning the Bill of *Strafford*'s Execution: A Man whom all Men look'd upon as one of the boldeſt and moſt impetuous Inſtruments, that the King had to advance any violent or illegal Deſign. He had rul'd *Ireland* and ſome Parts of *England* in an Arbitrary Manner, had endeavour'd to ſubvert Fundamental Laws, to ſubvert Parliaments and to incenſe the King againſt them; he had alſo endeavour'd to make Hoſtility between *England* and *Scotland*: He had counſell'd the King to call over that *Iriſh* Army of *Papiſts*, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Teſtimony then preſent at the Conſultation. For which, and many other Crimes alledg'd and prov'd againſt him in 28. Articles, he was condemn'd of High Treaſon by the Parliament. The Commons by far the greater Number caſt him; the Lords, after they had been ſatisfi'd in a full Diſcourſe by the Kings Sollicitor, and the Opinions of many Judges deliver'd in their Houſe, agreed likewiſe to the Sentence of Treaſon. The People univerſally cry'd out for Juſtice. None were his Friends but Courtiers and Clergymen, the worſt at that Time, and moſt corrupted Sort of Men; and Court Ladies, not the beſt of Women; who when they grow to that Inſolence as to appear Active in State Affairs, are the certain Sign of a diſſolute, degenerate and puſilanimous Common-wealth. Laſt of all the King, or rather firſt, for theſe were but his Apes, was not ſatisfi'd in Conſcience to condemn him of High Treaſon; and declar'd to both Houſes, *That no tears or reſpects whatſoever ſhould make him alter that Reſolution founded upon his Conſcience.* Either then his Reſolution was indeed not founded upon his Conſcience, or his Conſcience receiv'd better Information, or elſe both his Conſcience and this his ſtrong Reſolution ſtrook Sail, notwithſtanding theſe glorious Words, to his ſtronger Fear. For within a few days after, when the Judges at a privy Counſel, and four of his elected Biſhops had pick'd the Thorn out of his Conſcience, he was at length perſwaded to ſign the

Bill for *Strafford's* Execution. And yet perhaps that it wrung his Conſcience to condemn the *Earl* of High Treaſon is not unlikely: Not becauſe he thought him guiltleſs of higheſt Treaſon, had half thoſe Crimes been committed againſt his own private Intereſt or Perſon, as appear'd plainly by his Charge againſt the ſix Members, but becauſe he knew himſelf a Principal in what the *Earl* was but his Acceſſory, and thought nothing Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, but againſt himſelf only.

Had he really ſcrupl'd to ſentence that for Treaſon which he thought not Treaſonable, why did he ſeem reſolv'd by the Judges and the Biſhops? And if by them reſolv'd, how comes the Scruple here again? It was not then, as he now pretends, *The Importunities of ſome and the Fear of many*, which made him ſign, but the Satisfaction given him by thoſe Judges and Ghoſtly Fathers of his own chooſing. Which of him ſhall we believe? For he ſeems not one but double; either here we muſt not believe him profeſſing that his Satisfaction was but ſeemingly receiv'd, and out of Fear, or elſe we may as well believe that the Scruple was no real Scruple, as we can believe him here againſt himſelf before, that the Satisfaction then receiv'd was no real Satisfaction: Of ſuch a variable and fleeting Conſcience what hold can be taken? But that indeed it was a facile Conſcience, and could diſſemble Satisfaction when it pleas'd, his own enſuing Actions declar'd: Being ſoon after found to have the chief Hand in a moſt deteſted Conſpiracy againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, as by Letters and Examinations of *Percy*, *Goring*, and other Conſpirators came to light; that his Intention was to reſcue the Earl of *Strafford*, by ſeizing on the Tower of *London*; to bring up the *Engliſh* Army out of the *North*, joyn'd with eight Thouſand *Iriſh* Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army to be landed at *Portſmouth* againſt the Parliament and their Friends. For which Purpoſe the King, though requeſted by both Houſes to disband thoſe *Iriſh* Papiſts, refus'd to do it, and kept them ſtill in Arms to his own Purpoſes. No marvel then, if being as deeply criminous as the Earl himſelf, it ſtung his Conſcience to adjudge to Death thoſe Miſdeeds whereof himſelf had been the chief Author: No marvel, though inſtead of blaming and deteſting his Ambition, his evil Counſel, his Violence and Oppreſſion of the People, he fall to praiſe his great *Abilities*; and with ſcholaſtic Flouriſhes, beneath the Decency of a King, compares him to *the SUN*, which in all figurative Uſe and Significance bears Alluſion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he knit Contradictions as cloſe as Words can lye together, *not approving in his Judgment*, and yet approving in his ſubſequent Reaſon all that *Strafford* did, as *driven by the Neceſſity of Times and the Temper of that People*; for this excuſes all his Misdemeanours: *Laſtly*, no marvel that he goes on building many fair and pious Concluſions upon falſe and wicked Premiſes, which deceive the common Reader not well diſcerning the Antipathy of ſuch Connections: But this is the Marvel, and may be the Aſtoniſhment of all that have a Conſcience, how he durſt in the Sight of God (and with the ſame Words of Contrition wherewith *David* repents the Murthering of *Uriah*) repent his lawful Compliance to that juſt Act of not ſaving him, whom he ought to have deliver'd up to ſpeedy Puniſhment; though himſelf the guiltier of the two. If the Deed were ſo ſinful to have put to Death ſo great a Malefactor, it would have taken much doubtleſs from the Heavineſs of his Sin, to have told God in his Confeſſion, how he labour'd, what dark Plots he had contriv'd, into what a League enter'd, and with what Conſpirators againſt his Parliament and Kingdoms, to have reſcu'd from the Claim of Juſtice ſo notable and ſo dear an Inſtrument of Tyranny, which would have been a Story, no doubt as pleaſing in the Ears of Heaven, as all theſe equivocal Repentances. For it was Fear and nothing elſe which made him feign before both the Scruple and the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, that is

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to ſay, of his Mind: His firſt Fear pretended Conſcience, that he might be born with to refuſe Signing; his latter Fear being more urgent made him find a Conſcience both to ſign and to be ſatisfy'd. As for Repentance, it came not on him till a long time after; when he ſaw *he could have ſuffer'd nothing more, though he had deny'd that Bill.* For how could he underſtandingly repent of letting that be Treaſon which the Parliament and whole Nation ſo judg'd? This was that which repented him, to have given up to juſt Puniſhment ſo ſtout a Champion of his Deſigns, who might have been ſo uſeful to him in his following Civil Broils. It was a worldly Repentance not a conſcientious; or elſe it was a ſtrange Tyranny which his Conſcience had got over him, to vex him like an evil Spirit for doing one Act of Juſtice, and by that Means to *fortify his Reſolution* from ever doing ſo any more. That Mind muſt needs be irrecoverably deprav'd, which either by Chance or Importunity taſting but once of one juſt Deed, ſpatters at it, and abhors the Reliſh ever after. To the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* Woe was denounc'd by our Saviour for ſtraining at a Gnat and ſwallowing a Camel; though a Gnat were to be ſtrain'd at: But to a Conſcience with whom one good Deed is ſo hard to paſs down, as to endanger almoſt a Choaking, and bad Deeds without number though as big and bulky as the Ruin of three Kingdoms, go down currently without ſtraining, certainly a far greater Woe appertains. If his Conſcience were come to that unnatural *Diſcraſy*, as to digeſt Poyſon and to keck at wholeſom Food, it was not for the Parliament or any of his Kingdoms to feed with him any longer. Which to conceal he would perſwade us, that the Parliament alſo in their Conſcience eſcap'd not *ſome Touches of Remorſe* for putting *Strafford* to Death, in forbidding it by an *After-act* to be a Precedent for the future. But in a fairer Conſtruction, that Act imply'd rather a Deſire in them to pacify the Kings Mind, whom they perceiv'd by this Means quite alienated: In the mean while not imagining, that this After-act ſhould be retorted on them to tie up Juſtice for the time to come upon like Occaſion, whether this were made a Precedent or not, no more then the want of ſuch a Precedent, if it had been wanting, had been available to hinder this.

But how likely is it, that this After-act argu'd in the Parliament their leaſt repenting for the Death of *Strafford*, when it argu'd ſo little in the King himſelf: Who notwithſtanding this After-act which had his own Hand and Concurrence, if not his own Inſtigation, within the ſame Year accus'd of High Treaſon no leſs then ſix Members at once for the ſame pretended Crimes which his Conſcience would not yield to think treaſonable in the Earl. So that this his ſubtle Argument to faſten a repenting, and by that Means a Guiltineſs of *Strafford's* Death upon the Parliament, concludes upon his own Head; and ſhews us plainly that either nothing in his Judgment was Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, but only againſt the Kings Perſon, a Tyrannical Principle, or that his Conſcience was a perverſe and prevaricating Conſcience, to ſcruple that the Commonwealth ſhould puniſh for Treaſonous in one eminent Offender, that which he himſelf ſought ſo vehemently to have puniſh'd in ſix guiltleſs Perſons. If this were *that Touch of Conſcience which he bore with greater Regret* then for any other Sin committed in his Life, whether it were that proditory Aid ſent to *Rochel* and Religion abroad, or that Prodigality of ſhedding Blood at home, to a Million of his Subjects Lives, not valu'd in Compariſon of one *Strafford*, we may conſider yet at laſt what true Senſe and Feeling could be in that Conſcience, and what Fitneſs to be the Maſter conſcience of three Kingdoms.

But the Reaſon why he labours that we ſhould take notice of ſo much *Tenderneſs and Regret in his Soul*, for *having any hand in* Strafford's *Death*, is worth the marking e're we conclude. *He hop'd it would be ſome Evidence before God and Man to all Poſterity, that he was far from bearing that vaſt Load*

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and Guilt of Blood laid upon him by others. Which hath the Likeneſs of a ſubtle Diſſimulation; bewailing the Blood of one Man, his commodious Inſtrument, put to Death moſt juſtly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to ſhed willingly the Blood of thoſe Thouſands, whom he counted Rebels. And thus by dipping voluntarily his Fingers end, yet with Shew of great Remorſe, in the Blood of *Strafford*, whereof all Men clear him, he thinks to 'ſcape that Sea of innocent Blood, wherein his own Guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceive to what eaſy Satisfactions and Purgations he had inur'd his ſecret Conſcience, who thinks, by ſuch weak Policies and Oſtentations as theſe, to gain Belief and Abſolution from underſtanding Men.

III. *Upon his going to the Houſe of Commons.*

CONCERNING his inexcuſable and hoſtile March from the Court to the Houſe of Commons, there needs not much to be ſaid. For he confeſſes it to be an Act which moſt Men, whom he calls *his Enemies*, cry'd Shame upon; *indifferent Men* grew *jealous of and fearful, and many of his Friends reſented as a Motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon*: He himſelf, in one of his Anſwers to both Houſes, made Profeſſion to be convinc'd, that it was a plain Breach of their Privilege: Yet here like a rotten Building newly trimm'd over, he repreſents it ſpeciouſly and fraudulently to impoſe upon the ſimple Reader; and ſeeks by ſmooth and ſupple Words not here only, but through his whole Book, to make ſome beneficial Uſe or other even of his worſt Miſcarriages.

Theſe Men, ſaith he, meaning his Friends, *knew not the juſt Motives and pregnant Grounds with which I thought my ſelf furniſh'd*; to wit, againſt the five Members, whom he came to drag out of the Houſe. His beſt Friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know his Motives to ſuch a riotous Act: And had he himſelf known any juſt Grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his juſtifying, had he nam'd them in this Place, and not conceal'd them. But ſuppoſe them real, ſuppoſe them known, what was this to that Violation and Diſhonour put upon the whole Houſe, whoſe very Door forcibly kept open, and all the Paſſages near it he beſet with Swords and Piſtols cock'd and menac'd in the Hands of about three Hundred Swaggerers and Raſſians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for, the word of Onſet to begin a Slaughter.

He had diſcover'd, as he thought, unlawful Correſpondencies which they had us'd, and Ingagements to imbroil his Kingdoms, and remembers not his own unlawful Correſpondencies and Conſpiracies with the *Iriſh* Army of Papiſts, with the *French* to land at *Portſmouth*, and his tampering both with the *Engliſh* and the *Scotch* Army, to come up againſt the Parliament: The leaſt of which Attempts by whomſoever was no leſs then manifeſt Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth.

If to demand Juſtice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more Reaſon might have demanded Juſtice upon him (I uſe his own Argument) *there needed not ſo rough Aſſiſtance*. If he had *reſolv'd to bear that Repulſe with Patience*, which his Queen by her Words to him at his Return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide againſt it with ſuch an armed and unuſual Force? But his Heart ſerv'd him not to undergo the Hazard that ſuch a deſperate Scuffle would have brought him to. But wherefore did he go at all, it behoving him to know there were two Statutes, that declar'd he ought firſt to have acquainted the Parliament, who were the Accuſers, which he refus'd to do, though ſtill profeſſing to govern by Law, and ſtill juſtifying his Attempts againſt Law: And when he ſaw it was not permitted him to Attaint them but by a fair Tryal,

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as was offer'd him from time to time for want of juſt Matter, which yet never came to light, he let the Buſineſs fall of his own Accord; and all thoſe *Pregnancies* and *juſt Motives* came to juſt nothing.

He had no Temptation of Diſpleaſure or Revenge againſt thoſe Men: None, but what he thirſted to execute upon them, for the conſtant Oppoſition which they made againſt his Tyrannous Proceedings, and the Love and Reputation which they therefore had among the People.

He miſs'd but little to have produc'd Writings under ſome Mens own Hands. But yet he miſs'd, though their Chambers, Trunks and Studies were ſeal'd up and ſearch'd; yet not found guilty. *Providence would not have it ſo.* Good Providence, that curbs the Raging of proud Monarchs as well as of mad Multitudes. *Yet he wanted not ſuch Probabilities* (for his pregnant is come now to probable) *as were ſufficient to raiſe Jealouſies in any Kings Heart.* And thus his pregnant *Motives* are at laſt prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen *Mary*'s Cuſhion: For in any Kings Heart, as Kings go now, what ſhadowy Conceit or groundleſs Toy will not create a Jealouſy?

That he had deſign'd to Aſſault the Houſe of Commons, taking God to witneſs, he utterly denies; yet, in his Anſwer to the City, maintains that *any courſe of Violence had been very Juſtifyable.* And we may then gueſs how far it was from his Deſign. However it diſcover'd in him an exceſſive Eagerneſs to be aveng'd on them that croſs'd him; and that to have his Will, he ſtood not to do Things never ſo much below him. What a becoming ſight it was to ſee the King of *England* one while in the Houſe of Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, proſecuting ſo greedily the Track of five or ſix fled Subjects; himſelf not the Sollicitor only but the Purſivant and the Apparitor of his own partial Cauſe. And although, in his Anſwers to the Parliament, he hath confeſs'd, *firſt*, that his manner of Proſecution was Illegal, *next, that as he once conceiv'd he had Ground enough to accuſe them; ſo at length that he found as good Cauſe to deſert any Proſecution of them*, yet here he ſeems to reverſe all, and againſt Promiſe takes up his old deſerted Accuſation, that he might have ſomething to excuſe himſelf, inſtead of giving due Reparation; which he always refus'd to give them, whom he had ſo diſhonour'd.

That I went, ſaith he, of his going to the Houſe of Commons, *attended with ſome Gentlemem*; Gentlemen indeed; the ragged Infantry of Stews and Brothels; the Spawn and Shipwrack of Taverns and Dicing Houſes: And then he pleads *it was no unwonted Thing for the Majeſty and Safety of a King to be ſo attended, eſpecially in diſcontented Times.* An illuſtrious Majeſty no doubt, ſo attended: A becoming Safety for the King of *England*, plac'd in the Fidelity of ſuch Guards and Champions: Happy times; when Braves and Hackſters, the only contented Members of his Government, were thought the fitteſt and the faithfulleſt to defend his Perſon againſt the Diſcontents of a Parliament and all good Men. Were thoſe the chos'n ones to *preſerve Reverence to him*, while he enter'd *unaſſur'd*, and full of Suſpitions into his great and faithful Counſel? Let God then and the World judge, whether the Cauſe were not in his own guilty and unwarrantable Doings: The Houſe of Commons upon ſeveral Examinations of this Buſineſs declar'd it ſufficiently prov'd, that the coming of thoſe Soldiers, Papiſts and others with the King was to take away ſome of their Members, and in caſe of Oppoſition or Denyal, to have fall'n upon the Houſe in a hoſtile Manner. This the King here denies; adding a fearful Imprecation againſt his own Life, *If he purpoſed any Violence or Oppreſſion againſt the Innocent, then*, ſaith he, *let the Enemy perſecute my Soul; and tread my Life to the Ground and lay my Honour in the Duſt.* What need then more Diſputing? He appeal'd to God's Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd and done to him in the Sight of all Men according to the Verdict of his own Mouth. To

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be a Warning to all Kings hereafter how they uſe preſumptuouſly the Words and Proteſtations of *David* without the Spirit and Conſcience of *David*. And the Kings Admirers may here ſee their Madneſs to miſtake this Book for a Monument of his Worth and Wiſdom, whenas indeed it is his *Dooms-day Book*; not like that of *WILLIAM* the *Norman*, his Predeceſſor, but the Record and Memorial of his Comdemnation: And diſcovers whatever hath befall'n him, to have been haſten'd on from divine Juſtice by the raſh and inconſiderate Appeal of his own Lips. But what Evaſions, what Pretences, though never ſo unjuſt and empty, will he refuſe in Matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the Miſts and Intricacies of State, who, rather then not juſtify himſelf in a thing ſo generally odious, can flatter his Integrity with ſuch frivolous Excuſes againſt the manifeſt Diſſent of all Men, whether Enemies, Neuters or Friends. But God and his Judgments have not been mock'd; and good Men may well perceive what a Diſtance there was ever like to be between him and his Parliament, and perhaps between him and all Amendment, who for one good Deed, though but conſented to, asks God Forgiveneſs; and from his worſt Deeds done takes Occaſion to inſiſt upon his Righteouſneſs.

IV. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

WE have here, I muſt confeſs, a neat and well-couch'd Invective againſt Tumults; expreſſing a true Fear of them in the Author, but yet ſo handſomly compos'd, and withal ſo feelingly, that, to make a Royal Compariſon, I believe *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, could not have compos'd it better. Yet *Rehoboam* had more Cauſe to inveigh againſt them, for they had ſton'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little ſpar'd his own Perſon, had he not with all Speed betak'n him to his Chariot. But this King hath ſtood the worſt of them in his own Houſe without Danger, when his Coach and Horſes in a *Panic* Fear have been to ſeek, which argues that the Tumults at *Whitehall* were nothing ſo dangerous as thoſe at *Sechem*.

But the Matter here conſiderable is not whether the King or his Houſhold *Rhetorician* have made a pithy Declamation againſt Tumults; but *firſt*, whether theſe were Tumults or not, *next*, if they were, whether the King himſelf did not cauſe them? Let us examin therefore how Things at that Time ſtood. The King, as before hath been prov'd, having both call'd this Parliament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condeſcended to their ſeveral Acts, carrying on a Disjoynt and private Intereſt of his own, and not enduring to be croſs'd and overſway'd, eſpecially in the executing of his chief and boldeſt Inſtrument, the Deputy of *Ireland*, firſt tempts the *Engliſh* Army, with no leſs Reward then the Spoil of *LONDON*, to come up and deſtroy the PARLIAMENT. That being diſcover'd by ſome of the Officers, who, though bad enough, yet abhorr'd ſo foul a Deed, the King, harden'd in his Purpoſe, turns him next to the *Scotch* Army; and baits his Temptation with a richer Reward; not only to have the Sacking of *London*, but four *Northern* Counties to be made *Scottiſh*; with Jewels of great Value to be given in Pawn the while. But neither would the *SCOTS*, for any Promiſe of Reward, be bought to ſuch an execrable and odious Treachery; but with much Honeſty gave Notice of the Kings Deſign, both to the Parliament and City of *London*. The Parliament moreover had Intelligence, and the People could not but diſcern, that there was a bitter and malignant Party grown up now to ſuch a Boldneſs, as to give out inſolent and threatning Speeches againſt the Parliament it ſelf. Beſides this, the Rebellion in *Ireland* was now broke out; and a Conſpiracy in *Scotland* had been made, while the King was there, againſt ſome chief Members of that

that Parliament; great Numbers here of unknown and ſuſpicious Perſons reſorted to the City; the King being return'd from *Scotland* preſently diſmiſſes that Guard which the Parliament thought neceſſary in the midſt of ſo many Dangers to have about them; and puts another Guard in their Place, contrary to the Priviledg of that High Court, and by ſuch a one commanded, as made them no leſs doubtful of the Guard it ſelf. Which they therefore, upon ſome ill Effects thereof firſt found, diſcharge; deeming it more ſafe to ſit free, though without a Guard, in open danger, then inclos'd with a ſuſpected Safety. The People therefore, leaſt their worthieſt and moſt faithful Patriots, who had expos'd themſelves for the Public, and whom they ſaw now left naked, ſhould want Aid, or be deſerted in the midſt of theſe Dangers, came in Multitudes, though unarm'd, to witneſs their Fidelity and Readineſs in caſe of any Violence offer'd to the Parliament. The King both envying to ſee the Peoples Love thus devolv'd on another Object, and doubting leaſt it might utterly diſable him to do with Parliaments as he was wont, ſent a Meſſage into the City forbidding ſuch Reſorts. The Parliament alſo both by what was diſcover'd to them, and what they ſaw in a Malignant Party (ſome of which had already drawn Blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and even at their own Gate, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*) conceiving themſelves to be ſtill in Danger where they ſat, ſent a moſt reaſonable and juſt Petition to the King, that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Eſſex* might have commanded; it being the Right of inferiour Courts to make Choiſe of their own Guard. This the King refus'd to do, and why he refus'd, the very next day made manifeſt. for on that Day it was, that he ſallyed out from *Whitehall*, with thoſe truſty *Myrmidons*, to block up, or give Aſſault to the Houſe of Commons. He had, beſides all this, begun to fortifie his Court, and entertain'd arm'd Men not a few; who ſtanding at his Palace-Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable Manner, whereof ſome dy'd. The paſſing by of a Multitude, though neither to St. *Georges* Feaſt, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it ſelf was no Tumult; the Expreſſion of their Loyalty and Stedfaſtneſs to the Parliament, whoſe Lives and Safeties by more then ſlight Rumours they doubted to be in Danger, was no Tumult. If it grew to be ſo, the Cauſe was in the King himſelf and his injurious Retinue, who both by Hoſtile Preparations in the Court, and by actual Aſſailing of the People, gave them juſt Cauſe to defend themſelves.

Surely thoſe unarmed and petitioning People needed not have been ſo formidable to any, but to ſuch whoſe Conſciences miſgave them how ill they had deſerv'd of the People; and firſt began to injure them, becauſe they juſtly fear'd it from them; and then aſcribe that to popular Tumult, which was occaſion'd by their own provoking.

And that the King was ſo emphatical and elaborate on this Theme againſt Tumults and expreſs'd with ſuch a Vehemence his Hatred of them, will redound leſs perhaps, then he was aware, to the Commendation of his Government. For beſides that in good Governments they happen ſeldomeſt, and riſe not without Cauſe, if they prove extream and pernicious, they were never counted ſo to Monarchy, but to Monarchial Tyranny; and Extreams one with another are at moſt Antipathy. If then the King ſo extreamly ſtood in fear of Tumults, the Inference will endanger him to be the other Extream. Thus far the occaſion of this Diſcourſe againſt Tumults; now to the Diſcourſe it ſelf, voluble enough, and full of Sentence, but that, for the moſt Part, either ſpecious rather then ſolid, or to his Cauſe nothing pertinent.

He never thought any thing more to preſage the Miſchiefs that enſu'd, then thoſe Tumults. Then was his Foreſight but ſhort and much miſtaken. Thoſe

Tumults were but the mild Effects of an evil and injurious Reign; not Signs of Miſchiefs to come, but ſeeking Relief for Miſchiefs paſt; thoſe Signs were to be read more apparent in his Rage and purpoſed Revenge of thoſe free Expoſtulations and Clamours of the People againſt his lawleſs Government. *Not any thing*, ſaith he, *portends more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation then when he ſuffers the Clamours of the Vulgar to paſs all Bounds of Law and Reverence to Authority.* It portends rather his Diſpleaſure againſt a Tyrannous King, whoſe proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the ſad Cries and Oppreſſions of whom his Royalty regarded not. As for that ſupplicating People they did no hurt either to Law or Authority, but ſtood for it rather in the Parliament againſt whom they fear'd would violate it.

That they invaded the Honour and Freedom of the two Houſes, is his own officious Accuſation, not ſeconded by the Parliament, who had they ſeen Cauſe, were themſelves beſt able to complain. And if they *ſhook and menac'd* any, they were ſuch as had more relation to the Court, then to the Common-wealth; Enemies, not Patrons, of the People. But if their petitioning unarm'd were an Invaſion of both Houſes, what was his Entrance into the Houſe of Commons, beſetting it with armed Men, in what Condition then was the Honour and Freedom of that Houſe?

They forbore not rude Deportments, contemptuous Words and Actions to himſelf and his Court.

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous Hoſtility he had deſign'd againſt the City and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as People in their Rage have handled Tyrants heretofore for leſs Offences.

They were not a ſhort Ague, but a fierce quotidian Feaver: He indeed may beſt ſay it, who moſt felt it; for the ſhaking was within him; and it ſhook him by his own Deſcription *worſe then a Storm, worſe then an Earthquake*; *Belſhazzars* Palſie. Had not worſe Fears, Terrors and Envies made within him that Commotion, how could a Multitude of his Subjects, arm'd with no other Weapon then Petitions, have ſhaken all his Joynts with ſuch a terrible Ague. Yet that the Parliament ſhould entertain the leaſt Fear of bad Intentions from him, or his Party, he endures not; but would perſwade us that *Men ſcare themſelves and others without Cauſe*; for he thought Fear would be to them a kind of Armor, and his Deſign was, if it were poſſible, to diſarm all, eſpecially of a wiſe Fear and Suſpition; for that he knew would find Weapons.

He goes on therefore with Vehemence to repeat the Miſchiefs done by theſe Tumults. *They firſt Petition'd, then Protected, Dictate next, and laſtly overawe the Parliament. They remov'd Obſtructions, they purg'd the Houſes, caſt out rotten Members.* If there were a Man of Iron, ſuch as *Talus*, by our Poet *Spencer*, is feign'd to be the Page of Juſtice, who with his Iron Flail could do all this, and expeditiouſly, without thoſe deceitful Forms and Circumſtances of Law, worſe then Ceremonies in Religion; I ſay God ſend it done, whether by one *Talus*, or by a thouſand.

But they ſubdu'd the Men of Conſcience in Parliament, back'd and abetted all Seditious and Schiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

Now we may perceive the Root of his Hatred whence it ſprings. It was not the Kings Grace or Princely Goodneſs, but this Iron Flail, the People, that drove the Biſhops out of their Baronies, out of their Cathedrals, out of the Lords Houſe, out of their Copes and Surplices, and all thoſe Papiſtical Innovations, threw down the High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber, gave us a Triennial Parliament, and what we moſt deſired; in revenge whereof he now ſo bitterly enveighs againſt them; theſe are thoſe ſeditious and ſchiſmatical

tical Propoſals, then by him condeſcended to, as Acts of Grace, now of another Name; which declares him, touching Matters of Church and State, to have been no other Man in the deepeſt of his Solitude, then he was before at the higheſt of his Sovereignty.

But this was not the worſt of theſe Tumults, they play'd the haſty *Midwives*, and *would not ſtay the Rip'ning, but went ſtreight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.*

They would not ſtay perhaps the *Spaniſh* Demurring, and putting off ſuch wholeſom Acts and Counſels, as the politic Cabin at *Whitehall* had no mind to. But all this is complained here as done to the Parliament, and yet we heard not the Parliament at that time complain of any Violence from the People, but from him. Wherefore intrudes he to plead the Cauſe of Parliament againſt the People, while the Parliament was pleading their own Cauſe againſt him; and againſt him were forc'd to ſeek Refuge of the People? 'Tis plain then, that thoſe Confluxes and Reſorts interrupted not the Parliament, nor by them were thought Tumultuous, but by him only and his Court Faction.

But what good Man had not rather want any Thing he moſt deſir'd for the public Good, then attain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious Means; as much as to ſay, had not rather ſit ſtill and let his Country be Tyranniz'd, then that the People, finding no other Remedy, ſhould ſtand up like Men and demand their Rights and Liberties. This is the artificialeſt Piece of Fineneſs to perſwade Men to be Slaves, that the Wit of Court could have invented. But hear how much better the Moral of this Leſſon would befit the Teacher. What good Man had not rather want a boundleſs and arbitrary Power, and thoſe fine Flowers of the Crown, call'd Prerogatives, then for them to uſe Force and perpetual Vexation to his faithful Subjects, nay to wade for them through Blood and Civil War. So that this and the whole Bundle of thoſe following Sentences may be apply'd better to the Convincement of his own violent Courſes, then of thoſe pretended Tumults.

Who were the chief Demagogues *to ſend for thoſe Tumults, ſome alive are not ignorant.* Setting aſide the Affrightment of this Goblin Word; for the King by his Leave cannot Coin *Engliſh* as he could Money, to be Current (and 'tis believ'd this Wording was above his known Stile and *Orthography*, and accuſes the whole Compoſure to be conſcious of ſome other Author) yet if the People *were ſent for, emboldened and directed* by thoſe *Demagogues*, who ſaving his *Greek*, were good *Patriots*, and by his own Confeſſion *Men of ſome Repute for Parts and Piety*, it helps well to aſſure us there was both urgent Cauſe, and the leſs Danger of their coming.

Complaints were made, yet no Redreſs could be obtain'd. The Parliament alſo complain'd of what Danger they ſat in from another Party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it chear'd them to ſee ſome Store of their Friends, and in the *Roman*, not the pettifogging Senſe, their Clients ſo near about them; a Defence due by Nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom; as due to their Parents; though the Court ſtorm'd and fretted to ſee ſuch Honour given to them, who were then beſt Fathers of the Commonwealth. And both the Parliament and People complain'd, and demanded Juſtice for thoſe Aſſaults if not Murthers done at his own Doors, by that Crew of *Rufflers*; but he, inſtead of doing Juſtice on them, juſtify'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his public Anſwer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it ſlightly to be paſs'd over, that in the very Place, where Blood was firſt drawn in this Cauſe, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own Blood ſhed by the Executioner. According to that Sentence of Divine Juſtice, in the Place where Dogs lick'd the Blood of *Naboth*, ſhall Dogs lick thy Blood, even thine.

From hence he takes Occaſion to excuſe that improvident and fatal Error of his Abſenting from the Parliament. *When he found that no Declaration of the Biſhops could take Place againſt thoſe Tumults.* Was that worth his conſidering, that fooliſh and ſelf-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Biſhops, who were immediatly appeach'd of Treaſon for that audacious Declaring? The Biſhops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the *Rochets*, and deſerv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to *the Fear of his own Perſon in the Streets*? Did he not the very next day after his Irruption into the Houſe of Commons, then which nothing had more exaſperated the People, go in his Coach unguarded into the City? Did he receive the leaſt Affront, much leſs Violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble Demeanours and Supplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own Guiltineſs he might have juſtly fear'd, yet that he knew the People ſo full of Awe and Reverence to his Perſon, as to dare commit himſelf ſingle among the thickeſt of them, at a Time when he had moſt provok'd them. Beſides in *Scotland* they had handl'd the Biſhops in a more robuſtious Manner; *Edinborough* had been full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had enter'd *England* againſt him; yet after all this, he was not fearful, but very forward to take ſo long a Journey to *Edinborough*; which argues firſt, as did alſo his Rendition afterward to the *Scotch* Army, that to *England* he continu'd ſtill, as he was indeed, a Stranger, and full of Diffidence; to the *Scots* only a Native King, in his Confidence, though not in his Dealing towards them. It ſhews us next beyond doubting, that all this his Fear of Tumults was but a meer Pretence and Occaſion taken of his reſolved Abſence from the Parliament, for ſome other End not difficult to be gueſs'd. And thoſe Inſtances, wherein Valour is not to be queſtion'd, for not *Scuffling with the Sea, or an undiſciplin'd Rabble*, are but ſubſervient to carry on the ſolemn Jeſt of his fearing Tumults: If they diſcover not withal, the true Reaſon why he departed; only to turn his flaſhing at the Court-Gate to ſlaughtering *in the Field*; his diſorderly Bickering, to an orderly Invading: Which was nothing elſe but a more orderly Diſorder.

Some ſuſpected and affirm'd, that he meditated a War when he went firſt from Whitehall. And they were not the worſt Heads that did ſo, nor did *any of his former Acts awaken him* to that, as he alledges for himſelf, or if they had, they clear him only for the Time of paſſing them, not for what ever Thoughts might come after into his Mind. Former actions of Improvidence or Fear, not with him unuſual, cannot abſolve him of all After-Meditations.

He goes on proteſting his *no Intention to have left Whitehall*, had theſe horrid Tumults given him but *Fair Quarter*, as if he himſelf, his Wife and Children had been in Peril. But to this enough hath been anſwer'd.

Had this Parliament as it was in it's firſt Election, namely, with the Lord and Baron Biſhops, *ſat full and free*, he doubts not but all had gon well. What warrant this of his to us? Whoſe not Doubting was all good Mens greateſt Doubt.

He was reſolv'd to hear Reaſon, and to conſent ſo far as he could comprehend. A hopeful Reſolution; what if Reaſon were found by oft Experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own Advantages, was this a Reaſon fit to be intruſted with the common Good of three Nations?

But, ſaith he, *as Swine are to Gardens, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments.* This the Parliament, had they found it ſo, could beſt have told us. In the mean while, who knows not that one great Hog may do as much Miſchief in a Garden as many little Swine.

He was ſometimes prone to think that had he call'd this laſt Parliament to any other Place in England, *the ſad Conſequences might have been prevented.* But Change of Air changes not the Mind. Was not his firſt Parliament at *Oxford* diſſolv'd after two Subſidies given him, and no Juſtice receiv'd? Was

not

not his laſt in the ſame Place, where they ſate with as much Freedom, as much Quiet from Tumults, as they could deſire, a Parliament, both in his Account and their own, conſiſting of all his Friends, that fled after him and ſuffer'd for him, and yet by him nick-nam'd, and caſhier'd for a *Mungrel Parliament, that vex'd his Queen with their baſe and mutinous Motions*, as his Cabinet-letter tells us. Whereby the World may ſee plainly, that no ſhifting of Place, no ſifting of Members to his own Mind, no Number, no Paucity, no Freedom from Tumults, could ever bring his arbitrary Wilfulneſs and tyrannical Deſigns to brook the leaſt Shape or Similitude, the leaſt Counterfeit of a Parliament.

Finally, inſtead of praying for his People, as a good King ſhould do, he prays to be deliver'd from them, as *from wild Beaſts, Inundations and raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice and Religion.* GOD ſave the PEOPLE from ſuch Interceſſors.

V. *Upon the BILL for Triennial Parliaments, and for ſettling this, &c.*

THE Bill for Triennial Parliaments was doubtleſs a good Bill, and the other for ſettling this was at that Time very expedient; and in the Kings own Words no more then what the World *was fully confirm'd he might in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience grant them*; for to that End he affirms to have done it.

But whereas he attributes the paſſing of them to his own Act of Grace and Willingneſs, as his Manner is to make Vertues of his Neceſſities, and giving to himſelf all the Praiſe, heaps Ingratitude upon the Parliament, a little Memory will ſet the clean contrary before us; that for thoſe beneficial Acts we owe what we owe to the Parliament; but to his granting them neither Praiſe nor Thanks. The firſt Bill granted much leſs then two former Statutes yet in Force by *Edward* the III. that a Parliament ſhould be call'd every Year, or ofter if Need were; nay from a far ancienter Law-book call'd *Mirror*, it is affirm'd in a late Treatiſe call'd *Rights of the Kingdom*, that Parliaments by our old Laws ought twice a Year to be at *London*. The ſecond was ſo neceſſary that nothing in the Power of Man, more ſeem'd to be the Stay and Support of all Things from that ſteep Ruin, to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardſhip, and to ſay no worſe, the needleſs raiſing of two Armies, intended for a Civil War, beggar'd both himſelf and the Public: And beſides had left us upon the Score of his needy Enemies, for what it coſt them in their own Defence againſt him. To diſingage him and the Kingdom, great Sums were to be borrow'd, which would never have been lent, nor could ever be repaid had the King chanc'd to diſſolve this Parliament as heretofore. The Errors alſo of his Government had brought the Kingdom to ſuch Extremes, as were incapable of all Recovery without the abſolute Continuance of this Parliament. It had been elſe in vain to go about the ſettling of ſo great Diſtempers, if he who firſt caus'd the Malady might when he pleas'd reject the Remedy. Notwithſtanding all which, that he granted both theſe Acts unwillingly, and as a meer paſſive Inſtrument, was then viſible even to moſt of thoſe Men who now will ſee nothing.

At paſſing of the former Act he himſelf conceal'd not his Unwillingneſs, and teſtifying a general Diſlike of their Actions, which they then proceeded in with great Approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a maſterly Brow, that *by this Act he had oblig'd them above what they had deſerv'd*, and gave a Piece of Juſtice to the Commonwealth three times ſhort of his Predeceſſors, as if he had been giving ſome Boon, or begg'd Office to a Sort of his deſertleſs Grooms.

That

That he paſs'd the latter Act againſt his Will, no Man in Reaſon can hold it queſtionable. For if the *February* before he made ſo dainty, and were ſo loath to beſtow a Parliament once in three Year upon the Nation, becauſe this had ſo oppos'd his Courſes, was it likely that the *May* following he ſhould beſtow willingly on this Parliament an indiſſoluble Sitting, when they had offended him much more, by cutting ſhort and impeaching of High Treaſon his chief Favourites? It was his Fear then, not his Favour which drew him from that Act, leaſt the Parliament, incens'd by his Conſpiracies againſt them about the ſame time diſcover'd, ſhould with the People have reſented too heinouſly thoſe his Doings, if to the Suſpicion of their Danger from him, he had alſo added the Denial of this only Means to ſecure themſelves.

From theſe Acts therefore in which he glories, and wherewith ſo oft he upbraids the Parliament, he cannot juſtly expect to reap ought but Diſhonour and Diſpraiſe; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much leſs then was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a Teſtimony of his violent and lawleſs Cuſtom, not only to break Priviledges, but whole Parliaments; from which Enormity they were conſtrain'd to bind him firſt of all his Predeceſſors; never any before him having given like Cauſes of Diſtruſt and Jealouſy to his People. As for this Parliament, how far he was from being adviſ'd by them, as he ought, let his own Words expreſs.

He taxes them with *undoing what they found well done:* And yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Biſhops, *Liturgies*, Ceremonies, High Commiſſion, judg'd worthy by all true *Proteſtants* to be thrown out of the Church. They undid nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts, the main Grievances to be remov'd; and if theſe were the Things which in his Opinion they found well done, we may again from hence be inform'd with what Unwillingneſs he remov'd them; and that thoſe gracious Acts whereof ſo frequently he makes Mention, may be *Engliſh'd* more properly Acts of Fear and Diſſimulation againſt his Mind and Conſcience.

The Bill preventing the Diſſolution of this Parliament he calls, *An unparallell'd Act out of the extreme Confidence that his Subjects would not make ill Uſe of it.* But was it not a greater Confidence of the People to put into one Mans Hand ſo great a Power, till he abus'd it, as to ſummon and diſſolve Parliaments? He would be thank'd for truſting them, and ought to thank them rather for truſting *him*: The Truſt iſſuing firſt from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer Truſt, and not his Prerogative, to call and diſſolve Parliaments at his Pleaſure, and that Parliaments were not to be diſſolv'd, till all Petitions were heard, all Grievances redreſs'd, is not only the Aſſertion of this Parliament but of our Ancient Law-books, which averr it to be an unwritten Law of Common Right, ſo ingrav'n in the Hearts of our Anceſtors, and by them ſo conſtantly enjoy'd and claim'd, as that it needed not Enrolling. And if the *Scots*, in their Declaration, could charge the King with Breach of their Laws, for breaking up that Parliament without their Conſent, while Matters of greateſt Moment were depending, it were unreaſonable to imagin that the Wiſdom of *England* ſhould be ſo wanting to it ſelf through all Ages, as not to provide by ſome known Law, written or unwritten, againſt the not Calling, or the Arbitrary Diſſolving of Parliaments; or that they who ordain'd their Summoning twice a Year, or as oft as Need requir'd, did not tacitly enact alſo, that as Neceſſity of Affairs call'd them, ſo the ſame Neceſſity ſhould keep them undiſſolv'd, till that were fully ſatisfy'd. Were it not for that Parliaments, and all the Fruit and Benefit we receive by having them, would turn ſoon to meer Abuſion. It appears then, that if this Bill of not diſſolving were an unparallell'd ACT,

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it was a known and common Right which our Anceſtors under other Kings enjoy'd as firmly as if it had been graven in Marble; and that the Infringment of this King firſt brought it into a written Act: Who now boaſts, that as a great Favour done us, which his own leſs Fidelity then was in former Kings conſtrain'd us only of an old undoubted Right to make a new written Act. But what needed written Acts, whenas anciently it was eſteem'd Part of his Crown-Oath not to diſſolve Parliaments, till all Grievances were conſider'd; whereupon the old *Modi of Parliament*, calls it flat Perjury, if he diſſolve them before; as I find cited in a Book mention'd at the beginning of this Chapter, to which and other Law-tractates I refer the more Lawyerly Mooting of this Point: Which is neither my Element nor my proper Work here; ſince the Book, which I have to anſwer, pretends to Reaſon, not to Authorities and Quotations: And I hold Reaſon to be the beſt Arbitrator, and the Law of Law it ſelf.

'Tis true, that *good Subjects think it not juſt, that the Kings Condition ſhould be worſe by bettering theirs.* But then the King muſt not be at ſuch a Diſtance from the People in judging what is better and what worſe; which might have been agreed, *had he known* (for his own Words condemn him) *as well with Moderation to uſe, as with Earneſtneſs to deſire his own Advantages.*

A continual Parliament he thought would keep the Commonwealth in Tune. Judge, Commonwealth, what Proofs he gave, that this boaſted Profeſſion was ever in his Thought.

Some, ſaith he, *gave out that I repented me of that ſettling ACT.* His own Actions gave it out beyond all Suppoſition. For doubtleſs it repented him to have eſtabliſh'd that by Law, which he went about ſo ſoon after to abrogate by the Sword.

He calls thoſe Acts which he confeſſes, *tended to their Good, not more princely then friendly Contributions.* As if to do his Duty were of Courteſy, and the Diſcharge of his Truſt a Parcel of his Liberality; ſo nigh loſt in his Eſteem was the Birth-right of our Liberties, that to give them back again upon Demand ſtood at the Mercy of his *Contribution.*

He doubts not but the Affections of his People will compenſate his Sufferings for thoſe Acts of Confidence. And imputes his Sufferings to a contrary Cauſe. Not his Confidence, but his Diſtruſt was that which brought him to thoſe Sufferings, from the Time that he forſook his Parliament, and truſted them ne'er the ſooner for what he tells *of their Piety and religious Strictneſs*, but rather hated them as *Puritans*, whom he always ſought to extirpate.

He would have it believ'd, that *to bind his Hands by theſe Acts argu'd a very ſhort Foreſight of Things and extreme Fatuity of Mind in him*, if he had meant a War. If we ſhould conclude ſo, that were not the only Argument: Neither did it argue that he meant Peace; knowing that what he granted for the preſent out of Fear, he might as ſoon repeal by Force, watching his Time; and deprive them the Fruit of thoſe Acts, if his own Deſigns, wherein he put his Truſt, took Effect.

Yet he complains, *That the Tumults threatn'd to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonneſs.* I would they had turn'd his Wantonneſs into the Grace of not abuſing Scripture. Was this becoming ſuch a Saint as they would make him, to adulterate thoſe ſacred Words from the Grace of God to the Acts of his own Grace? *Herod* was eaten up of Worms for ſuffering others to compare his Voice to the Voice of God; but the Borrower of this Phraſe gives much more Cauſe of Jealouſy, that he liken'd his own Acts of Grace to the Acts of Gods Grace.

From Prophaneſs he ſcarce comes off with perfect Senſe, *I was not then in a Capacity to make War*, therefore *I intended not. I was not in a Capacity*, therefore

therefore *I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater Advantage then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy to have ſcatter'd them by Arms, whom but lately I had ſettled by Parliament.* What Place could there be for his Inconſtancy to do that thing whereto he was in no Capacity? Otherwiſe his Inconſtancy was not ſo unwonted, or ſo nice but that it would have eaſily found Pretences to ſcatter thoſe in Revenge, whon he ſettl'd in Fear.

It had been a Courſe full of Sin as well as of Hazard and Diſhonour. True, but if thoſe Conſiderations with-held him not from other Actions of like Nature, how can we believe they were of Strength ſufficient to with-hold him from this? And that they with-held him not, the Event ſoon taught us.

His letting ſome Men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple was a Temptation to them to caſt him down headlong. In this *Simily* we have himſelf compar'd to *Chriſt*, the Parliament to the *Devil*, and his giving them that Act of Settling, to his letting them go up to the *Pinnacle of the Temple*. A tottering and giddy Act rather then a Settling. This was goodly Uſe made of Scripture in his Solitudes. But it was no Pinnacle of the Temple, it was a Pinnacle of *Nebuchadnezzars* Palace from whence he and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others ſee, that *All the Kingdoms of the World are not worth gaining by ways of Sin which hazard the Soul*; and hath himſelf left nothing unhazarded to keep three. He concludes with Sentences that rightly ſcann'd make not ſo much for him as againſt him, and confeſſes, that *The Act of Settling was no Sin of his Will*, and we eaſily believe him, for it hath been clearly prov'd a Sin of his Unwillingneſs.

With his Oriſons I meddle not, for he appeals to a high *Audit*. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the ſad Preſage of his ill Succeſs, *As of a dark and dangerous Storm which never admitted his Return to the Port from whence he ſet out.* Yet his Prayer-Book no ſooner ſhut, but other Hopes flatter'd him; and their flattering was his Deſtruction.

VI. *Upon his Retirement from* Weſtminſter.

THE Simily wherewith he begins, I was about to have found Fault with, as in Garb ſomewhat more Poetical then for a Statiſt: But meeting with many Strains of like Dreſs in other of his Eſſays, and hearing him reported a more diligent Reader of Poets then of Politicians, I began to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a Piece of Poetry. The Words are good, the Fiction ſmooth and cleanly; there wanted only Rime, and that, they ſay, is beſtow'd upon it lately. But to the Argument.

I ſtay'd at White-Hall *till I was driv'n away by Shame more then Fear.* I retract not what I thought of the Fiction, yet here I muſt confeſs, it lies too op'n. In his Meſſages and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, he affirms that, *The Danger, wherein his Wife, his Children and his own Perſon* were by thoſe Tumults, was the main Cauſe that drove him from *White-Hall*, and appeals to God as witneſs: He affirms here that it was *Shame more then Fear.* And *Digby*, who knew his Mind as well as any, tells his new-liſted Guard, *That the principal Cauſe of his Majeſties going thence, was to ſave them from being trod in the Dirt.* From whence we may diſcern what falſe and frivolous Excuſes are avow'd for Truth, either in thoſe Declarations, or in this Penitential Book. Our Forefathers were of that Courage and Severity of Zeal to Juſtice and their native Liberty, againſt the proud Contempt and Miſrule of their Kings, that when *Richard* the Second departed but from a Committee of Lords, who ſet preparing Matter for the Parliament, not yet aſſembl'd to the Removal of his evil Counſelors, they firſt vanquiſh'd and put to a flight *Robert de Vere* his chief Favourite,

Favourite, and then coming up to *London* with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawn for fear, but no further off then the Tower, to come to *Weſtminſter*. Which he refuſing, they told him flatly, that unleſs he came, they would chooſe another. So high a Crime it was accounted then for Kings to abſent themſelves, not from a Parliament, which none ever durſt, but from any Meeting of his Peers and Counſelors, which did but tend towards a Parliament. Much leſs would they have ſuffer'd that King for ſuch trivial and various Pretences, one while for Fear of Tumults, another while *for Shame to ſee them*, ſhould leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to Death of thoſe Wounds which his own unskillful and perverſe Government had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the Parliament, but the Shame of what? Was it the Shame of his manifold Errors and Miſdeeds, and to ſee how weakly he had play'd the King? No; *But to ſee the barbarous Rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults to demand any Thing.* We have ſtarted here another, and, I believe, the trueſt Cauſe of his Deſerting the Parliament. The worſt and ſtrangeſt of that *any Thing* which the People then demanded, was but the Unlording of Biſhops, and Expelling them the Houſe, and the Reducing of Church-Diſcipline to a Conformity with other Proteſtant Churches: This was the *Barbariſm* of thoſe Tumults; and that he might avoid the granting of thoſe honeſt and pious Demands, as well demanded by the Parliament as the People, for this very Cauſe, more then for Fear, by his own Confeſſion here, he left the City; and in a moſt tempeſtuous Seaſon forſook the Helm and Steerage of the Commonwealth. This was that terrible *any Thing* from which his *Conſcience* and *his Reaſon* choſe to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of Evil Counſelors, and other Grievances in Church and State, was to him *an intolerable Oppreſſion.* If the Peoples demanding were ſo burdenſom to him, what was his Denial and Delay of Juſtice to them?

But as the Demands of his People were to him a Burth'n and Oppreſſion, ſo was the Advice of his Parliament eſteem'd a Bondage, *Whoſe agreeing Votes*, as he affirms, *were not by any Law or Reaſon concluſive to his Judgment.* For the Law, it ordains a Parliament to adviſe him in his great Affairs; but if it Ordain alſo, that the ſingle Judgment of a King ſhall out-ballance all the Wiſdom of his Parliament, it Ordains that which fruſtrates the End of it's own Ordaining. For where the Kings Judgment may diſſent, to the Deſtruction, as it may happ'n, both of himſelf and the Kingdom, there Advice and no further, is a moſt inſufficient and fruſtraneous Means to be provided by Law, in Caſes of ſo high Concernment. It being therefore moſt unlike a Law, to ordain a Remedy ſo ſlender and unlawlike, to be the utmoſt Means of all public Safety, or Prevention, as Advice is, which may at any Time be rejected by the ſole Judgment of one Man, the King, and ſo unlike the Law of *England*, which Lawyers ſay is the Quinteſſence of Reaſon, we may conclude, that the Kings negative Voice was never any Law; but an abſurd and reaſonleſs Cuſtom, begott'n and grown up either from the Flattery of baſeſt Times, or the Uſurpation of immoderat Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better Evidence then Rolls and Records, Reaſon.

But is it poſſible he ſhould pretend alſo to Reaſon, that the Judgment of one Man, not as a wiſe or good Man, but as a King, and oft-times a wilful, proud and wicked King, ſhould out-weigh the Prudence and all the Vertue of an elected Parliament? What an abuſive Thing it were then to ſummon Parliaments, that by the major Part of Voices greateſt Matters may be there debated and reſolv'd, whenas one Voice after that ſhall daſh all their Reſolutions?

He attempts to give a Reaſon why it ſhould, *Becauſe the whole Parliament repreſents not him in any kind.* But mark how litttle he advances; for if the

Parliament repreſent the whole Kingdom, as is ſure enough they do, then doth the King repreſent only himſelf; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil Senſe nothing, then without or againſt the the Repreſentative of his whole Kingdom, he himſelf repreſents nothing, and by conſequence his Judgment and his Negative is as good as nothing; and though we ſhould allow him to be ſomething, yet not equal, or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and ſo neither to them that repreſent it.

Yet here he maintains *To be no further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then he ſees them to agree with the Will of God, with his juſt Rights as a King, and the general Good of his People.* As to the Freedom of his agreeing, or not agreeing limited with due Bounds, no Man reprehends it; this is the Queſtion here, or the Miracle rather, why his only not agreeing ſhould lay a negative Bar and Inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parliament, though never ſo conducing to the Publick Good or Safety. To know the Will of God better then his whole Kingdom, whence ſhould he have it? Certainly Court-breeding and his perpetual Converſation with Flaterers, was but a bad School. To judge of his own Rights could not belong to him, who had no Right by Law in any Court to judge of ſo much as Felony or Treaſon, being held a Party in both theſe Caſes, much more in this; and his Rights however ſhould give Place to the general Good, for which End all his Rights were giv'n him. *Laſtly*, to ſuppoſe a clearer Inſight and Diſcerning of the general Good, allotted to his own ſingular Judgment, then to the Parliament and all the People, and from that Self-opinion of diſcerning, to deny them that Good which they being all Freemen ſeek earneſtly, and call for, is an Arrogance and Iniquity beyond Imagination rude and unreaſonable: They undoubtedly, having moſt Authority to judge of the public Good, who for that purpoſe are chos'n out, and ſent by the People to adviſe him. And if it may be in him to ſee oft *the major Part of them not in the Right*, had it not been more his Modeſty to have doubted their ſeeing him more oft'n in the Wrong?

He paſſes to another Reaſon of his Denials, *Becauſe of ſome Mens Hydropic Unſatiableneſs, and Thirſt of asking, the more they drank, whom no Fountain of regal Bounty was able to overcome.* A Compariſon more properly beſtow'd on thoſe that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a Freeborn People that came to claim in Parliament their Rights and Liberties, which a King ought therefore to grant, becauſe of Right demanded; not to deny them for fear his Bounty ſhould be exhauſt, which in theſe Demands (to continue the ſame Metaphor) was not ſo much as broach'd; it being his Duty, not his Bounty to grant theſe Things.

Putting off the Courtier he now puts on the Philoſopher and ſententiouſly diſputes to this effect, *That Reaſon ought to be us'd to Men, Force and Terror to Beaſts; that he deſerves to be a Slave who captivates the rational Sovereignity of his Soul and Liberty of his Will to Compulſion; that he would not forfeit that Freedom which cannot be deny'd him, as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man and a Chriſtian, though to preſerve his Kingdom, but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his Soul, then live in ſuch a Vaſſalage as not to uſe his Reaſon and Conſcience to like or diſlike as a King.* Which Words of themſelves, as far as they are Senſe, Good and Philoſophical, yet in the Mouth of him, who to engroſs this common Liberty to himſelf, would tread down all other Men into the condition of Slaves and Beaſts, they quite looſe their Commendation. He confeſſes a rational Sovereignity of Soul and Freedom of Will in every Man, and yet with an implicit Repugnancy would have his Reaſon the Sovereign of that Sovereignity, and would captivate and make uſeleſs that Natural Freedom of Will in all other Men but himſelf. But them that yield him this Obedience he ſo well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have loſt all to be his Subjects, may ſtoop and take up the Reward. What that Freedom is, which *cannot*

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be deny'd him as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man, and a Chriſtian, I underſtand not. If it be his Negative Voice, it concludes all Men who have not ſuch a Negative as his againſt a whole Parliament, to be neither Men, nor Chriſtians: And what was he himſelf then, all this while that we deny'd it him as a King? Will he ſay that he enjoy'd within himſelf the leſs Freedom for that? Might not he, both as a Man and as a Chriſtian have reign'd within himſelf, in full Sovereignty of Soul, no Man repining, but that his outward and imperious Will muſt invade the Civil Liberties of a Nation? Did we therefore not permit him to uſe his Reaſon or his Conſcience, not permitting him to bereave us the Uſe of ours? And might not he have enjoy'd both, as a King, governing us as Free-Men by what Laws we our ſelves would be govern'd? It was not the inward Uſe of his Reaſon and his Conſcience that would content him, but to uſe them both as a Law over all his Subjects, *in whatever he declar'd as a King to like or diſlike.* Which Uſe of Reaſon, moſt Reaſonleſs and Unconſcionable, is the utmoſt that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vaſſals.

In all wiſe Nations the Legiſlative Power and the judicial Execution of that Power have been moſt commonly diſtinct, and in ſeveral Hands: But yet the former Supreme, the other Subordinate. If then the King be only ſet up to execute the Law, which is indeed the higheſt of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any Law agreed upon in Parliament; then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can he more reject a Law offer'd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his Cauſe, he would ſeem to have Philoſophy on his ſide; ſtraining her wiſe Dictates to un philoſophical Purpoſes. But when Kings come ſo low, as to fawn upon Philoſophy, which before they neither valu'd nor underſtood, 'tis a Sign that fails not, they are then put to their laſt Trump. And Philoſophy as well requites them, by not ſuffering her golden Sayings either to become their Lips, or to be us'd as Masks and Colours of injurious and violent Deeds. So that what they preſume to borrow from her ſage and vertuous Rules, like the Riddle of *Sphynx* not underſtood, breaks the Neck of their own Cauſe.

But now again to Politics: *He cannot think the Majeſty of the Crown of* England *to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blind and brutiſh Formality, to conſent to whatever it's Subjects in Parliament ſhall require.* What Tyrant could preſume to ſay more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Government and Bond of Oath? But why he ſo deſires to abſolve himſelf the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yielded, that the Oath which binds him to Performance of his Truſt, ought in Reaſon to contain the Sum of what his chief Truſt and Office is. But if it neither do enjoyn nor mention to him, as a Part of his Duty, the making or the marring of any Law or Scrap of Law, but requires only his Aſſent to thoſe Laws which the People have already choſen, or ſhall chooſe (for ſo both the *Latin* of that Oath, and the old *Engliſh*, and all Reaſon admits, that the People ſhould not looſe under a new King what Freedom they had before) then that Negative Voice ſo contended for to deny the paſſing of any Law which the Commons chooſe, is both againſt the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to paſs what the Parliament hath choſen to be a Law, then doth the King make himſelf Superiour to his whole Kingdom; which not only the general Maxims of Policy gainſay, but even our own ſtanding Laws, as hath been cited to him in Remonſtrances heretofore, that *The King hath two Superiours, the Law and his Court of Parliament.* But this he counts to be a blind and brutiſh Formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his Duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholeſom Words and Phraſes, which he then firſt learnt of the honeſt People, when

they were ſo often compell'd to uſe them againſt thoſe more truly blind and bruti∫h Formalities thruſt upon us by his own Command.

As for his Inſtance in caſe *He and the Houſe of Peers attempted to enjoyn the Houſe of Commons*, it bears no Equality; for he and the Peers repreſent but themſelves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes *his Oath to be fully diſcharg'd in Governing by Laws already made*, as being not bound to paſs any new, *if his Reaſon bids him deny.* And ſo may infinite Miſchiefs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general Good and Safety ſhall depend upon the private and overweening Reaſon of one obſtinate Man, who againſt all the Kingdom, if he liſt, will interpret both the Law and his Oath of Coronation by the Tenor of his own Will. Which he himſelf confeſſes to be an Arbitrary Power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fit the Parliament ſhould be ſubject to his Will, then he to their Advice, a Man neither by Nature nor by Nurture wiſe. How is it poſſible that he in whom ſuch Principles as theſe were ſo deep rooted, could ever, though reſtor'd again, have reign'd otherwiſe then Tyrannically.

He objects, *That Force was but a ſlaviſh Method to diſpel his Error.* But how often ſhall it be anſwer'd him that no Force was us'd to diſpel the Error out of his Head, but to drive it from off our Necks: For his Error was Imperious, and would command all other Men to renounce their own Reaſon and Underſtanding, till they periſh'd under the Injunction of his all-ruling Error.

He alledges the Uprightneſs of his Intentions to excuſe his poſſible Failings; a Poſition falſe both in Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better Principles, who affirms in the twelfth Chapter, that *The goodneſs of a Mans Intention, will not excuſe the Scandal and Contagion of his Example.* His not knowing, through the Corruption of Flattery and Court Principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuſe his not doing what he ought to have done: No more then the ſmall Skill of him who undertakes to be a *Pilot*, will excuſe him to be miſled by any wandring Star miſtaken for the Pole. But let his Intentions be never ſo upright, what is that to us? What anſwer for the Reaſon and the National Rights which God hath given us, if having Parliaments and Laws and the Power of making more to avoid Miſchief, we ſuffer one Mans blind Intentions to lead us all with our Eyes open to manifeſt Deſtruction.

And if Arguments prevail not with ſuch a one, Force is well us'd; not *to carry on the Weakneſs of our Counſels, or to convince his Error*, as he ſurmiſes, but to acquit and reſcue our own Reaſon, our own Conſciences from the Force and Prohibition laid by his uſurping Error upon our Liberties and Underſtandings.

Never Thing pleas'd him more then when his Judgment concur'd with theirs. That was to the Applauſe of his own Judgment, and would as well have pleas'd any ſelf-conceited Man.

Yea in many Things he choſe rather to deny himſelf then them. That is to ſay in Trifles. For *of his own Intereſts* and Perſonal Rights he conceives himſelf *Maſter*. To part with, if he pleaſe, not to conteſt for, againſt the Kingdom which is greater then he, whoſe Rights are all ſubordinate to the Kingdoms Good: And *in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Right of Church, or his Crown, no Man ſhall gain his Conſent againſt his Mind.* What can be left then for a Parliament, but to ſit like Images, while he ſtill thus either with incomparable Arrogance aſſumes to himſelf the beſt Ability of judging for other Men what is Truth, Juſtice, Goodneſs, what his own, or the Churches Right, or with unſufferable Tyranny reſtrains all Men from the Enjoyment of any Good, which his Judgment, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them;

not-

notwithſtanding that the Law and his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable Aſſent to what Laws the Parliament agree upon.

He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour. Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill thoſe Kingdoms which they had a Right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thorns no Right at all. Thorns they may find enow, of their own gathering, and their own twiſting: For Thorns and Snares, ſaith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward; but to wear them as our Saviour wore them is not given to them that ſuffer by their own Demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due who cannot firſt wear *a Crown of Lead*; not only for the Weight of that great Office, but for the Compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counſel him, which here he terms in Scorn *an imbaſed Flexibleneſs to the various and oft contrary Dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parliament; for the Queſtion hath been all this while between them two. And to his Parliament, though a numerous and choice Aſſembly of whom the Land thought wiſeſt, he imputes rather then to himſelf, *want of Reaſon, neglect of the Public, intereſt of Parties and Particularity of private Will and Paſſion*; but with what Modeſty or likelihood of Truth it will be wearifom to repeat ſo often.

He concludes with a Sentence fair in ſeeming, but fallacious. For if the Conſcience be ill ediſi'd, the Reſolution may more befit a Fooliſh then a Chriſtian King, to prefer a ſelf-will'd Conſcience before a Kingdoms Good; eſpecially in the Denial of that which Law and his Regal Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parliament, and whole Kingdom rightfully demanding. For we may obſerve him throughout the Diſcourſe to aſſert his Negative Power againſt the whole Kingdom; now under the ſpecious Plea of his Conſcience and his Reaſon, but heretofore in a lowder Note, *without us, or againſt our Conſent, the Votes of either, or of both Houſes together, muſt not, cannot, ſhall not: Declar. May* 4. 1642.

With theſe and the like deceivable Doctrins he levens alſo his Prayer.

VII. *Upon the Queens Departure.*

TO this Argument we ſhall ſoon have ſaid; for what concerns it us to hear a Husband divulge his Houſhold Privacies, extolling to others the Vertues of his Wife; an Infirmity not ſeldom incident to thoſe who have leaſt Cauſe. But how good ſhe was a Wife, was to himſelf, and be it left to his own Fancy; how bad a Subject, is not much diſputed. And being ſuch, it need be made no Wonder, though ſhe left a Proteſtant Kingdom with as little Honour as her Mother left a Popiſh.

That this *is the firſt Example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King a Proteſtant*, can be to Proteſtants no Diſhonour; when it ſhall be heard, that he firſt levied War on them, and to the Intereſt of Papiſts more then of Proteſtants. He might have given yet the Precedence of making War upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation; who had twice oppos'd him in the open Field, long e're the *Engliſh* found it neceſſary to do the like. And how groundleſs, how diſſembled is that Fear, leaſt ſhe, who for ſo many Years had been averſe from the Religion of her Husband, and every Year more and more, before theſe Diſturbances broke out, ſhould for them be now the more alienated from that to which we never heard ſhe was inclin'd. But if the Fear of her Delinquency and that Juſtice which the Proteſtants demanded on her, was any Cauſe of her alienating the more, to have gain'd her by indirect Means had been no Advantage to Religion; much leſs then was the Detriment to looſe her further off. It had been happy if his own Actions had not given Cauſe of more Scandal to the Proteſtants, then what they did againſt her could juſtly ſcandalize any Papiſt.

Them

Them who accus'd her, well enough known to be the Parliament, he cenſures for *Men yet to ſeek their Religion, whether Doctrin, Diſciplin or good Manners*; the reſt he ſooths with the Name of true *Engliſh* Proteſtants, a meer ſchiſmatical Name, yet he ſo great an Enemy of Schiſm.

He aſcribes *Rudeneſs and Barbarity worſe then Indian* to the *Engliſh* Parliament: And *all Vertue* to his Wife, in Strains that come almoſt to Sonnetting: How fit to govern Men, undervaluing and aſperſing the great Councel of his Kingdom, in compariſon of one Woman. Examples are not far to ſeek, how great Miſchief and Diſhonour hath befallen to Nations under the Government of effeminate and uxorious Magiſtrates. Who being themſelves govern'd and overſway'd at home under a feminine Uſurpation, cannot but be far ſhort of Spirit and Authority without doors, to govern a whole Nation.

Her tarrying here he could not think ſafe among them who were ſhaking hands with Allegiance to lay faſter hold on Religion; and taxes them of a Duty rather then a Crime, it being juſt to obey God rather then Man, and impoſſible to ſerve two Maſters. I would they had quite ſhaken off what they ſtood ſhaking hands with; the Fault was in their Courage, not in their Cauſe.

In his Prayer he prays, that *The Diſloyalty of his* Proteſtant *Subjects may not be a Hindrance to her Love of the true Religion*; and never prays, that the Diſſoluteneſs of his Court, the Scandals of his Clergy, the Unſoundneſs of his own Judgment, the Lukewarmneſs of his Life, his Letter of Compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at *ROME*, and the Popes *Nuntio* here, may not be found in the Sight of God far greater Hindrances to her Converſion.

But this had been a ſubtle Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a *Pater noſter*, if it could have charm'd us to ſit ſtill, and have Religion and our Liberties one by one ſnatch'd from us, for fear leaſt riſing to defend our ſelves, we ſhould fright the Queen a ſtiff *Papiſt* from turning *Proteſtant*. As if the way to make his Queen a *Proteſtant* had been to make his Subjects more then half-way *Papiſts*.

He prays next, *That his Conſtancy may be an Antidote againſt the Poyſon of other Mens Example*. His Conſtancy in what? Not in Religion, for it is openly known, that her Religion wrought more upon him then his Religion upon her, and his open Favouring of *Papiſts*, and his Hatred of them call'd *Puritans*, made moſt Men ſuſpect ſhe had quite perverted him. But what is it that the Blindneſs of Hypocriſy dares not do? It dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the Eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the open View of Man.

VIII. *Upon his Repulſe at* HULL, *and the Fate of the* Hothams.

HULL, a Town of great Strength and Opportunity both to Sea and Land-affairs, was at that Time the Magazine of all thoſe Arms which the King had bought with Mony, moſt illegally extorted from his Subjects of *England*, to uſe in a cauſleſs and moſt unjuſt Civil War againſt his Subjects of *Scotland*. The King in high Diſcontent and Anger had left the Parliament, and was gone toward the *North*; the Queen into *Holland*, where ſhe pawn'd and ſet to Sail the Crown-Jewels (a Crime heretofore counted Treaſonable in Kings) and to what Intent theſe Sums were rais'd, the Parliament was not ignorant. His going *North-ward* in ſo high a Chaſe they doubted was to poſſeſs himſelf of that Strength, which the Store-houſe and Scituation of *HULL* might add ſuddenly to his malignant Party. Having firſt therefore in many Petitions earneſtly pray'd him to diſpoſe and ſettle, with Conſent of both Houſes, the Military Power in truſty Hands,

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and he as oft refuſing, they were neceſſitated by the Turbulence and Danger of thoſe Times to put the Kingdom by their own Authority into a Poſture of Defence; and very timely ſent Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of the Houſe, and Knight of that County, to take *Hull* into his Cuſtody and ſome of the Train'd-bands to his Aſſiſtance. Neither had the King before that time omitted to attempt the ſame, firſt by Colonel *Legg*, one of thoſe who were imploy'd to bring the Army up againſt the Parliament, then by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* under a Diſguiſe. And Letters of the Lord *Digby* were intercepted, wherein was wiſh'd, that the King would Declare himſelf and retire to ſome ſafe Place; other Information came from abroad, that *Hull* was the Place deſign'd for ſome new Enterpriſe. But theſe Attempts not ſucceeding, and that Town being now in Cuſtody of the Parliament, he ſends a Meſſage to them, that he had firmly reſovl'd to go in Perſon into *Ireland*, to chaſtiſe thoſe wicked Rebels (for theſe and worſe Words he then gave them) and that towards this Work he intended forthwith to raiſe by his Commiſſions, in the Counties near *Weſtcheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon, conſiſting of 2000 Foot and 200 Horſe, that ſhould be arm'd from his Magazin at *Hull*. On the other ſide, the Parliament foreſeeing the Kings drift, about the ſame time ſend him a Petition, that they might have leave for neceſſary Cauſes to remove the Magazin of *Hull* to the Tower of *London*; to which the King returns his Denial; and ſoon after going to *Hull*, attended with about 400 Horſe, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town; whereof the Governour beſought humbly to be excus'd, till he could ſend Notice to the Parliament who had intruſted him; whereat the King much incens'd proclaims him Traitor before the Town Walls; and gives immediat Order to ſtop all Paſſages between him and the Parliament. Yet he himſelf diſpatches Poſt after Poſt to demand Juſtice, as upon a Traytor: Uſing a ſtrange Iniquity to require Juſtice upon him whom he then way-lay'd and debarr'd from his Appearance. The Parliament no ſooner underſtood what had paſs'd; but they declare that Sir *John Hotham* had done no more then was his Duty, and was therefore no Traytor.

This Relation being moſt true, proves that which is affirm'd here to be moſt falſe; ſeeing the Parliament, whom he accounts his *greateſt Enemies*, had *more Confidence to abet and own* what Sir *John Hotham* had done, then the King had Confidence to let him anſwer in his own behalf.

To ſpeak of his Patience, and in that ſolemn Manner, he might better have forborn; *Gods knows*, ſaith he, *it affected me more with Sorrow for others then with Anger for my ſelf; nor did the Affront trouble me ſo much as their Sin.* This is read, I doubt not, and believ'd: And as there is ſome Uſe of every Thing, ſo is there of this Book, were it but to ſhew us, what a miſerable, credulous, deluded Thing that Creature is, which is called the Vulgar; who, notwithſtanding what they might know, will believe ſuch vain-glories as theſe. Did not that choleric and vengeful Act of Proclaiming him Traytor before due Proceſs of Law, having been convinc'd ſo late before of his Illegality with the five Members, declare his Anger to be incens'd? Doth not his own Relation confeſs as much? And his ſecond Meſſage left him fuming three days after, and, in plain Words, teſtifies *his Impatience of delay* till *Hotham* be ſeverely puniſh'd, for that which he there terms an inſupportable Affront.

Surely, if his Sorrow for Sir *John Hotham's* Sin were greater then his Anger for the Affront, it was an exceeding great Sorrow indeed, and wondrous Charitable. But if it ſtirr'd him ſo vehemently to have Sir *John Hotham* puniſh'd, and not at all, that we hear, to have him repent, it had a ſtrange Operation to be call'd a Sorrow for his Sin. He who would perſwade us of his Sorrow for the Sins of other Men, as they are Sins, not as they are ſin'd againſt himſelf, muſt give us firſt ſome Teſtimony of a Sorrow for his

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own Sins, and next for ſuch Sins of other Men as cannot be ſuppos'd a direct Injury to himſelf. But ſuch Compunction in the King no Man hath yet obſerv'd; and till then, his Sorrow for Sr. *John Hotham*'s Sin will be call'd no other then the Reſentment of his Repulſe; and his Labour to have the Sinner only puniſh'd, will be call'd by a right Name, his Revenge.

And *the Hand of that Cloud which caſt all ſoon after into Darkneſs and Diſorder*, was his own Hand. For aſſembling the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and other Counties, Horſe and Foot, firſt under Colour of a new Guard to his Perſon, ſoon after, being ſupply'd with Ammunition from *Holland*, bought with the Crown-Jewels, he begins an open War by laying Seige to *Hull*. Which Town was not his own, but the Kingdoms; and the Arms there, public Arms, bought with the public Mony, or not his own. Yet had they been his own by as good Right as the private Houſe and Arms of any Man are his own; to uſe either of them in a way not private, but ſuſpitious to the Commonwealth, no Law permits. But the King had no Propriety at all either in *Hull* or in the Magazine. So that the following *Maxims*, which he cites *of bold and diſloyal Undertakers*, may belong more juſtly to whom he leaſt meant them. After this he again relapſes into the Praiſe of of his Patience at *Hull*, and by his over-talking of it, ſeems to doubt either his own Conſcience or the Hardneſs of other Mens Belief. To me, the more he praiſes it in himſelf, the more he ſeems to ſuſpect that in very Deed it was not in him; and that the Lookers on ſo likewiſe thought.

Thus much of what he ſuffer'd by *Hotham*, and with what Patience; now of what *Hotham* ſuffer'd, as he judges, for oppoſing him. *He could not but obſerve how God not long after pleaded and aveng'd his Cauſe.* Moſt Men are too apt, and commonly the worſt of Men, ſo to interpret and expound the Judgments of God, and all other Events of Providence or Chance, as makes moſt to the Juſtifying of their own Cauſe, though never ſo evil; and attribute all to the particular Favour of God towards them. Thus when *Saul* heard that *David* was in *Keilah*, *God*, ſaith he, *hath deliver'd him into my hands, for he is ſhut in.* But how far that King was deceiv'd in his Thought that God was favouring to his Cauſe, that Story unfolds; and how little Reaſon this King had to impute the Death of *Hotham* to Gods Avengment of his Repulſe at *Hull*, may eaſily be ſeen. For while *Hotham* contin'd faithful to his Truſt, no Man more ſafe, more ſucceſsful, more in Reputation then he. But from the time he firſt ſought to make his Peace with the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, into which before he had deny'd him Entrance, nothing proſper'd with him. Certainly, had God purpos'd him ſuch an End for his Oppoſition to the King, he would not have deferr'd to puniſh him till then, when of an Enemy he was chang'd to be the Kings Friend, nor have made his Repentance and Amendment the Occaſion of his Ruin. How much more likely is it, ſince he fell into the Act of Diſloyalty to his Charge, that the Judgment of God concurr'd with the Puniſhment of Man, and juſtly cut him off for revolting to the King. To give the World an Example, that glorious Deeds done to ambitious Ends find Reward anſwerable, not to their outward Seeming, but to their inward Ambition. In the mean while, what Thanks he had from the King for revolting to his Cauſe, and what good Opinion for dying in his Service, they who have ventur'd like him, or intend, may here take Notice.

He proceeds to declare, not only in general, wherefore Gods Judgment was upon *Hotham*, but undertakes by Fancies and Alluſions to give a Criticiſm upon every Particular, *That his Head was divided from his Body, becauſe his Heart was divided from the King: Two Heads cut off in one Family for affronting the Head of the Commonwealth; the eldeſt Son being infected with the Sin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country.* Theſe petty Gloſſes and

and Conceits on the high and ſecret Judgments of God, beſides the Boldneſs of unwarrantable Commenting, are ſo weak and ſhallow, and ſo like the Quibbles of a Court-ſermon, that we may ſafely reckon them either fetch'd from ſuch a Pattern, or that the Hand of ſome Houſhold Prieſt foiſted them in; leaſt the World ſhould forget how much he was the Diſciple of thoſe Cymbal Doctors. But that Argument by which the Author would commend them to us, diſcredits them the more. For if they be ſo *obvious to every Fancy*, the more likely to be erroneous, and to miſconceive the Mind of thoſe high Secrecies, whereof they preſume to determin. For God judges not by human Fancy.

But however God judg'd *Hotham*, yet he had the Kings Pity; but mark the Reaſon, how prepoſterous; ſo far he had his Pity, *as he thought he at firſt acted more againſt the Light of his Conſcience then many other Men in the ſame Cauſe.* Queſtionleſs they who act againſt Conſcience, whether at the Bar of human or divine Juſtice, are pityed leaſt of all. Theſe are the common Grounds and Verdicts of Nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation, is found deſtitute, under ſuch a Govetnour, that Nation muſt needs be miſerable.

By the way he jerks at *ſome Mens Reforming to Models of Religion, and that they think all is Gold of Piety that doth but gliſter with a Shew of Zeal.* We know his Meaning; and apprehend how little Hope there could be of him from ſuch Language as this: But are ſure that the Piety of his *Prelatic* Model, gliſter'd more upon the Poſts and Pillars, which their Zeal and Fervency gilded over, then in the true Work of ſpiritual Edification.

He is ſorry that Hotham *felt the Juſtice of others, and fell not rather into the Hands of his Mercy.* But to clear that, he ſhould have ſhewn us what Mercy he had ever us'd to ſuch as fell into his Hands before, rather then what Mercy he intended to ſuch as never could come to ask it. Whatever Mercy one Man might have expected, 'tis too well known, the whole Nation found none; though they beſought it often, and ſo humbly; but had been ſwallow'd up in Blood and Ruin, to ſet his private Will above the Parliament, had not his Strength fail'd him. *Yet Clemency he counts a Debt, which he ought pay to thoſe that crave it; ſince we pay not any thing to God for his Mercy, but Prayers and Praiſes.* By this Reaſon we ought as freely to pay all things to all Men: for of all that we receive from God, what do we pay for, more then Prayers and Praiſes? We look'd for the Diſcharge of his Office, the Payment of his Duty to the Kingdom, and are paid Court-payment with empty Sentences, that have the Sound of Gravity, but the Significance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again, after his Mercy paſt and granted, he returns back to give Sentence upon *Hotham*; and whom, he tells us, he would ſo fain have ſav'd alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated Condemnation, though dead long ſince. It was ill that ſomebody ſtood not near to whiſper him, that a reiterating Judge is worſe then a Tormentor. *He pities him, he rejoices not, he pities him* again, but ſtill is ſure to brand him at the tail of his Pity, with ſome ignominious Mark either of Ambition or Diſloyalty. And with a kind of cenſorious Pity, aggravates, rather then leſſens or conceals, the Fault: To pity thus is to triumph.

He aſſumes to foreknow that *After-times will diſpute whether* Hotham *were more infamous at* Hull *or at* Tower-hill. What knew he of After-times, who while he ſits judging and cenſuring without end the Fate of that unhappy Father and his Son at *Tower-hill*, knew not that the like Fate attended him, before his own Palace-gate; and as little knew, whether After-times do not reſerve a greater Infamy to the Story of his own Life and Reign.

He ſays but over again in his Prayer what his Sermon hath preach'd;

how acceptably to thoſe in Heaven we leave to be decided by that Precept which forbids *Vain Repetitions*. Sure enough it lies as heavy as he can lay it, upon the Head of poor *Hotham*.

Needs he will faſten upon God a Piece of Revenge as done for his Sake; and takes it for a Favour, before he knew it was intended him: Which in his Cloſet had been excuſable, but in a written and publiſh'd Prayer, too preſumptuous. *Eccleſiaſtes* hath a right Name for ſuch kind of Sacrifices.

Going on he Prays thus, *Let not thy Juſtice prevent the Objects and Opportunities of my Mercy*. To Folly, or to Blaſphemy, or to both ſhall we impute this? Shall the Juſtice of God give Place, and ſerve to glorify the Mercies of a Man? All other Men, who know what they ask, deſire of God that their Doings may tend to his Glory; but in this Prayer God is requir'd that his Juſtice would forbear to prevent, and as good have ſaid, to intrench upon the Glory of a Mans Mercy. If God forbear his Juſtice it muſt be, ſure, to the magnifying of his own Mercy: But here a Mortal Man takes the Boldneſs to ask that Glory out of his Hand. It may be doubted now by them who underſtand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunate in this his Prayer, or *Hotham* in thoſe his Sufferings.

IX. *Upon the Liſting and Raiſing Armies*, &c.

IT were an endleſs Work to walk ſide by ſide with the Verboſity of this Chapter; only to what already hath not been ſpoken, convenient Anſwer ſhall be given. He begins again with Tumults; all Demonſtration of the Peoples Love and Loyalty to the Parliament was Tumult; their Petitioning, Tumult; their defenſive Armies were but *liſted Tumults*; and will take no Notice that thoſe about him, thoſe in a Time of Peace liſted into his own Houſe, were the Beginners of all theſe Tumults; abuſing and aſſaulting not only ſuch as came Peaceably to the Parliament at *London*, but thoſe that came Petitioning to the King himſelf at *York*. Neither did they abſtain from doing Violence and Outrage to the Meſſengers ſent from Parliament; he himſelf either count'nancing, or conniving at them.

He ſuppoſes, that *his Receſs gave us Confidence that he might be conquer'd*. Other Men ſuppoſe both that, and all Things elſe, who knew him neither by Nature Warlike, nor Experienc'd, nor Fortunate; ſo far was any Man that diſcern'd ought, from eſteeming him unconquerable; yet ſuch are readieſt to imbroil others.

But he had a Soul Invincible. What praiſe is that? The Stomach of a Child is oft-times invincible to all Correction. The unteachable Man hath a Soul to all Reaſon and good Advice invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can perſwade, may boaſt himſelf invincible; whenas in ſome Things to be overcome is more honeſt and laudable then to conquer.

He labours to have it thought, that *his Fearing God more then Man* was the ground of his Sufferings; but he ſhould have known that a good Principle not rightly underſtood, may prove as hurtful as a bad; and his Fear of God may be as Faulty as a blind Zeal. He pretended to fear God more then the Parliament; who never urg'd him to do otherwiſe; he ſhould alſo have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers and the Biſhops who drew him as they pleas'd, to things inconſiſtent with the Fear of God. Thus boaſted *Saul* to have *perform'd the Commandment of God*, and ſtood in it againſt *Samuel*; but it was found at length that he had fear'd the People more then God, in ſaving thoſe fat Oxen for the Worſhip of God, which were appointed for Deſtruction. Not much unlike, if not much worſe, was that Fact of his, who for fear to diſpleaſe his Court, and mungrel Clergy, with the Diſſoluteſt of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his Power laſted, thoſe

Beaſts

Beasts of *Amalec*, the *Prelates*, against the Advice of his Parliament and the Example of all Reformation; in this more unexcusable then *Saul*, that *Saul* was at length convinc'd, he to the hour of Death fix'd in his false Perswasion; and sooths himself in the flattering Piece of an erroneous and obdurate Conscience; singing to his Soul vain Psalms of Exultation, as if the Parliament had assail'd his Reason with the Force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their Reason with his Arms; which hath been prov'd already, and shall be more hereafter.

He twits them with his *Acts of Grace*; proud and un-self-knowing Words in the Mouth of any King, who affects not to be a God, and such as ought to be as odious in the Ears of a Free Nation. For if they were unjust Acts, why did he grant them as of Grace? If just, it was not of his Grace, but of his Duty, and his Oath to grant them.

A glorious King he would be, though *by his Sufferings*: But that can never be to him whose Sufferings are his own Doings. He feigns *a hard choice* put upon him *either to kill his own Subjects, or be kill'd*. Yet never was King less in danger of any Violence from his Subjects, till he unsheath'd his Sword against them; nay long after that Time, when he had spilt the Blood of Thousands, they had still his Person in a foolish Veneration.

He complains, *That Civil War must be the Fruits of his seventeen Years reigning with such a Measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations either admir'd or envi'd*. For the Justice we had, let the Council-Table, Star-Chamber, High Commission speak the Praise of it; not forgetting the unprincely Usage, and, as far as might be, the abolishing of Parliaments, the displacing of honest Judges, the Sale of Offices, Bribery and Exaction not found out to be punish'd, but to be shar'd in, with Impunity for the Time to come. Who can number the Extortions, the Oppressions, the public Robberies and Rapines, committed on the Subject both by Sea and Land, under various Pretences? Their Possessions also taken from them, one while as Forest-Land, another while as Crown Land; nor were their Goods exempted no not the Bullion in the Mint; Piracy was become a Project own'd and authoriz'd against the Subject.

For the Peace we had, what Peace was that which drew out the *English* to a needless and dishonourable Voyage against the *Spaniard* at *Cales*? Or that which lent our shipping to a Treacherous and Antichristian War against the Poor Protestants of *Rochel* our Suppliants? What Peace was that which fell to rob the *French* by Sea, to the imbarring of all our Merchants in that Kingdom? Which brought forth that unblest Expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*, doubtful whether more calamitous in the Success or in the Design, betraying all the Flower of our military Youth, and best Commanders to a shameful Surprisal and Execution. This was the Peace we had, and the Peace we gave, whether to friends or to foes abroad. And if at home any Peace were intended us, what meant those billeted Souldiers in all Parts of the Kingdom, and the Design of *German* Horse, to subdue us in our peaceful Houses.

For our Religion, where was there a more ignorant, profane and vitious Clergy, learned in nothing but the Antiquity of their Pride, their Covetousness and Superstition; whose unsincere and levenous Doctrin, corrupting the People, first taught them Looseness, then Bondage; loosning them from all sound Knowledg and Strictness of Life, the more to fit them for the Bondage of Tyranny and Superstition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pitty rather then admire or envy, all those seventeen Years, no wise Man could see. For Wealth and Plenty in a Land where Justice reigns not, is no Argument of a flourishing State, but of a Nearness rather to Ruin or Commotion.

Theſe were not *ſome Miſcarriges* only of Government, *which might eſcape*, but a univerſal Diſtemper and Reducement of Law to arbitrary Power; not through the evil Counſels of *ſome Men* but through the conſtant Courſe and Practice of all that were in higheſt Favour: Whoſe worſt Actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himſelf, and whoſe Perſons when he could no longer protect, he eſteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwiſe then by Conſtraint, yielded any of them to due Puniſhment; thereby manifeſting, that what they did was by his own Authority and Approbation.

Yet here he asks, *whoſe innocent Blood he hath ſhed, what Widows or Orphans Tears can witneſs againſt him?* After the ſuſpected Poyſoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but ſmother'd up, and him protected and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parliament to be Author of the Fact; after ſo many Years of cruel War on his People in three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of *Truths manifeſt*, a *Scotch-Man* not unacquainted with Affairs, poſitively affirms, *That there hath been more Chriſtian Blood ſhed by the Commiſſion, Approbation and Connivance of King* Charles, *and his Father* James *in the latter End of their Reign, then in the Ten* Roman *Perſecutions.* Not to ſpeak of thoſe many Whippings, Pillories, and other corporal Inflictions wherewith his Reign alſo before this War was not unbloody; ſome have dy'd in Priſon under cruel Reſtraint, others in Baniſhment, whoſe Lives were ſhortn'd through the Rigour of that Perſecution wherewith ſo many Years he infeſted the true Church. And thoſe ſix Members all Men judg'd to have eſcap'd no leſs then capital Danger; whom he ſo greedily purſuing into the Houſe of Commons, had not there the Forbearance to conceal how much it troubl'd him, *That the Birds were flown.* If ſome Vultur in the Mountains could have open'd his Beak intelligibly and ſpoke, what fitter Words could he have utter'd at the loſs of his Prey? The Tyrant *Nero*, though not yet deſerving that Name, ſet his Hand ſo unwillingly to the Execution of a condemned Perſon, as to wiſh *He had not known Letters.* Certainly for a King himſelf to charge his Subjects with High Treaſon, and ſo vehemently to proſecute them in his own Cauſe, as to do the Office of a Searcher, argu'd in him no great Averſation from ſhedding Blood, were it but to *ſatisfy his Anger*, and that Revenge was no unpleaſing Morſel to him, whereof he himſelf thought not much to be ſo diligently his own Caterer. But we inſiſt rather upon what was actual then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the Cauſes of this War, as a difficulty which he had long *ſtudied* to find out. *It was not*, ſaith he, *my withdrawing from* White-Hall; *for no Account in Reaſon could be given of thoſe Tumults, where an orderly Guard was granted.* But if it be a moſt certain Truth, that the Parliament could never yet obtain of him any Guard fit to be confided in, then by his own Confeſſion ſome Account of thoſe pretended Tumults *may in Reaſon be given*: And both concerning them and the Guards enough hath been ſaid already.

Whom did he Protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament? Whom did he not to his utmoſt Power? endeavouring to have reſcu'd *Strafford* from their Juſtice, though with the Deſtruction of them and the City; to that end expreſly commanding the Admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower, rais'd by *Suckling* and other Conſpirators, under Pretence for the *Portugal*; not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be diſputed with ſuch a King in whoſe Mouth and Opinion the Parliament it ſelf was never but a *Faction*, and their Juſtice no Juſtice, but the *Dictates and overſwaying Inſolence of Tumults and Rabbles*; and under that Excuſe avouches himſelf openly the general Patron of moſt notorious Delinquents, and approves their Flight out of the Land, whoſe Crimes were ſuch, as that the juſteſt and the faireſt Tryal would have ſooneſt condemn'd them to death. But

did

did not *Catiline* plead in like Manner againſt the *Roman* Senate and the Injuſtice of their Tryal, and the Juſtice of his Flight from *Rome*? *Cæſar* alſo, then hatching Tyranny, injected the ſame ſcrupulous Demurs to ſtop the Sentence of Death in full and free Senate decreed on *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, two of *Catalines* Accomplices, which were renew'd and urg'd for *Strafford*. He vouchſafes to the Reformation by both Kingdoms intended, no better Name then *Innovation and Ruin both in Church and State*. And what we would have learnt ſo gladly of him in other Paſſages before, to know wherein, he tells us now of his own Accord. The expelling of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, this was *Ruin to the State*, the *removing them Root and Branch*, this was *Ruin to the Church*. How happy could this Nation be in ſuch a Governour who counted that their Ruin, which they thought their Deliverance, the Ruin both of Church and State, which was the Recovery and the Saving of them both.

To the paſſing of thoſe Bills againſt Biſhops, how is it likely that the Houſe of Peers gave ſo hardly their Conſent, which they gave ſo eaſily before to the attaching them of High Treaſon, twelve at once, only for Proteſting that the Parliament could not Act without them. Surely, if their Rights and Priviledges were thought ſo undoubted in that Houſe, as is here maintain'd; then was that Proteſtation being meant and intended in the Name of their whole ſpiritual Order, no Treaſon: And ſo that Houſe it ſelf will become liable to a juſt Conſtruction either of Injuſtice in them for ſo conſenting, or of Uſurpation, repreſenting none but themſelves, to expect that their Voting or not Voting ſhould obſtruct the Commons. Who not for *five Repulſes of the Lords*, no not for fifty, were to deſiſt from what in Name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, ſo long as thoſe Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill againſt Root and Branch, though it paſs'd not in both Houſes till many of the Lords and ſome few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the Senſe of their own Malignancy not prevailing, deſerted the Parliament: And made a fair Riddance of themſelves, that was no Warrant for them who remained Faithful, being far the greater Number, to lay aſide that Bill of Root and Branch, till the Return of their Fugitives; a Bill ſo neceſſary and ſo much deſir'd by themſelves as well as by the People.

This was the *Partiality*, this Degrading of the Biſhops, a Thing ſo wholeſom in the State, and ſo Orthodoxal in the Church both Ancient and Reformed, which the King rather then aſſent to, *will either hazard both his Own and the Kingdoms Ruin*, by our juſt Defence againſt his Force of Arms, or *proſtrate our Conſciences in a blind Obedience to himſelf, and thoſe Men whoſe Superſtition zealous* or un-zealous would inforce upon us an Antichriſtian Tyranny in the Church, neither *Primitive*, *Apoſtolical*, nor more *anciently Univerſal*, then ſome other manifeſt Corruptions.

But *he was bound beſides his Judgment by a moſt ſtrict and undiſpenſable Oath to preſerve that Order and the Rights of the Church*. If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the Letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by Equity, Reformation or better Knowledge, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the Clergy all thoſe Cuſtoms, Franchiſes and Canonical Priviledges granted to them by *Edward* the Confeſſor; and ſo might one Day, under pretence of that Oath and his Conſcience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he ſo well remembred, as he ought, the Words to which he ſwore, he might have found himſelf no otherwiſe oblig'd there, then *according to the Laws of God and true Profeſſion of the Goſpel*. For if thoſe following Words, *Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom*, be ſet there to limit and lay Preſcription on the Laws of God and Truth of the Goſpel by Mans Eſtabliſhment, nothing can be more abuſed or more injurious to Religion. So that however the *German* Emperors, or other Kings have

have levyed all thoſe Wars on their Proteſtant Subjects under the colour of a blind and literal Obſervance to an Oath, yet this King had leaſt Pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what ſhall be eſtabliſh'd come in Queſtion; but that the Parliament ſhould overſway the King and not he the Parliament. And by all Law and Reaſon that which the Parliament will not, is no more eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a Thing eſtabliſh'd.

Had he gratifi'd, he thinks, *their Antiepiſcopal Faction with his Conſent, and ſacrific'd the Church-government and Revenues to the fury of their Covetouſneſs*, &c. an Army had not been rais'd. Whereas it was the Fury of his own Hatred to the Profeſſors of true Religion, which firſt incited him to perſecute them with the Sword of War, when Whips, Pillories, Exiles and Impriſonments were not thought ſufficient. To colour which, he cannot find wherewithal, but that ſtale Pretence of *Charles* the fifth, and other Popiſh Kings, that the Proteſtants had only an Intent to lay Hands on the Church-revenues, a Thing never in the Thoughts of this Parliament, till exhauſted by his endleſs War upon them, their neceſſity ſeiz'd on that for the Common-wealth, which the Luxury of Prelates had abus'd before to a common Miſcheif.

His Conſent to the unlording of Biſhops (for to that he himſelf conſented, and at *Canterbury* the chief Seat of their Pride, ſo God would have it) *was from his firm Perſwaſion of their Contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent Diminution of their Rights.* Can any Man reading this, not diſcern the pure Mockery of a Royal Conſent, to delude us only for *the preſent*, meaning, it ſeems, when time ſhould ſerve to revoke all: By this Reckning his Conſents and his Denials come all to one paſs: And we may hence perceive the Wiſdom and the Integrity of thoſe Votes which voted his Conceſſions at the Iſle of *Wight*, for grounds of a laſting Peace. This he alleges, this Controverſie about Biſhops, *to be the true State* of that difference between him and the Parliament. For he held Epiſcopacy *both very Secred and Divine.* With this Judgment and for this Cauſe he withdrew from the Parliament, and confeſſes that ſome Men knew *he was like to bring again the ſame Judgment which he carried with him.* A fair and unexpected Juſtification from his own Mouth afforded to the Parliament, who notwithſtanding what they knew of his obſtinate Mind, omitted not to uſe all thoſe Means and that Patience to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents, *he allows them to be but the neceſſary Conſequences of his and their Withdrawing and Defending.* A pretty ſhift to mince the Name of a Delinquent into a neceſſary Conſequent: What is a Trayter but the neceſſary Conſequence of his Treaſon, what a Rebel, but of his Rebellion? From this Conceit he would infer a *Pretext* only in the Parliament *to fetch in Delinquents*, as if there had indeed been no ſuch Cauſe; but all the Delinquency in *London* Tumults. Which is the overworn Theme and ſtuffing of all his Diſcourſes.

This he thrice repeats to be the true State and Reaſon of all that War and Devaſtation in the Land, and that *of all the Treaties and Propoſitions* offer'd him, he was reſolv'd *never to grant the aboliſhing of Epiſcopal, or the Eſtabliſhment of* Presbyterian *Government.* I would demand now of the *Scots* and Cov'nanteers (for ſo I call them as Miſ-obſervers of the Cov'nant) how they will reconcile *the Preſervation of Religion and their Liberties, and the bringing of Delinquents to condign Puniſhment*, with the *Freedom, Honour and Safety* of this vow'd Reſolution here, that eſteems all the Zeal of their proſtituted Cov'nant no better then *a noiſe and ſhew of Piety, a heat for Reformation, filling them with Prejudice and obſtructing all Equality and Clearneſs of Judgment in them.* With theſe Principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Cov'nant as others, whom they Brotherly admit, have done before him; and then all no doubt, had gone well, and ended in a happy Peace.

His

His Prayer is moſt of it borrow'd out of *David*; but what if it be anſwer'd him as the *Jews*, who truſted in *Moſes*, were anſwer'd by our *Saviour*. There is one that accuſeth you, ev'n *David* whom you miſapply.

He tells God *that his Enemies are many*; but tells the People, when it ſerves his turn, they are but *a Faction of ſome few, prevailing over the major Part of both Houſes.*

God knows he had no Paſſion, Deſign or Preparation to imbroyl his Kingdom in a civil War. True, for he thought his Kingdom to be *Iſſachar* a *ſtrong Aſs that* would have *couch'd down between two Burd'ns*, the one of Prelatical Superſtition, the other of Civil Tyranny: But what Paſſion and Deſign, what cloſe and open Preparation he had made, to ſubdue us to both theſe by Terror and preventive Force all the Nation knows.

The *Confidence of ſome Men had almoſt perſwaded him to ſuſpect his own Innocence.* As the Words of St. *Paul* had almoſt perſwaded *Agrippa* to be a Chriſtian. But almoſt in the Work of Repentance is as good as not at all.

God, ſaith he, *will find out Bloody and Deceitful Men, many of whom have not liv'd out half their Days.* It behov'd him to have been more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of Blood and Deceit, till his own Years had been further ſpent, or that he had enjoy'd longer *the Fruits of his* own *violent Counſels.*

But inſtead of Warineſs, he hads another Temptation, charging God, *To know that the chief Deſign of this War was either to deſtroy his Perſon or to force his Judgment.* And thus his Prayer from the evil Practice of unjuſt accuſing Men to God, ariſes to the hideous Raſhneſs of accuſing God before Men to know that for Truth, which all Men know to be moſt falſe.

He Prays, *That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they do.* It is an eaſie Matter to ſay over what our Saviour ſaid; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected Sayings muſt demonſtrate. He who ſo oft hath preſum'd raſhly to appeal the Knowledge and Teſtimony of God, in Things ſo evidently untrue, may be doubted what Belief or Eſteem he had of his Forgiveneſs, either to himſelf, or thoſe for whom he would ſo feign that Men ſhould hear he Pray'd.

X. *Upon their ſeizing the Magazins, Forts,* &c.

TO put the Matter ſooneſt out of Controverſy, who was the firſt Beginner of this Civil War, ſince the beginning of all War may be diſcern'd not only by the firſt Act of Hoſtility, but by the Counſels and Preparations foregoing, it ſhall evidently appear, that the King was ſtill foremoſt in all theſe. No King had ever at his firſt Coming to the Crown, more Love and Acclamation from a People; never any People found worſe Requital of their Loyalty and good Affection: Firſt by his extraordinary Fear and Miſtruſt, that their Liberties and Rights were the imparing and diminiſhing of his Regal Power, the true Original of Tyranny: Next by his Hatred to all thoſe who were eſteem'd Religious; doubting that their Principles too much aſſerted Liberty. This was quickly ſeen by the Vehemence and the Cauſes alleg'd of his perſecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious Diſſolution of Parliaments; after he had demanded more Money of them, and they to obtain their Rights had granted him, then would have bought the *Turk* out of *Morea*, and ſet free all the *Greeks*. But when he ſought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had been offer'd him conditionally in Parliament, as by a free People, and that thoſe Extortions were now conſum'd and waſted by the Luxury of his Court, he began then (for ſtill the more he did Wrong, the more he Fear'd) before any Tumult or Inſurrection of the People, to take Counſel how he might totally ſubdue them to his own Will. Then

was

was the Deſign of *German* Horſe, and Souldiers billited in all Parts, the Pulpits reſounded with no other Doctrine then that which gave all Property to the King and paſſive Obedience to the Subject. After which, innumerable Forms and Shapes of new Exactions and Exacters overſpread the Land. Nor was it enough to be impoveriſh'd, unleſs we were diſarm'd. Our Train'd-bands, which are the truſtieſt and moſt proper Strength of a free Nation, had their Arms in divers Counties tak'n from them; other Ammunition by Deſign was ingroſs'd and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licence, and at a high Rate.

Thus far, and many other ways were his Councels and Preparations before hand with us, either to a Civil War, if it ſhould happ'n, or to ſubdue us without a War, which is all one, until the raiſing of his two Armies againſt the *Scots* and the latter of them rais'd to the moſt perfidious Breaking of a ſolemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parliament, whom he ſaw ſo reſolute and unanimous to releive the Commonwealth, and that the Earl of *Strafford* was condemn'd to die, other of his evil Counſelers impeach'd and impriſon'd, to ſhew there wanted not evil Councel within himſelf ſufficient to begin a War upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok'd, he ſends an Agent with Letters to the King of *Denmark* requiring Aid againſt the Parliament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, firſt the *Engliſh*, with whom 8000 *Iriſh* Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army were to joyn; then the *Scots* at *Newcaſtle*, whom he thought to have encourag'd by telling them what Money and Horſe he was to have from *Denmark*. I mention not the *Iriſh* Conſpiracy till due Place. Theſe and many other were his Councels toward a Civil War. His Preparations, after thoſe two Armies were diſmiſs'd could not ſuddenly be too op'n: Nevertheleſs there were 8000 *Iriſh* Papiſts which he refus'd to disband, though intreated by both Houſes, firſt for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, next under Pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard*; and ſo kept them Undisbanded till very near the Month wherein that Rebellion broke forth. He was alſo raiſing Forces in *London*, pretendedly to ſerve the *Portugal*, but with intent to ſeize the Tower. Into which diverſe Cannoneers were by him ſent; the Court was fortifi'd with Ammunition and Souldiers new-liſted, who follow'd the King from *London*, and appear'd at *Kingſton* ſome Hundreds of Horſe, in a Warlike Manner, with Waggons of Ammunition after them; the Queen in *Holland* was buying more; the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and other Counties were call'd to Arms and actual Forces rais'd, while the Parliament were yet Petitioning in Peace.

As to the Act of Hoſtility, though not much material in whom firſt it began, after ſuch Councels and Preparations diſcover'd, and ſo far advanc'd by the King, yet in that Act alſo he will be found to have had Precedency, if not at *London* by the Aſſault of his Armed Court upon the naked People, and his Attempt upon the Houſe of Commons, yet certainly at *Hull*, firſt by his cloſe Practices on that Town, next by his Siege. Thus whether Councels, Preparations or Acts of Hoſtility be conſidered, it appears with Evidence enough, though much more might be ſaid, that the King is truly charg'd to be the firſt Beginner of theſe Civil Wars. To which may be added as a cloſe, that in the Iſle of *Wight* he charg'd it upon himſelf, at the public Treaty, and acquitted the Parliament.

But as for the ſecuring of *Hull*, and the public Stores therein and in other Places, it was no *Surpriſal of his Strength*; the Cuſtody whereof by Authority of Parliament was committed into Hands moſt fit, and moſt reſponſible for ſuch a Truſt. It were a Folly beyond ridiculous, to count our ſelves a free Nation, if the King, not in Parliament, but in his own Perſon and againſt them, might appropriate to himſelf the Strength of a whole Nation as his proper Goods. What the Laws of the Land are, a Parliament

liament ſhould know beſt, having both the Life and Death of Laws in their Law-giving Power: And the Law of *England* is at beſt but the Reaſon of Parliament. The Parliament therefore taking into their Hands that whereof moſt properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no Surpriſal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either *his Innocency or Unpreparedneſs*, but their timely Foreſight to uſe Prevention.

But what needed that? *They knew his chiefeſt Arms left him, were thoſe only which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears.* O ſacred Reverence of God, Reſpect and Shame of Men, whither were ye fled when theſe Hypocriſies were utter'd? Was the Kingdom then at all that Coſt of Blood to remove from him none but Prayers and Tears? What were thoſe Thouſands of blaſpheming *Cavaliers* about him, whoſe Mouths let fly Oaths and Curſes by the Volley? Were thoſe the Prayers? And thoſe Carouſes drunk to the Confuſion of all Things good or holy, did thoſe miniſter the Tears? Were they Prayers and Tears that were liſted at *York*, muſter'd on *Heworth* Moor, and laid Siege to *Hull* for the Guard of his Perſon? Were Prayers and Tears at ſo high a Rate in *Holland*, that nothing could purchaſe them but the Crown-Jewels? Yet they in *Holland* (ſuch Word was ſent us) ſold them for Guns, Carbines, Morter-pieces, Canons and other deadly Inſtruments of War, which when they came to *York*, were all no doubt by the Merit of ſome great Saint, ſuddenly transform'd into Prayers and Tears; and being divided into Regiments and Brigades, were the only Arms that miſchiev'd us in all thoſe Battles and Encounters.

Theſe were his chief Arms, whatever we muſt call them, and yet ſuch Arms, as they, who fought for the Commonwealth, have by the Help of better Prayers vanquiſh'd and brought to nothing.

He bewails his want of the Militia, *Not ſo much in Reference to his own Protection as the Peoples, whoſe many and ſore Oppreſſions grieve him.* Never conſidering how ill for ſeventeen Years together he had protected them, and that theſe Miſeries of the People are ſtill his own Handy-work, having ſmitten them like a forked Arrow ſo ſore into the Kingdoms Sides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the Inciſion of more Fleſh.

He tells us, that *what he wants in the Hands of Power* he has in *the Wings of Faith and Prayer.* But they who make no Reckoning of thoſe Wings while they had that Power in their Hands, may eaſily miſtake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Preſumption, and ſo fall headlong.

We meet next with a Compariſon, how apt let them judg that have travell'd to *Mecca*, *That the Parliament have hung the Majeſty of King-ſhip in an airy Imagination of Regality between the Privileges of both Houſes, like the Tomb of* Mahomet. He knew not that he was propheſying the Death and Burial of a *Turkiſh* Tyranny, that ſpurn'd down thoſe Laws which gave it Life and Being ſo long as it endur'd to be a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an Injury *not to have the ſole Power in himſelf to help or hurt any*; and that the *Militia which he holds to be his undoubted Right ſhould be diſpos'd as the Parliament thinks fit.* And yet confeſſes, that if he had it in his actual diſpoſing, he would defend thoſe whom he calls *His Subjects from thoſe Mens Violence and Fraud, who would perſwade the World, that none but Wolves are fitted to be truſted with the Cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock.* Surely if we may gueſs whom he means here, by knowing whom he hath ever moſt oppos'd in this Controverſy, we may then aſſure our ſelves that by Violence and Fraud he means that which the Parliament hath done in ſettling the *Militia*, and thoſe the Wolves, into whoſe Hands it was by you intruſted: Which draws a clear Confeſſion from his own Mouth, that if

the Parliament had left him ſole Power of the *Militia*, he would have us'd it to the Deſtruction of them and their Friends.

As for ſole Power of the *Militia*, which he claims as a Right no leſs undoubted then the Crown, it hath been oft enough told him, that he hath no more Authority over the Sword then over the Law; over the Law he hath none, either to eſtabliſh or to abrogate, to interpret or to execute, but only by his Courts and in his Courts, whereof the Parliament is higheſt, no more therefore hath he Power of the *Militia*, which is the Sword, either to uſe or to diſpoſe, but with Conſent of Parliament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the Power of the Sword were any where ſeparate and undepending from the Power of Law, which is originally ſeated in the higheſt Court, then were that Power of the Sword higher then the Power of Law, and being at one Mans Diſpoſal, might, when he pleas'd, controul the Law, and enſlave us. Such Power as this did the King in open Terms challenge to have over us; and brought Thouſands to help him win it; ſo much more good at fighting then at underſtanding; as to perſwade themſelves, that they fought then for the Subjects LIBERTY.

He is contented, becauſe he knows no other Remedy, to reſign this Power, *for his own Time, but not for his Succeſſors*. So diligent and careful he is that we ſhould be Slaves, if not to him, yet to his Poſterity, and fain would leave us the Legacy of another War about it. But the Parliament have done well to remove that Queſtion: Whom, as his Manner is, to dignify with ſome good Name or other, he calls now *a many-headed* Hydra *of Government, full of factious Diſtractions, and not more Eyes then Mouths*. Yet ſurely not more Mouths, or not ſo wide, as the diſſolute Rabble of all his Courtiers had, both He's and She's, if there were any Males among them.

He would prove, that to govern by Parliament hath *a Monſtroſity rather then Perfection*; and grounds his Argument upon two or three eminent Abſurdities; *firſt*, by placing Councel in the Senſes, *next*, by turning the Senſes out of the Head, and in lieu thereof placing Power, *ſupreme* above Senſe and Reaſon; which be now the greater Monſtroſities? Further to diſpute what kind of Government is beſt, would be a long Theme, it ſufficeth, that his Reaſons here for Monarchy are found weak and inconſiderable.

He bodes *much Horrour and bad Influence after his Eclipſe*. He ſpeaks his Wiſhes: But they who by weighing prudently Things paſt, foreſee Things to come, the beſt Divination, may hope rather all good Succeſs and Happineſs by removing that Darkneſs, which the miſty Cloud of his Prerogative made between us and a peaceful Reformation, which is our true Sun-light, and not he, though he would be taken for our SUN it ſelf. And wherefore ſhould we not hope to be govern'd more happily without a King, whenas all our Miſery and Trouble hath been either by a King, or by our neceſſary Vindication and Defence againſt him.

He would be thought *inforc'd to Perjury* by having granted the *Militia*, by which his Oath bound him to protect the People. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuſe for no other Cauſe the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy? But never was any Oath ſo blind as to ſwear him to protect Delinquents againſt Juſtice, but to protect all the People in that Order, and by thoſe Hands which the Parliament ſhould adviſe him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the Shew of Protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us, as ready to be let fall upon our own Necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own Hands and Weapons fight againſt our own Liberties.

By

By his parting with the *Militia* he takes to himſelf much Praiſe of his *Aſſurance in God's Protection*; and to the Parliament imputes the Fear *of not daring to adventure the Injuſtice of their Actions upon any other way of Safety.* But wherefore came not this Aſſurance of Gods Protection to him, till the *Militia* was wrung out of his Hands, it ſhould ſeem by his holding it ſo faſt, that his own Actions and Intentions had no leſs of Injuſtice in them, then what he charges upon others; whom he terms *Chaldeans, Sabeans and the Devil himſelf.* But *Job* us'd no ſuch *Militia* againſt thoſe Enemies, nor ſuch a Magazine as was at *Hull*, which this King ſo contended for, and made War upon us, that he might have wherewithal to make War againſt us.

He concludes, that *Although they take all from him yet can they not obſtruct his way to Heaven.* It was no handſom Occaſion, by feigning Obſtructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: He ſhould have ſhut the Door, and pray'd in ſecret, not here in the high Street. Private Prayers in public ask ſomething of whom they ask not, and that ſhall be their Reward.

XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions*, &c.

OF the nineteen Propoſitions he names none in particular, neither ſhall the Anſwer. But he inſiſts upon the old Plea of *his Conſcience, Honour and Reaſon*; uſing the Plauſibility of large and indefinite Words, to defend himſelf at ſuch a Diſtance as may hinder the Eye of common Judgment from all diſtinct View and Examination of his Reaſoning. *He would buy the Peace of his People at any Rate, ſave only the parting with his Conſcience and Honour.* Yet ſhews not how it can happen that the Peace of a People, if otherwiſe to be bought at any Rate, ſhould be inconſiſtent or at Variance with the Conſcience and Honour of a King. Till then, we may receive it for a better Sentence, that nothing ſhould be more agreeable to the Conſcience and Honour of a King then to preſerve his Subjects in Peace; eſpecially from Civil War.

And which of the Propoſitions were *obtruded on him with the Point of the Sword*, till he firſt with the Point of the Sword thruſt from him both the Propoſitions and the Propounders? He never reckons thoſe violent and mercileſs Obtruſions, which for almoſt twenty Years he had been forcing upon tender Conſciences by all ſorts of Perſecution; till through the Multitude of them that were to ſuffer, it could no more be call'd a Perſecution, but a plain War. From which when firſt the *Scots*, then the *Engliſh* were conſtrain'd to defend themſelves, this their juſt Defence is that which he calls here, *Their making War upon his SOUL.*

He grudges that *So many Things are requir'd of him, and nothing offer'd him in Requital of thoſe Favours which he had granted.* What could ſatiate the Deſires of this Man, who being King of *England*, and Maſter of almoſt two Millions yearly, was ſtill in want; and thoſe Acts of Juſtice which he was to do in Duty, counts done as Favours; and ſuch Favours, as were not done without the avaritious Hope of other Rewards beſides ſupreme Honour and the conſtant Revenue of his Place.

This Honour, he ſaith, *they did him to put him on the giving Part.* And ſpake truer then he intended, it being meerly for Honours ſake that they did ſo, not that it belong'd to him of Right. For what can he give to a Parliament, who receives all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples Good. Yet now he brings his own conditional Rights to conteſt, and be preferr'd before the Peoples Good, and yet unleſs it be in order to their Good, he hath no Rights at all; reigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the Hands of Parliament to change or abrogate, as they

ſhall ſee beſt for the Commonwealth; even to the taking away of Kingſhip it ſelf, when it grows too Maſterful and Burthenſom. For every Commonwealth is in general defin'd, a Society ſufficient of it ſelf, in all Things conducible to well being and commodious Life. Any of which requiſit Things if it cannot have without the Gift and Favour of a ſingle Perſon, or without leave of his private Reaſon, or his Conſcience, it cannot be thought ſufficient of it ſelf, and by conſequence no Commonwealth, nor Free; but a Multitude of Vaſſals in the Poſſeſſion and Domain of one abſolute Lord; and wholy obnoxious to his Will. If the King have Power to give or deny any Thing to his Parliament, he muſt do it either as a Perſon ſeveral from them or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him; not to be conſider'd ſeverally from them; for as the King of *England* can do no wrong, ſo neither can he do right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally done in them, ſhall be deem'd the Kings Aſſent, though he as a ſeveral Perſon ſhall judge or endeavour the contrary. So that indeed without his Courts or againſt them, he is no King. If therefore he obtrude upon us any public Miſchief, or withhold from us any general Good, which is wrong in the higheſt Degree, he muſt do it as a Tyrant, not as a King of *England*, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can he as one greater give ought to the Parliament which is not in their own Power, but he muſt be greater alſo then the Kingdom which they repreſent. So that to honour him with the giving Part was a meer Civility, and may be well term'd the Courteſy of *England*, not the Kings due.

But the *incommunicable Jewel of his Conſcience* he will not give, *but reſerve to himſelf.* It ſeems that his Conſcience was none of the Crown Jewels; for thoſe we know were, in *Holland*, not incommunicable to buy Arms againſt his Subjects. Being therefore but a private Jewel, he could not have done a greater Pleaſure to the Kingdom then by reſerving it to himſelf. But he, contrary to what is here profeſſed, would have his Conſcience not an incommunicable, but a univerſal Conſcience, the whole Kingdoms Conſcience. Thus what he ſeems to fear leaſt we ſhould raviſh from him, is our chief Complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forc'd him to part with his Conſcience, but it was he that would have forc'd us to part with ours.

Some Things he taxes them to have offer'd him, *which while he had the Maſtery of his Reaſon he would never conſent to.* Very likely; but had his Reaſon maſter'd him, as it ought, and not been maſter'd long ago by his Senſe and Humour (as the breeding of moſt Kings hath been ever ſenſual and moſt humour'd) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine Paſs is the Kingdom, that muſt depend in greateſt Exigencies upon the Fantaſy of a Kings Reaſon, be he Wiſe or Fool, who arrogantly ſhall anſwer all the Wiſdom of the Land, that what they offer ſeems to him unreaſonable.

He prefers his *Love of Truth* before his Love of the People. His Love of Truth would have led him to the Search of Truth, and have taught him not to lean ſo much upon his own Underſtanding. He met at firſt with Doctrins of unaccountable Prerogative; in them he reſted, becauſe they pleas'd him; they therefore pleas'd him becauſe they gave him all; and this he calls his Love of Truth, and prefers it before the Love of his People's Peace.

Some Things they propos'd *which would have wounded the inward Peace of his Conſcience.* The more our evil hap, that three Kingdoms ſhould be thus peſter'd with one Conſcience; who chiefly ſcrupled to grant us that, which the Parliament advis'd him to, as the chief Means of our public Welfare and Reformation. Theſe Scruples to many perhaps ſeem pretended, to others, upon as good Grounds, may ſeem real; and that it was the juſt

Judg-

Judgment of God, that he who was ſo cruel and ſo remorceleſs to other Mens Conſciences, ſhould have a Conſcience within him as cruel to himſelf; conſtraining him, as he conſtrain'd others, and inſnaring him in ſuch Ways and Counſels, as were certain to be his Deſtruction.

Other Things though he could approve, yet in Honour and Policy he thought fit to deny, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to dare deny nothing. By this means he will be ſure, what with Reaſon, Conſcience, Honour, Policy or Punctilios, to be found never unfurniſh'd of a Denyal: Whether it were his Envy, not to be over bounteous, or that the Submiſneſs of our asking ſtirr'd up in him a certain Pleaſure of denying. Good Princes have thought it their chief Happineſs to be always granting; if good Things, for the Things ſake; if Things indifferent, for the Peoples ſake, while this Man ſits calculating Variety of Excuſes how he may grant leaſt; as if his whole Strength and Royalty were plac'd in a meer Negative.

Of one Propoſition eſpecially he laments him much, that they would bind him *to a general and implicit Conſent for whatever they deſir'd.* Which though I find not among the Nineteen, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his Coronation binds him to no leſs; neither is he at all by his Office to interpoſe againſt a Parliament in the making or not making of any Law; but to take that for Juſt and Good legally, which is there Decreed, and to ſee it executed accordingly. Nor was he ſet over us to vie Wiſdom with his Parliament, but to be guided by them: *Any of whom poſſibly* may as far excel him in the Gift of Wiſdom, as he them in Place and Dignity. But much nearer is it to Impoſſibility that any King alone ſhould be wiſer then all his Councel; ſure enough it was not he, though no King ever before him ſo much contended to have it thought ſo. And if the Parliament ſo thought not, but deſired him to follow their Advice and Deliberation in Things of public Concernment, he accounts it the ſame Propoſition, as if *Sampſon* had been mov'd *to the putting out his Eyes, that the* Philiſtines *might abuſe him*; and thus out of an unwiſe, ot pretended Fear leaſt other ſhould make a Scorn of him for yielding to his Parliament, he regards not to give Cauſe of worſe Suſpition that he made a Scorn of his Regal Oath.

But *to exclude him from all Power of Denial ſeems an Arrogance*; in the Parliament he means; what in him then to deny againſt the Parliament? None at all, by what he argues: For *by Petitioning they confeſs their Inferiority and that obliges them to reſt; if not ſatisfy'd, yet quieted with ſuch an Anſwer as the Will and Reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give. Firſt*, Petitioning, in better *Engliſh*, is no more then requeſting or requiring, and Men require not Favours only, but their Due; and that not only from Superiours, but from Equals and Inferiours alſo. The nobleſt *Romans*, when they ſtood for that which was a kind of Regal Honour, the Conſulſhip, were wont in a ſubmiſſive Manner to go about and beg that higheſt Dignity of the meaneſt *Plebeians*, naming them Man by Man; which in their Tongue was call'd *Petitio Conſulatus*. And the Parliament of *England* Petition'd the King, not becauſe all of them were Inferiour to him, but becauſe he was Superiour to any one of them, which they did of Civil Cuſtom and for Faſhions ſake, more then of Duty; for by plain Law cited before, the Parliament is his Superiour.

But what Law in any Tryal or Diſpute enjoyns a Free-Man to reſt quieted, though not ſatisfy'd with the Will and Reaſon of his Superiour? It were a mad Law, that would ſubject Reaſon to Superiority of Place. And if our higheſt Conſultations and purpos'd Laws muſt be terminated by the Kings Will, then is the Will of one Man our Law, and no Subtlety of Diſpute can redeem the Parliament and Nation from being Slaves: Neither can any Tyrant require more then that his

Will

Will or Reaſon, though not ſatisfying, ſhould yet be reſted in, and determin all Things. We may conclude therefore that when the Parliament petition'd the King it was but meerly Form, let it be as *fooliſh and abſurd* as he pleaſes. It cannot certainly be ſo abſurd as what he requires, that the Parliament ſhould confine their own and all the Kingdoms Reaſon to the Will of one Man, becauſe it was his hap to ſucceed his Father. For neither God nor the Laws have ſubjected us to his Will; nor ſet his Reaſon to be our Sovereign above Law (which muſt needs be, if he can ſtrangle it in the Birth) but ſet his Perſon over us in the ſovereign Execution of ſuch Laws as the Parliament eſtabliſh. The Parliament therefore without any Uſurpation hath had it always in their Power to limit and confine the Exorbitancy of Kings whether they call it their Will, their Reaſon, or their Conſcience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King who is bound by Law and Oath to follow the Advice of his Parliament, ſhould be permitted to except againſt them as *young Stateſman*, and proudly to ſuſpend his following their Advice, *until his ſeven years Experience had ſhewn him how well they could govern themſelves.* Doubtleſs the Law never ſuppos'd ſo great an Arrogance could be in one Man; that he whoſe ſeventeen years Unexperience had almoſt ruin'd all, ſhould ſit another ſeven Years Schoolmaſter, to tutor thoſe who were ſent by the whole Realm to be his Counſelers and Teachers. And with what Modeſty can he pretend to be a Stateſman himſelf, who with his Fathers Kingcraft and his own, did never that of his own Accord which was not directly oppoſit to his profeſſed Intereſt both at Home and Abroad; diſcontenting and alienating his Subjects at Home, weakning and deſerting his Confederats Abroad, and with them the Common Cauſe of Religion. So that the whole Courſe of his Reign by an Example of his own furniſhing hath reſembled *Phaæton* more then *Phœbus*; and forc'd the Parliament to drive like *Jehu*; which *Omen* tak'n from his own Mouth, God hath not diverted.

And he on the other ſide might have remember'd that the Parliament ſit in that Body, not *as his Subjects* but as his Superiours, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not only twice every Year, but as oft as great Affairs require, *to be his Counſellers and Dictators* though he ſtomach it, nor to be diſſolv'd at his Pleaſure, but when all Grievances be firſt remov'd, all Petitions heard and anſwer'd. This is not only Reaſon but the known Law of the Land.

When he heard that Propoſitions would be ſent him, he ſat conjecturing what they would propound, and becauſe they propounded what he expected not, he takes that to be a Warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? He expected that the Parliament would re-inforce *ſome old Laws.* But if thoſe Laws were not a ſufficient Remedy to all Grievances nay were found to be Grievances themſelves, when did we looſe that other Part of our Freedom to eſtabliſh new? He thought *ſome Injuries done by himſelf and others to the Commonwealth were to be repair'd.* But how could that be, while he the chief Offender took upon him to be ſole Judg both of the Injury and the Reparation. *He ſtaid till the Advantage of his Crown conſider'd might induce him to condeſcend to the Peoples Good.* Whenas the Crown it ſelf with all thoſe Advantages were therefore given him, that the Peoples Good ſhould be firſt conſider'd; not bargain'd for, and bought by Inches with the Bribe of more Offertures and Advantages to his Crown. He look'd *for moderate Deſires of due Reformation*; as if any ſuch Deſires could be immoderate: He look'd for ſuch a Reformation, *both in the Church and State as might preſerve the* Roots of every

very Grievance, and Abuſe in both ſtill growing (which he calls *the Foundation and Eſſentials*) and would have only the Excreſcencies of Evil prun'd away for the preſent, as was plotted before, that they might grow faſt enough between Triennial Parliaments, to hinder them by Work enough beſides, from ever ſtriking at the Root. He alledges, *They ſhould have had Regard to the Laws in Force, to the Wiſdom and Piety of former Parliaments, to the ancient and univerſal Practice of Chriſtian Churches.* As if they who come with full Authority to redreſs public Grievances, which oft-times are Laws themſelves, were to have their Hands bound by Laws in Force, or the Suppoſition of more Piety and Wiſdom in their Anceſtors, or the Practice of Churches heretofore, whoſe Fathers, notwithſtanding all theſe Pretences, made as vaſt Alterations to free themſelves from ancient Popery. For all Antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture is no more warranted to our ſafe Imitation then what was done the Age before at *Trent*. Nor was there need to have deſpair'd of what could be eſtabliſh'd in lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his Eyes the Government of ſo many Churches beyond the Seas; whoſe pregnant and ſolid Reaſons wrought ſo with the Parliament, as to deſire a Uniformity rather with all other Proteſtants, then to be a Schiſm divided from them under a Conclave of thirty Biſhops, and a Crew of irreligious Prieſts, that gap'd for the ſame Preferment.

And whereas he blames thoſe Propoſitions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and *reſtore the Rights of Parliament invaded* by Cabin-Councils, the Courts of *Juſtice obſtructed, and the Government* of Church innovated and corrupted? All theſe Things he might eaſily have obſerv'd in them, which he affirms he could not find: But found *thoſe demanding* in Parliament who were *look'd upon before, as Factious in the State, and Schiſmatical in the Church; and demanding not only Tolerations for themſelves in their Vanity, Novelty and Confuſion, but alſo an Extirpation of that Government whoſe Rights they had a mind to invade.* Was this Man ever likely to be adviſ'd, who with ſuch a Prejudice and Diſeſteem ſets himſelf againſt his choſen and appointed Counſelers; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who cenſures all the Government of other Proteſtant Churches, as bad as any Papiſt could have cenſur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in ſuch Contempt, ſo to wrong and diſhonour the free Elections of his People, as to judge them whom the Nation thought worthieſt to ſit with him in Parliament, few elſe but ſuch as were *puniſhable by the Laws*: Yet knowing that Time was, when to be a Proteſtant, to be a Chriſtian was by Law as puniſhable as to be a Traitor, and that our Saviour himſelf coming to reform his Church, was accus'd of an Intent to invade *Cæſar*'s Right, as good a Right as the Prelate Biſhops ever had; the one being got by Force, the other by ſpiritual Uſurpation: And both by Force upheld.

He admires and falls into an Extaſy that the Parliament ſhould ſend him ſuch a *horrid Propoſition*, as the Removal of Epiſcopacy. But expect from him in an Extaſy no other Reaſons of his Admiration then the Dream and Tautology of what he hath ſo oft repeated, Law, Antiquity, Anceſtors, Proſperity and the like, which will be therefore not worth a ſecond Anſwer, but may paſs with his own Compariſon *into the common Sewer* of other Popiſh Arguments.

Had the two Houſes ſu'd out their Livery from the Wardſhip of Tumults, he could ſooner have believ'd them. It concern'd them firſt to ſue out their Livery from the unjuſt Wardſhip of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he alſo redeem'd his over-dated Minority from a Pupillage under Biſhops, he would much leſs have miſtruſted his Parliament; and never would have ſet ſo baſe a Character upon them as to count them no better then the Vaſſals of certain nameleſs Men whom he charges to be ſuch as *hunt after*

Faction

Faction with their Hounds the Tumults. And yet the Biſhops could have told him, that *Nimrod*, the firſt that hunted after Faction, is reputed, by Ancient Tradition, the firſt that founded Monarchy; whence it appears that to hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and thoſe Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have been oft'n hollow'd to from Court; of whom the Mungrel Sort have been intic'd; the reſt have not loſt their Scent; but underſtood aright, that the Parliament had *that Part to Act* which he had fail'd in: That *Truſt to diſcharge*, which he had brok'n; that *Eſtate and Honour to preſerve*, which was far beyond his, the Eſtate and Honour of the Commonwealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet ſo far doth Self-opinion or falſe Principles delude and tranſport him, as to think *the Concurrence of his Reaſon* to the Votes of Parliament, not only Political, but Natural *and as Neceſſary to the begetting*, or bringing forth of any one *compleat Act of public Wiſdom as the Suns Influence is neceſſary to all Natures Productions.* So that the Parliament, it ſeems, is but a Female, and without his procreative Reaſon can pruduce no Law: Wiſdom, it ſeems, to a King is Natural, to a Parliament not Natural, but by Conjunction with the King: Yet he profeſſes to hold his Kingly Right by Law: and if no Law could be made but by the great Councel of a Nation, which we now term a Parliament, then certainly it was a Parliament that firſt created Kings and not only made Laws before a King was in being, but thoſe Laws eſpecially, whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have ſo thought of a Parliament, if he count it not Male, as of his Mother, which to Civil being created both him and the Royalty he wore. And if it hath been anciently interpreted the preſaging Sign of a future Tyrant, but to dream of Copulation with his Mother, what can it be leſs then actual Tyranny to affirm waking, that the Parliament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any Authoritative Act* without his Maſculine Coition: Nay that his Reaſon is as Celeſtial and Life-giving to the Parliament, as the Suns Influence is to the Earth: What other Nations but theſe, or ſuch like, could ſwell up *Caligula* to think himſelf a God.

But to be rid of theſe mortifying Propoſitions he leaves no Tyrannical Evaſion unaſſay'd; firſt, *that they are joint and free Deſires of both Houſes or the major Part*, next, *that the Choice of many Members was carried on by Faction.* The former of theſe is already diſcover'd to be an old Device put firſt in Practice by *Charles* the fifth ſince Reformation. Who when the Proteſtants of *Germany* for their own Defence joyn'd themſelves in League, in his Declarations and *Remonſtrances* laid the Fault only upon ſome few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accus'd them that under Colour of Religion they had a Purpoſe to invade his and the Churches Right: By which Policy he deceiv'd many of the *German* Cities and kept them divided from that League, until they ſaw themſelves brought into a Snare. That other Cavil againſt the Peoples Choice puts us in Mind rather what the Court was wont to do and how to temper with Elections: Neither was there at that Time any Faction more potent, or more likely to do ſuch a Buſineſs, then they themſelves who complain moſt.

But *he muſt chew ſuch Morſels as Propoſitions 'ere he let them down.* So let him; but if the Kingdom ſhall taſte nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom but a great Baby. *The Streightneſs of his Conſcience will not give leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels of Sacriledge and Injuſtice as others do.* This is the *Phariſee* up and down, *I am not as other Men are.* But what Camels of Injuſtice he could devour, all his three Realms were Witneſs, which was the Cauſe that they almoſt periſh'd for want of Parliaments. And he that will be unjuſt to Man, will be ſacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Chriſtian Conſcience of Liberty for no other Reaſon then the Narrowneſs of his own Conſcience, is the moſt unjuſt Meaſure to

Man

Man and the worſt Sacrilege to God. That other, which he calls Sacrilege, of taking from the Clergy that ſuperfluous Wealth, which Antiquity as old as *Conſtantine*, from the Credit of a Divine Viſion, counted *Poyſon in the Church*, hath been ever moſt oppos'd by Men whoſe Righteouſneſs in other Matters hath been leaſt obſerv'd. He concludes, as his manner is, with high Commendation of his own *unbiaſs'd Rectitude* and believes nothing to be in them that diſſent from him, but Faction, Innovation and particular Deſigns. Of theſe Repetitions I find no End, no not in his Prayer; which being founded upon deceitful Principles and a fond Hope that God will bleſs him in thoſe *his Errors*, which he calls *Honeſt*, finds a fit Anſwer of St. *James*; *Ye ask and receive not, becauſe ye ask amiſs.* As for the Truth and Sincerity which he prays may be always found in thoſe his Declarations to the People, the Contrariety of his own Actions will bear eternal Witneſs how little careful or ſolicitous he was, what he promis'd, or what he utter'd there.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion in* Ireland.

THE Rebellion and horrid Maſſacre of *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, to the number of 154000 by their own computation, although *ſo ſudden and ſo violent*, as at firſt to amaze all Men that were not acceſſory, yet from whom and from what Councels it firſt ſprung; neither was, nor could be poſſibly ſo ſecret, as the Contrivers thereof blinded with vain hope, or the deſpair that other Plots would ſucceed, ſuppos'd. For it cannot be imaginable that the *Iriſh* guided by ſo many ſubtle and *Italian* Heads of the *Romiſh* Party, ſhould ſo far have loſt the uſe of Reaſon and indeed of common Senſe, as not ſupported with other ſtrength then their own, to begin a War ſo deſperate and irreconcilable againſt both *England* and *Scotland* at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect Aid, were buſied to the utmoſt in their own moſt neceſſary Concernments. It remains then that either ſome Authority or ſome great Aſſiſtance, promis'd them from *England*, was that whereon they chiefly truſted. And as it is not difficult to diſcern from what inducing Cauſe this Inſurrection firſt aroſe, ſo neither was it *hard at firſt to have apply'd* ſome effectual *Remedy*, though not Prevention. But the Aſſurance which they had in private, that no Remedy ſhould be apply'd, was, it ſeems, one of the chief Reaſons that drew on their Undertaking.

Seeing then the main Incitement and Authority for this Rebellion muſt be needs deriv'd from *ENGLAND*, it will be next inquir'd, who was the prime Author. The King here denounces a Malediction Temporal and Eternal, not ſimply to the Author, but to the *Malitious Author* of this Blood-ſhed; and by that Limitation may exempt, not himſelf only, but perhaps the *Iriſh* Rebels themſelves; who never will confeſs to God or Man that any Blood was ſhed by them malitiouſly; but either in the Catholic Cauſe, or common Liberty, or ſome other ſpecious Plea, which the Conſcience from grounds both Good and Evil uſually ſuggeſts to it ſelf: Thereby thinking to elude the direct Force of that Imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges, *It fell out as a moſt unhappy advantage of ſome Mens Malice againſt him*: But indeed of moſt Mens juſt Suſpition, by finding in it no ſuch wide departure or diſagreement from the Scope of his former Councels and Proceedings. And that he himſelf was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both here and elſewhere, with many Imprecations; but no ſolid Evidence. What on the other ſide againſt his denyal hath been affirm'd in three Kingdoms being here briefly ſet in View, the Reader may ſo judge as he finds Cauſe.

This is moſt certain, that the King was ever Friendly to the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and in his third Year, againſt the plain Advice of Parliament, like a kind of Pope, ſold them many Indulgencies for Money; and upon all occaſions advancing the *Popiſh* Party and negotiating under hand by Prieſts who were

made his Agents, ingag'd the *Iriſh* Papiſts in a War againſt the *Scotch* Proteſtants. To that end he furniſh'd them, and had them train'd in Arms; and kept them up the only Army in his three Kingdoms, till the very Burſt of that Rebellion, The Summer before that diſmal *October*, a Committee of moſt Active Papiſts, all ſince in the head of that Rebellion, were in great Favour at *Whitehal*; and admitted to many private Conſultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean Matters were the Subject of thoſe Conferences, at their requeſt he gave away his peculiar Right to more then five *Iriſh* Counties, for the Payment of an inconſiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two Months before the Rebellion; and were either from the firſt breaking out, or ſoon after, found to be the chief Rebels themſelves. But what ſhould move the King, beſides his own Inclination to Popery and the Prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold ſuch frequent and cloſe Meetings with a Committee of *Iriſh* Papiſts in his own Houſe, while the Parliament of *England* ſate unadvis'd with, is declar'd by a *Scotch* Author and of it ſelf is clear enough. The Parliament at the beginning of that Summer, having put *Strafford* to Death, impriſon'd others his chief Favourites and driv'n the reſt to fly, the King, who had in vain tempted both the *Scotch* and the *Engliſh* Army to come up againſt the Parliament and City, finding no Compliance anſwerable to his hope from the Proteſtant Armies, betakes himſelf laſt to the *Iriſh*; who had in Readineſs an Army of eight thouſand Papiſts and a Committee here of the ſame Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to do eminent Service for the Church of *Rome* againſt a Puritan Praliament, he concludes that ſo ſoon as both Armies in *England* ſhould be disbanded, the *Iriſh* ſhould appear in Arms, maiſter all the Proteſtants, and help the King againſt his Parliament. And we need not doubt that thoſe five Counties were giv'n to the *Iriſh* for other Reaſons then the four *Northern* Counties had been a little before offer'd to the *Scots*. The King in *Auguſt* takes a Jurney into *Scotland*; and overtaking the *Scotch* Army then on their way Home, attempts the ſecond time to pervert them, but without Succeſs. No ſooner come into *Scotland*, but he lays a Plot, ſo ſaith the *Scotch* Author, to remove out of the way, ſuch of the Nobility there, as were moſt likely to withſtand, or not to further, his Deſigns. This being diſcover'd, he ſends from his ſide one *Dillon* a Papiſt Lord, ſoon after a chief Rebel, with Letters into *Ireland*; and diſpatches a Commiſſion under the great Seal of *Scotland* at that time in his own Cuſtody, commanding, that they ſhould forthwith, as had been formerly agreed, cauſe all the *Iriſh* to riſe in Arms. Who no ſoonor had receiv'd ſuch Command, but obey'd; and began in Maſſacre, for they knew no other way to make ſure the Proteſtants, which was commanded them expreſly; and the way, it ſeems, left to their Diſcretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commiſſion it ſelf, and ſound Reaſon added, why it was not likely to be forg'd, beſides the Atteſtation of ſo many *Iriſh* themſelves, may have Recourſe to a Book intitl'd *The Myſtery of Iniquity*.

After the Rebellion brok'n out, which in Words only he deteſted, but under hand favour'd and promoted by all the Offices of Friendſhip, Correſpondence and what poſſible Aid he could afford them, the Particulars whereof are too many to be inſerted here, I ſuppoſe no underſtanding Man could longer doubt who was *Author or Inſtigator* of that Rebellion. If there be, who yet doubt, I refer them eſpecially to that Declaration of *July* 1643. concerning this Matter. Againſt which Teſtimonies, Likelyhoods, Evidences and apparent Actions of his own, being ſo abundant, the bare Denyal of one Man, though with Imprecation, cannot in any reaſon countervail.

As for the Commiſſion granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that *ſome in* England *fight againſt him* and yet *pretend his Authority*. But though a Parliament by the known Laws may affirm juſtly to have the

the Kings Authority, inſeparable from that Court, though divided from his Perſon, it is not credible, that the *Iriſh* Rebels, who ſo much tender'd his Perſon above his Authority, and were by him ſo well receiv'd at *Oxford*, would be ſo far from all Humanity, as to ſlander him with a particular Commiſſion ſign'd and ſent them by his own Hand.

And of his good Affection to the Rebels this Chapter it ſelf is not without Witneſs. He holds them leſs in Fault then the *Scots*, as from whom they might *allege* to have fetch'd *their Imitation*; making no Difference between Men that roſe neceſſarily to defend themſelves, which no Proteſtant Doctrin ever diſallow'd, againſt them who threaten'd War, and thoſe who begun a voluntary and cauſeleſs Rebellion with the Maſſacre of ſo many Thouſands who never meant them Harm.

He falls next to Flaſhes and a Multitude of Words, in all which is contain'd no more then what might be the Plea of any guiltieſt Offender, He was not the Author becauſe *he hath the greateſt Share of Loſs and Diſhonour by what is committed*. Who is there that offends God or his Neighbour, on whom the greateſt Share of Loſs and Diſhonour lights not in the end? But in the Act of doing Evil, Men uſe not to conſider the Event of their evil Doing: Or if they do, have then no Power to curb the Sway of their own Wickedneſs. So that the greateſt Share of Loſs and Diſhonour to happen upon themſelves, is no Argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that *a Kings Intereſt*, above that of any other Man, *lies chiefly in the common Welfare of his Subjects*; therefore no King will do ought againſt the common Welfare. For by this Evaſion any Tyrant might as well purge himſelf from the Guilt of raiſing Troubles or Commotions among the People, becauſe undoubtedly his chief Intereſt lies in their ſitting ſtill.

I ſaid but now, that even this Chapter, if nothing elſe, might ſuffice to diſcover his good Affection to the Rebels; which in this that follows too notoriouſly appears; imputing this Inſurrection to *the prepoſterous Rigor and unreaſonable Severity, the covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury of ſome Men* (theſe *ſome Men* by his continual Paraphraſe are meant the Parliament) and *laſtly, to the Fear of utter Extirpation*. If the whole *Iriſhry* of Rebels had fed ſome Advocate to ſpeak partially and ſophiſtically in their Defence, he could have hardly dazl'd better: Yet nevertheleſs would have prov'd himſelf no other then a plauſible Deceiver. And perhaps thoſe feign'd Terrors and Jealouſies were either by the King himſelf, or the *Popiſh* Prieſts which were ſent by him, put into the head of that inquiſitive People, on ſet purpoſe to engage them. For who had Power *to oppreſs* them, or to relieve them being oppreſs'd, but the King or his immediate Deputy? This rather ſhould have made them riſe againſt the King then againſt the Parliament. Who threatn'd or ever thought of their Extirpation, till they themſelves had begun it to the *Engliſh*? As for *prepoſterous Rigor, covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury*; they had more Reaſon to ſuſpect thoſe Evils firſt from his own Commands, whom they ſaw uſing daily no *greater Argument* to prove *the Truth* of his Religion then by *enduring no other but his own* Prelatical; and to force it upon others, made Epiſcopal, Ceremonial and Common-prayer-book Wars. But the *Papiſts* underſtood him better then by the out-ſide; and knew that thoſe Wars were their Wars. Although if the Commonwealth ſhould be affraid to ſuppreſs open Idolatry, leaſt the *Papiſts* thereupon ſhould grow deſperate, this were to let them grow and become our Perſecutors, while we neglected what we might have done Evangelically, to be their Reformers. Or to do as his Father *JAMES* did, who inſtead of taking Heart and putting Confidence in God by ſuch a Deliverance as from the Powder-plot, though it went not off, yet with the mear Conceit of it, as ſome obſerve, was hit into ſuch a *Hectic* Trembling between *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt* all his

Life after, as that he never durſt from that time do otherwiſe then equivocate or collogue with the *Pope* and his Adherents.

He would be thought to commiſerate the ſad Effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that *the Tears and Blood ſpilt there did not quench the Sparks of our Civil* Diſcord here. But who began theſe Diſſentions, and what can be more openly known then thoſe Retardings and Delays, which by himſelf were continually devis'd, to hinder and put back the Relief of thoſe diſtreſſed *Proteſtants*, whom he ſeems here to compaſſionate. The Particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many.

But *he offer'd to go himſelf in Perſon upon that Expedition*; and reckons up many Surmiſes, why he thinks they would not ſuffer him. But mentions not that by his under-dealing to debauch Armies here at home, and by his ſecret Intercourſe with the chief Rebels, long e're that time every where known, he had brought the Parliament into ſo juſt a Diffidence of him, as that they durſt not leave the public Arms to his Diſpoſal, much leſs an Army to his Conduct.

He concludes, *That next the Sin of thoſe who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who hinder'd the ſuppreſſing or diverted the Aids.* But Judgment raſhly given oft-times involves the Judge himſelf.

He finds Fault with thoſe *who threatn'd all Extremity to the Rebels*, and pleads much that Mercy ſhould be ſhewn them. It ſeems he found himſelf not ſo much concern'd as thoſe who had loſt Fathers, Brothers, Wives and Children, by their Cruelty; whom in Juſtice to retaliate is not, as he ſuppoſes, *Unevangelical*; ſo long as Magiſtracy and War is not laid down under the Goſpel. If this his Sermon of affected Mercy were not too *Phariſaical*, how could he permit himſelf to cauſe the Slaughter of ſo many Thouſands here in *England* for mear Prerogatives, the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Copes and Surplices, the Trinkets of his Prieſts, and not perceive his own Zeal, while he taxes others, to be moſt prepoſterous and unevangelical. Neither is there the ſame Cauſe to deſtroy a whole City for the raviſhing of a Siſter, not done out of Villany and Recompence offer'd by Marriage; nor the ſame Caſe for thoſe Diſciples to ſummon Fire from Heaven upon the whole City where they were deny'd Lodging, and for a Nation by juſt War and Execution to ſlay whole Families of them who ſo barbarouſly had ſlain whole Families before. Did not all *Iſrael* do as much againſt the *Benjamites* for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole Tribe, and did they not the ſame to *Jabeſh-Gilead* for not aſſiſting them in that Revenge? I ſpeak not this, that ſuch Meaſure ſhould be meted rigorouſly to all the *Iriſh*, or as remembring that the Parliament ever ſo decreed, but to ſhew, that this his Homily hath more of Craft and Affectation in it then of ſound Doctrin.

But it was happy that his going into *Ireland* was not conſented to: For either he had certainly turn'd his intended Forces againſt the Parliament it ſelf, or not gone at all; or had he gone, what Work he would have made there, his own following Words declare:

He would have puniſh'd ſome; no Queſtion, for ſome perhaps who were of leaſt Uſe, muſt of neceſſity have been ſacrificed to his Reputation, *and the Conveniency of his Affairs.* Others he *would have diſarm'd*, that is to ſay, in his own time: But *all of them he would have protected from the Fury of thoſe that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to ſwim down the Popular Stream.* Theſe Expreſſions are too often met, and too well underſtood for any Man to doubt his Meaning. By the *Fury of thoſe*, he means no other then the Juſtice of Parliament, to whom yet he had committed the whole Buſineſs. Thoſe who would have refus'd to ſwim down the Popular Stream, our conſtant Key tells us to be *Papiſts*, *Prelates* and their Faction: Theſe, by his own Confeſſion here, he would have protected againſt his

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Puritan Parliament: And by this who ſees not, that he and the *Iriſh* Rebels had but one Aim, one and the ſame Driſt, and would have forthwith joyn'd in one Body againſt us.

He goes on ſtill in his Tenderneſs of the *Iriſh* Rebels, fearing leaſt *our Zeal ſhould be more greedy to kill the Bear for his Skin then for any Harm he hath done.* This either juſtifies the Rebels to have done no harm at all, or infers his Opinion that the Parliament is more bloody and rapacious in the Proſecution of their Juſtice, then thoſe Rebels were in the Execution of their barbarous Cruelty. Let Men doubt now and diſpute to whom the King was a Friend moſt, to his *Engliſh* Parliament, or to his *Iriſh* Rebels.

With whom, that we may yet ſee further how much he was their Friend, after that the Parliament had brought them every where either to Famine or a low Condition, he, to give them all the Reſpite and Advantages they could deſire, without Advice of Parliament, to whom he himſelf had committed the managing of that War, makes a Ceſſation; in Pretence to relieve the Proteſtants, *overborn there with Numbers*, but as the Event prov'd, to ſupport the Papiſts, by diverting and drawing over the *Engliſh* Army there, to his own Service here againſt the Parliament. For that the Proteſtants were then on the winning Hand, it muſt needs be plain; who notwithſtanding the Miſs of thoſe Forces, which at their landing here, maſter'd without Difficulty great Part of *Wales* and *Cheſhire*, yet made a ſhift to keep their own in *Ireland*. But the PLOT of this *Iriſh* Truce is in good Part diſcover'd in that Declaration of *September* the 30th. 1643. And if the Proteſtants were but *Handfuls* there, as he calls them, why did he ſtop and waylay both by Land and Sea, to his utmoſt Power, thoſe Proviſions and Supplies which were ſent by the Parliament? How were ſo many *Handfuls* call'd over, as for a while ſtood him in no ſmall ſtead, and againſt our main Forces here in *England*?

Since therefore all the Reaſons that can be given of this Ceſſation appear ſo falſe and frivolous, it may be juſtly fear'd, that the Deſign it ſelf was moſt wicked and pernitious. What remains then? He *appeals to God*, and is caſt; likening his Puniſhments to *Job*'s Trials, before he ſaw them to have *Job*'s ending. He cannot ſtand *to make prolix Apologies.* Then ſurely thoſe long Pamphlets ſet out for Declarations and Remonſtrances in his Name, were none of his; and how they ſhould be his indeed, being ſo repugnant to the whole Courſe of his Actions, augments the Difficulty.

But he uſurps a common Saying, *That it is Kingly to do well and hear ill.* That may be ſometimes true: But far more frequently, to do ill and hear well; ſo great is the Multitude of Flatterers, and them that Deify the Name of KING.

Yet not content with theſe Neighbours, we have him ſtill a perpetual Preacher of his own Vertues, and of that eſpecially which who knows not to be *Patience per* Force.

He *believes it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil his other Kingdoms, are alſo guilty of the Blood of* Ireland. And we believe ſo too; for now the Ceſſation is become a Peace by publiſh'd Articles, and Commiſſion to bring them over againſt *England*, firſt only ten Thouſand by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, next all of them, if poſſible, under *Ormond*, which was the laſt of all his Tranſactions done as a public Perſon. And no Wonder; for he look'd upon the Blood ſpilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels, with an indifferent Eye, *as exhauſted out of his own Veins*; without diſtinguiſhing, as he ought, which was good Blood and which corrupt; the not letting out whereof endangers the whole Body.

And what the Doctrin is ye may perceive alſo by the Prayer, which after a ſhort Ejaculation for the *poor Proteſtants*, prays at large for the *Iriſh* Rebels,

bels, that God would not give them over, or *their Children to the Covetouſneß, Cruelty, fierce and curſed Anger* of the Parliament.

He finiſhes with a deliberate and ſolemn Curſe *upon himſelf and his Fathers Houſe*. Which how far God hath already brought to paſs, is to the End that Men, by ſo eminent an Example, ſhould learn to tremble at his Judgments; and not play with Imprecations.

XIII. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots *and their Coming.*

IT muſt needs ſeem ſtrange to Men who accuſtom themſelves to ponder and contemplate Things in their firſt Original and Inſtitution, that Kings, who, as all other Officers of the Public, were at firſt choſen and inſtall'd only by Conſent and Suffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of their own Framing, and to be, in conſideration of that Dignity and Riches beſtow'd upon them, the entruſted Servants of the Commonwealth, ſhould notwithſtanding grow up to that diſhoneſt Encroachment, as to eſteem themſelves Maſters, both of that great Truſt which they ſerve, and of the People that betruſted them: Counting what they ought to do both in Diſcharge of their public Duty, and for the great Reward of Honour and Revenue which they receive, as done all of mear Grace and Favour; as if their Power over us were by Nature, and from themſelves, or that God had ſold us into their Hands. This ignorant or wilful Miſtake of the whole Matter, had taken ſo deep root in the Imagination of this King, that whether to the *Engliſh* or to the *Scot*, mentioning what Acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly, he had paſs'd, he calls them, as in other Places, Acts of Grace and Bounty; ſo here *ſpecial Obligations, Favours, to gratify active Spirits, and the Deſires of that Party.* Words not only ſounding Pride and Lordly Uſurpation, but Injuſtice, Partiality and Corruption. For to the *Iriſh* he ſo far condeſcended, as firſt to tolerate in private, then to covenant openly the tolerating of Popery: So far to the *Scot*, as to remove Biſhops, eſtabliſh Presbytery, and the *Militia* in their own Hands; *preferring, as ſome thought, the Deſires of* Scotland *before his own Intereſt and Honour.* But being once on this ſide *Tweed*, his Reaſon, his Conſcience and his Honour became ſo ſtreightn'd with a kind of falſe Virginity, that to the *Engliſh* neither one nor other of the ſame Demands could be granted, wherewith the *Scots* were gratify'd; as if our Air and Climate on a ſudden had chang'd the Property and the Nature both of Conſcience, Honour and Reaſon, or that he found none ſo fit as *Engliſh* to be the Subjects of his Arbitrary Power. *Ireland* was as *Ephraim*, the Strength of his Head, *Scotland*, as *Judah*, was his Lawgiver; but over *England* as over *Edom* he meant to caſt his Shooe; and yet ſo many ſober *Engliſh* Men not ſufficiently awake to conſider this, like Men inchanted with the *Circæan* Cup of Servitude, will not be held back from running their own Heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The Sum of his Diſcourſe is againſt *ſettling Religion by violent Means*; which whether it were the *Scots* Deſign upon *England*, they are beſt able to clear themſelves. But this of all may ſeem ſtrangeſt, that the King, who, while it was permitted him, never did Thing more eagerly then to moleſt and perſecute the Conſciences of moſt Religious Men, he who had made a War and loſt all, rather then not uphold a Hierarchy of perſecuting Biſhops, ſhould have the Confidence here to profeſs himſelf ſo much an Enemy of thoſe that force the Conſcience. For was it not he, who upon the *Engliſh* obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the *Scots* a new *Liturgy*, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody *Rubric* on their Backs? Did he not forbid and hinder all effectual Search of Truth,

nay

nay like a beſieging Enemy ſtop'd all her Paſſages both by Word and Writing? Yet here can talk of *fare and equal Diſputations*: Where notwithſtanding, if all ſubmit not to his Judgment as not being *rationally Convicted*, they muſt ſubmit (and he conceals it not) to his *Penalty* as counted *Obſtinate*. But what if he himſelf and thoſe his *Learned Church-Men*, were the convicted or the obſtinate Part long ago; ſhould Reformation ſuffer them to ſit Lording over the Church in their fat Biſhoprics and Pluralities, like the great Whore that ſitteth upon many Waters, till they would vouchſafe to be diſputed out? Or ſhould we ſit diſputing while they ſat plotting and perſecuting? Thoſe Clergy-Men were not *to be driven into the Fold like Sheep*, as his Simily runs, but to be driven out of the Fold like Wolves, or Theeves, where they ſat *Fleecing* thoſe Flocks which they never fed. He believes *that Presbytery though proved to be the only Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt were not by the Sword to be ſet up without his Conſent*; which is contrary both to the Doctrin, and the known Practice of all Proteſtant Churches; if his Sword threaten thoſe who of their own Accord imbrace it.

And although *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, being to civil Affairs but private Men, contended not with Magiſtrates, yet when Magiſtrates themſelves and eſpecially Parliaments, who have greateſt Right to diſpoſe of the civil Sword, come to know Religion, they ought in Conſcience to defend all thoſe who receive it willingly, againſt the Violence of any King or Tyrant whatſoever. Neither is it therefore True; *That Chriſtianity is planted or watred with Chriſtian Blood*; for there is a large difference between forcing Men by the Sword to turn *Presbyterians*, and defending thoſe who willingly are ſo, from a furious Inroad of bloody Biſhops, arm'd with the *Militia* of a King their Pupil. And if *Covetouſneß and Ambition be an Argument that Presbytery hath not much of Chriſt*, it argues more ſtrongly againſt Epiſcopacy; which from the time of her firſt mounting to an Order above the Presbyters, had no other Parents then Covetouſneſs and Ambition. And thoſe *Sects*, *Schiſms* and *Hereſies*, which he ſpeaks of, *if they get but Strength and Numbers*, need no other *Pattern* then Epiſcopacy and himſelf, to *ſet up their Ways by the like Method of Violence*. Nor is there any Thing that hath more Marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm then *Engliſh* Epiſcopacy; whether we look at Apoſtolic Times or at Reformed Churches; for the *univerſal Way of Church Government before*, may as ſoon lead us into groſs Error, as their univerſally corrupted Doctrin. And Government by reaſon of Ambition was likelieſt to be corrupted much the ſooner of the two. However nothing can be to us *Catholic* or Univerſal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatſoever without Scripture pleads to be univerſal in the Church, in being Univerſal is but the more Schiſmatical. Much leſs can *particular Laws and Conſtitutions* impart to the Church of *England*, any Power of Conſiſtory or Tribunal above other Churches, to be the ſole Judge of what is Sect or Schiſm, as with much Rigour, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet theſe the King reſolves here to defend and maintain to his laſt, pretending, after all thoſe Conferences offer'd, or had with him, *not to ſee more rational and religious Motives then Souldiers carry in their Knapſacks*; with one thus reſolv'd it was but Folly to ſtand diſputing.

He imagins *his own judicious Zeal to be moſt concern'd in his Tuition of the Church*. So thought *Saul* when he preſum'd to offer Sacrifice; for which he loſt his Kingdom; ſo thought *Uzziah* when he went into the Temple; but was thruſt out with a Leproſy for his opinion'd Zeal, which he thought *judicious*. It is not the Part of a King, becauſe he ought to defend the Church, therefore to ſet himſelf Supreme-head over the Church, or to meddle with Eccleſial Government, or to defend the Church otherwiſe then the Church would be defended; for ſuch Defence is Bondage:

dage; nor to defend Abuſes, and ſtop all Reformation under the Name of *New Moulds fancy'd and faſhion'd to private Deſigns.* The holy Things of Church are in the Power of other Keys then were deliver'd to his keeping. Chriſtian Liberty purchas'd with the Death of our Redeemer, and eſtabliſh'd by the ſending of his free Spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtful Conſent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter'd with a preſumptuous negative Voice, Tyrannical to the Parliament, but much more Tyrannical to the Church of God: Which was compell'd to implore the Aid of Parliament, to remove his Force and heavy Hands from off our Conſciences, who therefore complains now of that moſt juſt defenſive Force, becauſe only it remov'd his Violence and Perſecution. If this be a Violation to his Conſcience, that it was hinder'd by the Parliament from violating the more tender Conſciences of ſo many thouſand good Chriſtians, let the uſurping Conſcience of all Tyrants be ever ſo violated.

He wonders, Fox wonder, how we could ſo much *diſtruſt Gods Aſſiſtance*, as to call in the Proteſtant Aid of our Brethren in *Scotland*; why then did he, if his Truſt were in God and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, not ſcruple to ſollicit and invite earneſtly the Aſſiſtance both of Papiſts and of *Iriſh* Rebels? If the *Scots* were by us at length ſent Home, they were not call'd in to ſtay here always; neither was it for the Peoples Eaſe to feed ſo many Legions, longer then their help was needful.

The Government of their Kirk we deſpis'd not, but their impoſing of that Government upon us; not Presbytery but Arch-Presbytery, *Claſſical, Provincial and Dioceſan* Presbytery, claiming to it ſelf a Lordly Power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Paſtors, over Perſons and Congregations no way their own. But theſe Debates in his Judgment would have been ended better *by the beſt Divines in Chriſtendom in a full and free Synod.* A moſt improbable Way, and ſuch as never yet was us'd, at leaſt with good Succeſs, by any Proteſtant Kingdom or State ſince the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithal from Heaven, and the aſſiſting Spirit of Chriſt implor'd to be compleat and perfect within it ſelf. And the whole Nation is not eaſily to be thought ſo raw and ſo perpetually a Novice after all this Light, as to need the Help and Direction of other Nations, more then what they write in public of their Opinion, in a Matter ſo familiar as Church-Government.

In fine, he accuſes *Piety* with the want of *Loyalty*, and *Religion* with the Breach of *Allegiance*, as if God and he were one Maſter, whoſe Commands were ſo oft'n contrary to the Commands of God. He would perſwade the *Scots* that their chief *Intereſt conſiſts in their Fidelity to the Crown* But true Policy will teach them to find a ſafer Intereſt in the common Friendſhip of *England*, then in the Ruins of one ejected Family.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

UPON this Theme his Diſcourſe is long, his Matter little but Repetition; and therefore ſoon anſwer'd. *Firſt*, after an abuſive and ſtrange Apprehenſion of Covenants, as if Men *pawn'd their Souls* to them with whom they Covenant, he digreſſes to plead for Biſhops; firſt from the Antiquity of their *Poſſeſſion here, ſince the firſt Plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland*; Next, from *a univerſal Preſcription ſince the Apoſtles, till this laſt Century.* But what avails the moſt Primitive Antiquity againſt the plain Senſe of Scripture; which if the laſt Century have beſt follow'd, it ought in our Eſteem to be the Firſt. And yet it hath been often prov'd by Learned Men, from the Writings and Epiſtles of moſt ancient Chriſtians, that Epiſ-

Epiſcopacy crept not up into an Order above the Presbyters, till many Years after that the Apoſtles were deceas'd.

He next *is unſatisfy'd with the Covenant*, not only for *ſome Paſſages in it refering to himſelf*, as he ſuppoſes, *with very dubious and dangerous Limitations*, but for binding Men *by Oath and Covenant*, to the Reformation of Church Diſcipline. *Firſt*, thoſe Limitations were not more Dangerous to him; then he to our Liberty and Religion; *Next*, that which was there vow'd, to caſt out of the Church an Antichriſtian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but Ambition and Corruption had brought in, and foſter'd to the Churches great Dammage and Oppreſſion, was no Point of *Controverſie* to be argu'd without End, but a Thing of *clear moral Neceſſity* to be forthwith done. Neither was the *Covenant ſuperfluous*, though *former Engagements both Religious and Legal bound us before:* But was the Practice of all Churches heretofore intending Reformation. All *Iſrael*, though bound enough before by the Law of *Moſes, to all neceſſary Duties*; yet with *Aſa* their King enter'd into a new Covenant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the *Jews*, after Captivity, without Conſent demanded of that King who was their Maſter, took ſolemn Oath to walk in the Commandments of God. All Proteſtant Churches have done the like, notwithſtanding former Engagements to their ſeveral Duties. And although his Aim were to ſow Variance between *the Proteſtation and the Covenant*, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Proteſtation was but one Step, extending only to the Doctrin of the Church of *England*, as it was diſtinct from Church-diſcipline; the Covenant went further, as it pleas'd God to diſpenſe his Light by degrees and comprehended Church-Government; former with latter Steps in the Progreſs of well doing need not Reconcilement. Nevertheleſs he breaks through to his Concluſion, *That all Honeſt and Wiſe Men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion*; leaving *Aſa*, *Ezra*, and the whole Church of God in ſundry Ages to ſhift for *Honeſty* and Wiſdom from ſome other then his Teſtimony. And although *after-contracts abſolve not* till the former be made void, yet he firſt having done that, our Duty returns back, which to him was neither *Moral nor Eternal*; but Conditional.

Willing to perſwade himſelf that many *good Men* took the Covenant either unwarily, or out of fear, he ſeems to have beſtow'd ſome Thoughts how theſe *Good Men*, following his Advice, may keep the Covenant and not keep it. The firſt Evaſion is, Preſuming *that the chief End of Covenanting in ſuch Mens Intentions was to preſerve Religion in Purity and the Kingdoms Peace.* But the Covenant will more truly inform them, that Purity of Religion and the Kingdoms Peace was not then in State to be preſerv'd, but to be reſtor'd; and therefore binds them, not to a Preſervation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was Evil, what was Traditional and *Dangerous* whether *Novelty* or *Antiquity* in Church or State. To do this, claſhes with *no former Oath* Lawfully ſworn either to God or the King and rightly underſtood.

In general he brands all *ſuch Confederations by League and Covenant, as the common Rode us'd in all Factious Perturbations of State and Church.* This kind of Language reflects with the ſame Ignominy upon all the Proteſtant Reformations that have been ſince *Luther*; and ſo indeed doth his whole Book, repleniſh'd throughout with hardly other Words or Arguments then Papiſts and eſpecially *Popiſh* Kings, have us'd heretofore againſt their Proteſtant Subjects; whom he would perſwade to be *every Man his own Pope and to abſolve himſelf of thoſe Ties*, by the Suggeſtion of falſe or equivocal Interpretations too oft repeated to be now anſwer'd.

The Parliament, he ſaith, *made their Covenant like Manna, agreeable to every Mans Palat.* This is another of his Gloſſes upon the Covenant; he is content to let it be *Manna*; but his drift is that Men ſhould loath it, or at leaſt expound it by their own *Reliſh* and *Latitude of Senſe*; wherein leaſt any one of the ſimpler Sort ſhould fail to be his Crafts-maſter, he furniſhes him with two or three laxative, he terms them *general Clauſes, which may ſerve ſomewhat to releive them* againſt the Covenant tak'n: Intimating, as if *what were lawful and according to the Word of God*, were no otherwiſe ſo, then as every Man fancy'd to himſelf. From ſuch learned Explications and Reſolutions as theſe upon the Covenant, what marvel if no Royaliſt or Malignant refuſe to take it, as having learnt from theſe Princely Inſtructions, his many *Salvo's, Cautions and Reſervations*, how to be a Covenanter and Anticovenanter, how at once to be a *Scot* and an *Iriſh* Rebel.

He returns again to diſallow of *that Reformation which the Covenant* vows, *as being the partial Advice of a few Divines.* But Matters of this Moment, as they were not to be decided there by thoſe Divines, ſo neither are they to be determin'd here by Eſſays and curtal Aphoriſms, but by ſoild Proofs of Scripture.

The reſt of his Diſcourſe he ſpends, highly accuſing the Parliament, *that the main Reformation by* them *intended was to rob the Church*, and much applauding himſelf both for *his Forwardneſs* to all due Reformation, and his Averſneſs from all ſuch kind of *Sacrilege.* All which, with his glorious Title of the *Church's Defender*, we leave him to make good, by *Pharaoh's Divinity*, if he pleaſe, for to *Joſeph's Piety* it will be a Task unſuitable. As for *the Parity and Poverty of Miniſters*, which he takes to be ſo ſad of *Conſequence*, the Scripture reck'ns them for two ſpecial Legacies left by our Saviour to his Diſciples: Under which two Primitive Nurſes, for ſuch they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flouriſh'd then ever after, ſince the time that Imparity and Church-revenue ruſhing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergy with a worſe Infection then *Gehezi's*; ſome one of whoſe Tribe rather then a King, I ſhould take to be Compiler of that Unſalted and Simoniacal Prayer annex'd. Although the Prayer it ſelf ſtrongly prays againſt them. For never ſuch holy Things, as he means, were *giv'n* to more *Swine, nor the Churches Bread* more to *Dogs*, then when it fed ambitious, irreligious and dumb *Prelates.*

XV. *Upon the many Jealouſies*, &c.

TO wipe off Jealouſies and Scandals, the beſt way had been by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident Reaſons; but meer Words we are too well acquainted with. Had *his Honour and Reputation been dearer to him* then the Luſt of Reigning, how could the Parliament of either Nation have laid ſo oft'n at his Door the Breach of Words, Promiſes, Acts, Oaths and Execrations, as they do avowedly in many of their Petitions and Addreſſes to him: Thither I remit the Reader. And who can beleive that whole Parliaments elected by the People from all Parts of the Land, ſhould meet in one Mind and Reſolution not to adviſe him, but to conſpire againſt him, in a worſe Powder-plot then *Catesbies, to blow up*, as he terms it, *the Peoples Affection towards him and batter down their Loyalty by the Engins of foul Aſperſions*: Water-works rather then Engins to batter with, yet thoſe Aſperſions were rais'd from the Foulneſs of his own Actions. Whereof to purge himſelf, he uſes no other Argument, then a general and ſo oft'n iterated Commendation of himſelf; and thinks, that Court Holy-Water hath the Vertue of Expiation, at leaſt with the ſilly People.

To

To whom he familiarly imputes Sin where none is, to ſeem liberal of his *Forgiveneſs* where none is ask'd or needed.

What Ways he hath taken towards the Proſperity of his People, which he would ſeem *ſo earneſtly to deſire*, if we do but once call to Mind, it will be enough to teach us, looking on the ſmooth Inſinuations here, that Tyrants are not more flatter'd by their Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom they fear.

For the Peoples *Tranquility he would willingly be the* Jonah; but leaſt he ſhould be tak'n at his Word, pretends to foreſee within Ken two imaginary *Winds* never heard of in the Compaſs, which threaten, if he be caſt overboard, *to encreaſe the Storm*; but that Controverſy, Divine Lot hath ended.

He had rather not rule then that his People ſhould be ruin'd; and yet above theſe twenty Years he hath been ruining the People about the Niceties of his Ruling. He is accurate *to put a difference between the Plague of Malice, and the Ague of Miſtakes, the Itch of Novelty and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.* But had he as well known how to diſtinguiſh between the venerable gray Hairs of ancient Religion, and the old Scurff of Superſtition, between the wholſom Heat of well Governing and the ſeavorous Rage of Tyrannizing, his Judgment in State-Phyſic, had been of more Authority.

Much he propheſies, *that the Credit of thoſe Men who have caſt black Scandals on him ſhall 'ere long be quite blaſted by the ſame Furnace of popular Obloquy, wherein they ſought to caſt his Name and Honour*: I believe not that a *Romiſh* gilded Portraiture gives better Oracle then a *Babyloniſh* gold'n Image could do, to tell us truly who heated that Furnace of Obloquy, or who deſerves to be thrown in, *Nebuchadnezzar* or the three Kingdoms. It *gave him great Cauſe to ſuſpect his own Innocence*, that he was oppos'd by *ſo many who profeſt ſingular Piety.* But this Qualm was ſoon over, and he concluded rather to ſupect their Religion, then his own Innocence, affirming, that *many with him were both Learned and Religious above the ordinary Size.* But if his great Seal without the Parliament were not ſufficient to create Lords, his Parole muſt needs be far more unable to create Learned and Religious Men; and who ſhall authorize his unlearned Judgment to point them out?

He gueſſes that *many well minded Men were by popular Preachers urg'd to oppoſe him.* But the Oppoſition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from Heads far wiſer and Spirits of a nobler Strain; thoſe Prieſt-led *Herodians* with their blind Guides are in the Ditch already; travailing as they thought to *Sion*, but moor'd in the Iſle of *Wight.*

He thanks God *for his Conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion both abroad and at home.* Abroad, his Letter to the Pope, at home, his Innovations in the Church will ſpeak his Conſtancy in Religion what it was, without further Credit to this vain Boaſt.

His *uſing the Aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts*, as the Cauſe might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the ſetling of Proteſtantiſm, their Aid was both unſeemly and ſuſpicious, and infer'd that the greateſt Part of Proteſtants were againſt him and his obtruded Settlement.

But this is ſtrange indeed, that he ſhould appear now teaching the Parliament, what no Man, till this was read, thought ever he had learnt, *that difference of Perſwaſion in Religious Matters may fall out where there is the Sameneſs of Alligeance and Subjection.* If he thought ſo from the beginning, wherefore was there ſuch Compulſion us'd to the Puritans of *England*, and the whole Realm of *Scotland*, about conforming to a Liturgy? Wherefore no Biſhop no King? Wherefore Epiſcopacy more agreeable to Monarchy,

if different Perſwaſions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegiance? Thus do Court-maxims like Court-minions riſe or fall as the King pleaſes.

Not to tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier, in writing *Oglio* for *Olla* the *Spaniſh* Word, it might be well affirm'd, that there was greater a Medley and Diſproportioning of Religions to mix Papiſts with Proteſtants in a religious Cauſe, then to entertain all thoſe diverſify'd Sects; who yet were all Proteſtants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither was it *any Shame to Proteſtants*, that he, a *declar'd* Papiſt, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renounc'd, bely him not, found ſo few Proteſtants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the Counſel and the Aid of Papiſts to help eſtabliſh Proteſtancy who were led on, not *by the Senſe of their Allegiance*; but by the hope of his Apoſtacy to *Rome*, from Diſputing to Waring; his own voluntary and firſt Appeal.

His hearkning to evil Counſelers, charg'd upon him ſo oft'n by the Parliament, he puts off as *a Device of thoſe Men who were ſo eager no give him better Counſel.* That *thoſe Men* were the Parliament, and that he ought to have us'd the Counſel of none but thoſe, as a King, is already known. What their Civility laid upon evil Counſelers, he himſelf moſt commonly own'd; but the Event of thoſe evil Counſels, *the Enormities, the Confuſions, the Miſeries* he transfers from the Guilt of his own Civil Broils to the juſt Reſiſtance made by Parliament; and imputes what Miſcarriages of his they could not yet remove for his oppoſing, as if they were ſome new Miſdemeanours of their bringing in, and not the inveterate Diſeaſes of his own bad Government; which; with a Diſeaſe as bad, he falls again to magnify and commend; and may all thoſe who would be govern'd by his *Retractions and Conceſſions*, rather then by Laws of Parliament, admire his *Self-Encomiums*, and be flatter'd with that *Crown of Patience* to which he cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchical Foot might have the Setting it upon their Heads.

That Truſt which the Parliament faithfully diſcharg'd in the aſſerting of our Liberties, he calls *another Artifice to withdraw the People from him to their Deſigns.* What Piece of Juſtice could they have demanded for the People, which the Jealouſy of a King might not have miſcall'd a Deſign to diſparage his Government, and to ingratiate themſelves? To be more juſt, religious, wiſe or magnanimous then the common Sort, ſtirs up in a Tyrant both Fear and Envy; and ſtrait he cries out Popularity, which in his Account is little leſs then Treaſon. The Sum is, they thought to regulate and limit his negative Voice, and ſhare with him in the *Militia*, both or either of which he could not poſſibly hold without Conſent of the People, and not be abſolutely a Tyrant. He profeſſes *to deſire no other Liberty then what he envies not his Subjects according to Law*; yet fought with Might and Main againſt his Subjects to have a ſole Power over them in his Hand, both againſt and beyond Law. As for the Philoſophical Liberty which in vain he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in thoſe free Notions, who, to Civil LIBERTY, was ſo injurious.

He calls the Conſcience *God's Sovereignty*, why then doth he conteſt with God about that Supreme Title? Why did he lay *Reſtraints*, and force Enlargements upon our Conſciences in things for which we were to anſwer God only and the Church? God bids us, *be ſubject for Conſcience ſake*, that is, as to a Magiſtrate, and in the Laws; not uſurping over ſpiritual Things, as *Lucifer* beyond his Sphere.

Finally,

Finally, having laid the Fault of theſe Commotions, not upon his own Miſgovernment, but upon *the Ambition of others, the Neceſſity of ſome Mens Fortune, and Thirſt after Novelty*, he bodes himſelf *much Honour and Reputation that like the SUN ſhall riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a Splendor, as Owls, Bats and ſuch fatal Birds ſhall be unable to bear.* Poets indeed uſe to vapour much after this Manner. But to bad Kings, who without Cauſe expect future Glory from their Actions, it happens as to bad Poets; who ſit and ſtarve themſelves with a deluſive Hope to win Immortality by their bad Lines. For though Men ought not to *ſpeak Evil of Dignities* which are juſt, yet nothing hinders us to ſpeak Evil, as oft as it is the Truth, of thoſe who in their Dignities do Evil; thus did our Saviour himſelf, *John* the *Baptiſt*, and *Stephen* the Martyr. And thoſe *black Vails* of his own Miſdeeds he might be ſure would ever keep *his Face from Shining*, till he could *refute evil ſpeaking with well doing*, which Grace he ſeems here to pray for; and his Prayer doubtleſs, as it was pray'd, ſo it was heard. But ev'n his Prayer is ſo ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Chriſt himſelf, *to become the Head-Stone of the Corner.*

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-prayer-Book.*

WHAT to think of *Liturgies*, both the Senſe of Scripture and Apoſtolical Practice would have taught him better then his human Reaſonings and Conjectures: Nevertheleſs, what Weight they have, let us conſider. If it be *no News to have all Innovations uſher'd in with the Name of Reformation*, ſure it is leſs News to have all Reformation cenſur'd and oppos'd under the Name of Innovation; *by thoſe*, who being exalted in high Place above their Merit, fear all Change, though of Things, *never ſo* ill or ſo *unwiſely ſettl'd. So hardly can the* Dotage of thoſe that dwell upon Antiquity *allow* preſent *Times any ſhare of Godlineſs or Wiſdom.*

The removing of *Liturgy* he traduces to be done only as a *Thing plauſible to the People*; whoſe Rejection of it he likens with ſmall Reverence to the *Crucifying* of our Saviour; next that it was done *to pleaſe thoſe Men who gloried in their extemporary Vein*, meaning the Miniſters. For whom it will be beſt to anſwer, as was anſwer'd for the Man born blind, *They are of Age, let them ſpeak for themſelves*; not how they came blind, but whether it were *Liturgy* that held them tongue-ty'd.

For the Matter contain'd in that Book we need no better Witneſs then King *Edward* the VI. who to the *Corniſh* Rebels confeſſes it was no other then the old *Maſs-book* done into *Engliſh*, all but ſome few Words that were expung'd. And by this Argument which King *Edward* ſo promptly had to uſe againſt that irreligious Rabble, we may be aſſur'd it was the carnal Fear of thoſe Divines and Politicians that modell'd the *Liturgy* no further off from the old *Maſs*, leaſt by too great an Alteration they ſhould incenſe the People, and be deſtitute of the ſame Shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young King.

For the Manner of uſing Set-Forms, there is no Doubt but that wholeſom Matter and good Deſires rightly conceiv'd in the Heart, wholeſom Words will follow of themſelves. Neither can any true Chriſtian find a Reaſon why *Liturgy* ſhould be at all admitted, a Preſcription not impos'd or practis'd by thoſe firſt Founders of the Church, who alone had that Authority: Without whoſe Precept or Example, how conſtantly the Prieſt puts on his Gown and Surplice, ſo conſtantly doth his Prayer put on a ſervile Yoke of *Liturgy*. This is evident, that they *who uſe no Set-Forms of Prayer*, have Words from their Affections; while others

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are to ſeek Affections fit and proportionable to a certain Doſe of prepar'd Words; which as they are not rigorouſly forbid to any Mans private Infirmity, ſo to impriſon and confine by Force, into a Pinfold of ſet Words, thoſe two moſt unimpriſonable Things, our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of Utterance that moves them, is a Tyranny that would have longer Hands then thoſe Giants, who threatn'd Bondage to Heaven. What *we may do* in the ſame Form of Words is not ſo much the Queſtion, as whether *Liturgy* may be forc'd as he forc'd it. It is true, that we *pray to the ſame God*, muſt we therefore always uſe the ſame Words? Let us then uſe but one Word, becauſe we pray to one God. *We profeſs the ſame Truths*, but the *Liturgy* comprehends not all Truths: *We read the ſame Scriptures*; but never read that all thoſe ſacred Expreſſions, all Benefit and Uſe of Scripture, as to public Prayer, ſhould be deny'd us, except what was barrell'd up in a Common-prayer-book with many Mixtures of their own, and which is worſe, without Salt. But ſuppoſe them ſavoury Words and unmix'd, ſuppoſe them *MANNA* it ſelf, yet if they ſhall be hoarded up and enjoyn'd us, while God every Morning rains down new Expreſſions into our Hearts, inſtead of being fit to uſe, they will be found like reſerv'd *Manna, rather to breed Worms and ſtink. We have the ſame Duties upon us and feel the ſame Wants*; yet not always the ſame, nor at all times alike; but with Variety of Circumſtances, which ask Variety of Words. Whereof God hath given us Plenty; not to uſe ſo copiouſly upon all other Occaſions, and ſo niggardly to him alone in our Devotions. As if Chriſtians were now in a worſe Famine of Words fit for Prayer, then was of Food at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, when perhaps the Prieſts being to remove the Shew-bread, as was accuſtom'd, were compell'd every Sabbath-day, for want of other Loaves, to bring again ſtill the ſame. If the *Lord's Prayer* had been the *Warrant or the Pattern of ſet Liturgies*, as is here affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other Set-form ever after us'd, or ſo much as mention'd by the Apoſtles, much leſs commended to our Uſe? Why was their Care wanting in a Thing ſo uſeful to the Church? So full of Danger and Contention to be left undone by them to other Mens Penning, of whoſe Authority we could not be ſo certain? Why was this forgotten by them, who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Counſel of God; who, as he left our Affections to be guided by his ſanctifying Spirit, ſo did he likewiſe our Words to be put into us without our Premeditation; not only thoſe cautious Words to be us'd before *Gentiles* and Tyrants, but much more thoſe filial Words, of which we have ſo frequent Uſe in our Acceſs with Freedom of Speech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aſide for other outward Dictates of Men, were to injure him and his perfect Gift, who is the Spirit, and the Giver of our Ability to pray; as if his Miniſtration were incompleat, and that to whom he gave Affections, he did not alſo afford Utterance to make his Gift of PRAYER a perfect Gift.

And although the Gift were only natural, yet voluntary Prayers *are leſs ſubject to formal and ſuperficial Tempers then Set-forms*: For in thoſe, at leaſt for Words and Matter, he who prays, muſt conſult firſt with his Heart; which in Likelyhood may ſtir up his Affections; in theſe having both Words and Matter ready made to his Lips, which is enough to make up the outward Act of Prayer, his Affections grow lazy, and come not up eaſily at the Call of Words not their own; the Prayer alſo having leſs Intercourſe and Simpathy with a Heart wherein it was not conceiv'd, ſaves it ſelf the Labour of ſo long a Journey downward, and flying up in haſte on the ſpecious Wings of Formality, if it fall not back again headlong, inſtead of a Prayer which was expected, preſents God with a Set of ſtale and empty Words.

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No doubt but *Oſtentation* and *Familiority* may taint the beſt Duties: We are not therefore to leave Duties for no Duties, and to turn Prayer into a kind of Lurry. Cannot unpremeditated Babling be rebuk'd, and reſtrain'd in whom we find they are, but the Spirit of God muſt be forbidden in all Men? But it is the Cuſtom of bad Men and Hypocrites to take Advantage at the leaſt abuſe of good Things, that under that Covert they may remove the Goodneſs of thoſe Things, rather then the Abuſe. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the uſing of Set-Forms attributed here to *Conſtancy*, as if it were Conſtancy in the Cuckoo to be always in the ſame Liturgy.

Much leſs can it be lawful that an *Engliſh'd* Maſs-Book, compos'd, for ought we know, by Men neither *learned*, nor *godly*, *ſhould juſtle out*, or at any time *deprive* us the Exerciſe of that heavenly Gift, which God by ſpecial Promiſe pours out daily upon his Church, that is to ſay, the Spirit of Prayer. Whereof to help thoſe many Infirmities, which he reckons up, *Rudeneſs*, *Impertinency*, *Flatneſs* and the like, we have a Remedy of Gods finding out, which is not Liturgy, but his own free Spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with Sighs unutterable by any Words, much leſs by a ſtinted Liturgy, dwelling in us, makes Interceſſion for us, according to the Mind and Will of God both in private, and in the Performance of all Eccleſiaſtical Duties. For it is his Promiſe alſo, that where two or three gathered together in his Name ſhall agree to ask him any Thing, it ſhall be granted; for he is there in the midſt of them. If then ancient Churches to remedy the Infirmities of Prayer, or rather the Infections of *Arrian* and *Pelagian* Hereſies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd Help of the Spirit, betook them almoſt four hundred Years after Chriſt to Liturgy, their own Invention, we are not to imitate them; nor to diſtruſt God in the Removal of that Truant-help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is ſaid of Liturgy is ſaid alſo of Directory, if it be impos'd: Although to forbid the Service-Book there be much more Reaſon, as being of it ſelf Superſtitious, Offenſive, and indeed, though *Engliſh'd*, yet ſtill the Maſs-Book: And public Places ought to be provided of ſuch as need not the Help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are ſupported with Miniſterial Gifts anſwerable to their Calling.

Laſtly, that the Common-prayer Book was rejected becauſe it *pray'd ſo oft for him*, he had no Reaſon to Object: For what large and laborious Prayers were made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, 'tis doubtful they were never heard in Heaven. We might now have expected that his own following Prayer ſhould add much Credit to Set-Forms; but on the contrary we find the ſame Imperfections in it, as in moſt before, which he lays here upon Extemporal. Nor doth he ask of God to be directed, whether Liturgies be lawful, but preſumes, and in a Manner would perſwade him that they be ſo; praying *that the Church and he may never want them.* What could be pray'd worſe Extempore?

XVII. *Of the Differences in Point of Church Government.*

THE Government of Church by Biſhops hath been ſo fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and uſurp'd, that whether *out of Piety or Policy* maintain'd, it is not much Material. For Piety grounded upon Error can no more juſtify King *Charles*, then it did Queen *Mary*, in the Sight of God or Man. This however muſt not be let paſs without a ſerious Obſervation; God having ſo diſpos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confeſs and diſcover more of Myſtery and Combination between Tyranny and falſe Religion, then from any other Hand would have been credible. Here we may ſee the very dark Roots of them

them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above Ground ſhooting up in two ſever'd Branches. We may have learnt both from ſacred Story, and Times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and inſtinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that their Doctrin ſeems much to favour two Things to them ſo dreadful, Liberty and Equality, or becauſe they are the Children of that Kingdom which, as ancient Propheſies have foretold, ſhall in the End break to pieces and diſſolve all their great Power and Dominion. And thoſe Kings and Potentates who have ſtrove moſt to rid themſelves of this Fear, by cutting off or ſuppreſſing the true Church, have drawn upon themſelves the Occaſion of their own Ruin, while they thought with moſt Policy to prevent it. Thus *Pharaoh*, when once he began to fear and wax jealous of the *Iſraelites*, leaſt they ſhould multiply and fight againſt him, and that his Fear ſtirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the only Remedy of what he fear'd, ſoon found, that the Evil which before ſlept, came ſuddenly upon him, by the prepoſterous Way he took to prevent it. Paſſing by Examples between, and not ſhutting wilfully our Eyes, we may ſee the like Story brought to paſs in our own Land. This King, more then any before him, except perhaps his Father, from his firſt Entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his Mind a ſtrange Fear and Suſpicion of Men moſt Religious, and their Doctrin, which in his own Language he here acknowledges, terming *it the ſeditious Exorbitancy* of Miniſters Tongues, and doubting *leaſt they*, as he not Chriſtianly expreſſes it, *ſhould with the Keys of Heaven let out Peace and Loyalty from the Peoples Hearts*, though they never Preach'd or attempted ought that might juſtly raiſe in him ſuch Thoughts, he could not reſt, or think himſelf ſecure, ſo long as they remain'd in any of his three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly profeſſing the ſame Religion with them, he could not preſently uſe Violence as *Pharaoh* did, and that Courſe had with others before but ill ſucceeded. He chooſes therefore a more myſtical Way, a newer Method of Antichriſtian Fraud, to the Church more dangerous: And like to *Balac* the Son of *Zippor*, againſt a Nation of Prophets, thinks it beſt to hire other eſteem'd Prophets, and to undermine and wear out the true Church by a falſe Eccleſiaſtical Policy. To this Drift he found the Government of Biſhops moſt ſerviceable; an Order in the Church, as by Men firſt corrupted, ſo mutually corrupting them who receive it, both in Judgment and Manners. He, by conferring Biſhoprics and great Livings on whom he thought moſt pliant to his Will, againſt the known Canons and univerſal Practice of the Ancient Church, whereby thoſe Elections were the Peoples Right, ſought, as he confeſſes, to have *greateſt Influence upon Church Men.* They on the other ſide finding themſelves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, not allow'd by Reformation, nor ſupported by any ſpiritual Gift or Grace of their own, knew it their beſt Courſe to have Dependence only upon him: And wrought his Fancy by degrees to that degenerate and unkingly Perſwaſion of *no Biſhop, no King.* Whenas on the contrary, all Prelates in their own ſubtle Senſe are of another Mind; according to that of *Pius* the Fourth, remember'd in the Hiſtory of *Trent*, that Biſhops then grow to be moſt Vigorous and Potent, when Princes happen to be moſt Weak and Impotent. Thus when both Intereſts of Tyranny and Epiſcopacy were Incorporate into each other, the King whoſe principal Safety and Eſtabliſhment conſiſted in the righteous Execution of his Civil Power, and not in Biſhops and their wicked Counſels, fatally driven on, ſet himſelf to the Removal of thoſe Men whoſe Doctrin and Deſire of Church Diſciplin he ſo fea-

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red would be the Undoing of his Monarchy. And becauſe no temporal Law could touch the Innocence of their Lives, he begins with the Perſecution of their Conſciences, laying Scandals before them: And makes that the Argument to inflict his unjuſt Penalties both on their Bodies and Eſtates. In this War againſt the Church if he hath ſped ſo, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heretofore hath harden'd to the like Enterprize, we ought to look up with Praiſes and Thanks-giving to the Author of our Deliverance, to whom Victory and Power, Majeſty, Honour and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own Words we may perceive eaſily, that the ſpecial Motives which he had to endear and deprave his Judgment to the favouring and utmoſt defending of Epiſcopacy, are ſuch as here we repreſent them: And how unwillingly and with what mental Reſervation he condeſcended againſt his Intereſt to remove it out of the Peers Houſe, hath been ſhown already. The Reaſons, which he affirms, wrought ſo much upon his Judgment, ſhall be ſo far anſwer'd as they be urg'd.

Scripture, he pretends, but produces none, and next the *conſtant Practice of all Chriſtian Churches, till of late years, Tumult, Faction, Pride and Covetouſneſs, invented new Models under the Title of Chriſts Government.* Could any Papiſt have ſpoke more ſcandalouſly againſt all Reformation? Well may the Parliament and beſt affected People not now be troubled at his Calumnies and Reproaches, ſince he binds them in the ſame Bundle with all other the reformed Churches; who alſo may now further ſee, beſides their own bitter Experience, what a Cordial and well meaning Helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the Proteſtant Cauſe.

As for *Hiſtories* to prove Biſhops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into Errors, Vanities and Uncertainties, muſt be our only Hiſtory. Which informs us that the Apoſtles were not properly Biſhops; *Next*, that Biſhops were not Succeſſors of Apoſtles, in the Function of Apoſtleſhip: And that if they were Apoſtles, they could not be preciſely Biſhops; if Biſhops, they could not be Apoſtles; this being Univerſal, Extraordinary and Immediate from God; that being an ordinary, fixt and particular Charge, and continual Inſpection over a certain Flock. And although an *Ignorance and Deviation* of the ancient Churches afterward, may with as much *Reaſon and Charity* be ſuppos'd as *ſudden* in Point of Prelacy, as in other manifeſt Corruptions, yet that *no Example ſince the firſt Age for* 1500 *Years can be produc'd of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhops above them*, the Eccleſiaſtical Story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves clearly to be a falſe and overconfident Aſſertion. *Sozomenus* who wrote above twelve hundred Years ago, in his Seventh Book relates from his own Knowledg, that in the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Arabia* (Places near to *Jeruſalem*, and with the firſt frequented by Apoſtles) they had Biſhops in every Village; and what could thoſe be more then Presbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Epiſcopal Churches in thoſe Days did not condemn them. I add, that many *Weſtern* Churches eminent for their Faith and good Works, and ſettled above four hundred Years ago in *France*, in *Piedmont* and *Bohemia*, have both taught and practis'd the ſame Doctrin, and not admitted of Epiſcopacy among them. And if we may believe what the Papiſts themſelves have written of theſe Churches, which they call *Waldenſes*, I find it in a Book written almoſt four hundred Years ſince, and ſet forth in the *Behomian* Hiſtory, that thoſe Churches in *Piedmont* have held the ſame Doctrin and Government, ſince the Time

that *Conſtantine* with his miſchievous Donations poyſon'd *Silveſter* and the whole Church. Others affirm they have ſo continu'd there ſince the Apoſtles: And *Theodorus Belvederenſis* in his Relation of them, confeſſeth that thoſe Hereſies, as he names them, were, from the firſt Times of Chriſtianity, in that Place. For the reſt I refer me to that famous Teſtimony of *Jerom*, who upon that very Place which he cites here, the Epiſtle to *Titus*, declares openly that Biſhop and Presbyter were one and the ſame Thing; till by the Inſtigation of Satan, Partialities grew up in the Church; and that Biſhops rather by Cuſtom, then any Ordainment of Chriſt, were exalted above Presbyters: Whoſe Interpretation we truſt ſhall be receiv'd before this intricate Stuff tattled here of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and I know not whom their Succeſſors, far beyond Court Element, and as far beneath true Edification. Theſe are his *fair Grounds both from Scripture-Canons and Eccleſiaſtical-Examples*, how un-divine-like written, and how like a worldly Goſpeller that underſtands nothing of theſe Matters, Poſterity no doubt will be able to judge: And will but little regard what he calls *Apoſtolical*, who in his Letter to the Pope calls *Apoſtolical* the *Roman* Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therefore *it was not Policy of State*, or Obſtinacy in him which upheld *Epiſcopacy*, becauſe the Injuries and Loſſes which he ſuſtain'd by ſo doing, were to him *more conſiderable* then *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf; for all this might *Pharaoh* have had to ſay in his Excuſe of detaining the *Iſraelites*; that his own and his Kingdoms Safety ſo much endanger'd by his Denial, was to him more dear, then all their building Labours could be worth to *Ægypt*. But whom God hardens, them alſo he blinds.

He endeavours to make good *Epiſcopacy* not only in *Religion, but from the Nature of all Civil Government, where Parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.* But of Faction and Confuſion, to take no other then his own Teſtimony, where hath more been ever bred then under the Imparity of his own Monarchical Government? Of which to make at this time longer Diſpute, and from civil Conſtitutions and human Conceits to debate and queſtion the Convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither Wiſdom nor Sobriety: And to confound *Moſaic Prieſthood* with Evangelic Presbytery againſt expreſs Inſtitution, is as far from warrantable. As little to purpoſe is it, that we ſhould ſtand polling the reformed Churches, whether they *equalize* in Number *thoſe of his three Kingdoms*; of whom ſo lately the far greater Part, what they have long deſired to do, have now quite thrown off *Epiſcopacy*.

Neither may we count it the Language or Religion of a Proteſtant, ſo to vilify the beſt reformed Churches (for none of them but *Lutherans* retain Biſhops) as to fear more the *Scandalizing* of Papiſts, becauſe more numerous, then of our Proteſtant Brethren becauſe a *handful*. It will not be worth the while to ſay what *Schiſmatics* or *Heretics* have had no Biſhops; yet leaſt he ſhould be taken for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if he were a Doctor, might have remember'd the forementionꝰd Place in *Sozomenus*; which affirms, that beſides the *Cyprians* and *Arabians*, who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* alſo, and *Montaniſts* in *Phrygia* had no other Biſhops then ſuch as were in every Village: And what Presbyter hath a narrower Dioceſs? As for the *Arians* we know of no Heretical Opinion juſtly father'd upon them, but that they held Biſhops and Presbyters to be the ſame. Which he in this Place not obſcurely ſeems to hold a Hereſy in all the reformed Churches: with whom why the Church of *England* deſired Conformity, he can find no Reaſon with all his *Charity, but the Coming in of the* Scots *Army*; Such a high Eſteem he had of the *Engliſh*.

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He tempts the Clergy to return back again to Biſhops, from the Fear of *Tenuity* and *Contempt*, and the Aſſurance of better *Thriving under the Favour of Princes*, againſt which Temptations if the Clergy cannot arm themſelves with their own ſpiritual Armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carkaſs* as he terms them.

Of ſecular Honours and great Revenues added to the Dignity of Prelates, ſince the Subject of that Queſtion is now remov'd, we need not ſpend Time: But this perhaps will never be unſeaſonable to bear in Mind out of *Chryſoſtom*, that when Miniſters came to have Lands, Houſes, Farms, Coaches, Horſes, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth Riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.

But if his Judgment in *Epiſcopacy* may be judg'd by the goodly Choice he made of Biſhops, we need not much amuſe our ſelves with the Conſideration of thoſe Evils which, by his Foretelling, will *neceſſarily follow* their pulling down, until he prove, that the Apoſtles having no certain Dioceſs or appointed Place of Reſidence, were properly *Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted*; wherein oft-times their Labours were both joynt and promiſcuous: Or that the Apoſtolic Power muſt *neceſſarily deſcend to Biſhops, the Uſe and End* of either Function being ſo different. And how the Church hath flouriſh'd under *Epiſcopacy*, let the Multitude of their ancient and groſs Errors teſtify; and the Words of ſome learnedeſt and moſt zealous Biſhops among them; *Nazianzen* in a devout Paſſion wiſhing Prelacy had never been; *Baſil* terming them the Slaves of Slaves, St. *Martin* the Enemies of Saints, and confeſſing that after he was made a Biſhop, he found much of that Grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his *Coronation Oath* what it was, and how far it bound him, already hath been ſpoken. This we may take for certain, that he was never ſworn to his own particular Conſcience and Reaſon, but to our Conditions as a free People; which requir'd him to give us ſuch Laws as our ſelves ſhall chooſe. This the *Scots* could bring him to, and would not be baffl'd with the Pretence of a *Coronation Oath*, after that *Epiſcopacy* had for many Years been ſettled there. Which Conceſſion of his to them, and not to us, he ſeeks here to put off with Evaſions that are ridiculous. And to omit no ſhifts, he alleges that the Presbyterian Manners gave him no Encouragement to like their *Modes* of Government. If that were ſo, yet certainly thoſe Men are in moſt Likelihood nearer to Amendment, who ſeek a ſtricter Church Diſciplin then that of *Epiſcopacy*; under which the moſt of them learnt their Manners. If Eſtimation were to be made of Gods Law by their Manners, who, leaving *Ægypt*, receiv'd it in the Wilderneſs, it could reap from ſuch an Inference as this, nothing but Rejection and Diſeſteem.

For the Prayer wherewith he cloſes, it had been good ſome ſafe Liturgy, which he ſo commends, had rather been in his Way; it would perhaps in ſome Meaſure have perform'd the End for which they ſay Liturgy was firſt invented; and have hinder'd him both here, and at other times from turning his notorious Errors into his Prayers.

XVIII. *Upon the* Uxbridge *Treaty*, &c.

IF *the Way of Treaties be look'd upon* in general, *as a Retiring* from beſtial Force to human Reaſon, his firſt *Aphoriſm* here is in Part deceiv'd. For Men may Treat like Beaſts as well as Fight. If ſome Fighting were not Manlike, then either Fortitude were no Vertue, or no Fortitude in Fighting: And as Politicians oft-times through dilatory Purpoſes and Emulations handle the Matter, there hath been no where found more Beſtiality then in Treating, which hath no more Commendation in it, then from Fighting to come to

undermining, from Violence to Craft, and when they can no longer do as Lions, to do as Foxes.

The ſincereſt End of Treating after War once Proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand leſs then was at firſt ſought for, rather then to hazzard more Lives, or worſe Miſchiefs. What the Parliament in that Point were willing to have done, when firſt after the War begun, they petition'd him at *Colebrook* to vouchſafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after he had tak'n God to witneſs of his continual Readineſs to Treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of Bloodſhed, taking the Advantage of a Miſt, the fitteſt Weather for Deceit and Treachery, he follows at the heels thoſe Meſſengers of Peace with a Train of covert War: And with a bloody Surpriſe falls on our ſecure Forces which lay Quartering at *Brentford* in the Thoughts and Expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a Trade of War, and againſt a Natural Enemy, ſuch an Onſet might in the Rigor of martial Law have been excus'd, while Arms were not yet by Agreement ſuſpended, yet by a King, who ſeem'd ſo heartily to accept of Treating and profeſſes here, *He never wanted either Deſire or Diſpoſition to it*, profeſſes *to have greater Confidence in his Reaſon, then in his Sword, and as a Chriſtian to ſeek Peace and enſue it*, ſuch bloody and deceitful Advantages would have been forborn one day at leaſt, if not much longer, in whom there had not been a Thriſt rathen a Deteſtation of Civil War and Blood.

In the midſt of a ſecond Treaty not long after, ſought by the Parliament, and after much ado obtain'd with him at *Oxford*, what ſubtle and unpeaceable Deſigns he then had in Chaſe, his own Letters diſcover'd: What Attempts of treacherous Hoſtility ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful he made againſt *Briſtol*, *Scarborough* and other Places, the Proceedings of that Treaty will ſoon put us in Mind: And how he was ſo far from granting more of Reaſon, after ſo much of Blood, that he deny'd then to grant, what before he had offer'd: Making no other Uſe of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gain Advantages that might enable him to continue War. What marvel then if *he thought it no Diminution of himſelf*, as oft as he ſaw his Time, *to be Importunate for Treaties*, when he ſought them only, as by the Upſhot appear'd, *to get Opportunities*.

But he infers, as if the Parliament would have compell'd him *to part with* ſomething of *his Honour as a King*. What Honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not only with the Offence or Diſturbance, but with the Bondage and Deſtruction of three Nations; whereof though he be Careleſs and Improvident, yet the Parliament, by our Laws and Freedom, ought to judge and uſe Prevention; our Laws elſe were but Cobweb-Laws. And what were all his moſt rightful Honours, but the Peoples Gift and the Inveſtment of that Luſtre, Majeſty and Honour, which for the Public Good and no otherwiſe, redounds from a whole Nation into one Perſon? So far is any Honour from being his to a common Miſchief and Calamity. Yet ſtill he talks on equal Terms with the grand Repreſentative of that People, for whoſe ſake he was a King, as if the general Welfare, and his ſubſervient Rights were of equal Moment, or Conſideration. His Aim indeed hath ever been to magnifie and exalt his borrow'd Rights and Prerogatives, above the Parliament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King ſets himſelf to bandy againſt the higheſt Court and Reſidence of his Regal Authority, he then, in the ſingle Perſon of a Man, fights againſt his own Majeſty and Kingſhip, and then indeed ſets the firſt Hand to his own Depoſing.

The Treaty at Uxbridge, he ſaith, *gave the faireſt Hopes of a happy Compoſure*, faireſt indeed, if his Inſtructions to bribe our Commiſſioners with the Promiſe of *Security*, *Rewards* and *Places*, were fair: What other Hopes it gave, no Man can tell. There being but three main Heads whereon to be treated, *Ireland*, Epiſcopacy and the Militia, the firſt was anticipated and foreſtall'd by a Peace at any Rate to be haſten'd with the *Iriſh* Rebels, 'ere the

the Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his Word and Honour paſt againſt *the ſpecious and popular Arguments* (he calls them no better) which the Parliament would urge upon him for the Continuance of that juſt War. Epiſcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quit: Which informs us by what Patronage it ſtood: And the Sword he reſolves to clutch as faſt, as if God with his own Hand had put it into his. This was the *Moderation which he brought*; this was *as far as Reaſon, Honour, Conſcience* and the Queen who was his Regent in all theſe, *would give him leave.* Laſtly, for *Compoſure*, inſtead of *Happy*, how miſerable it was more likely to have been wiſe Men could then judge; when the *Engliſh*, during Treaty, were call'd Rebels, the *Iriſh*, Good and Catholic Subjects; and the Parliament before hand, though for faſhions ſake call'd a Parliament, yet by a Jeſuitical ſlight not acknowledg'd though call'd ſo; but privately in the Councel Books inroll'd no Parliament: That if Accommodation had ſucceeded upon what Terms ſoever, ſuch a deviliſh Fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own Eſteem had been abſolv'd from all Performance, as having treated with Rebels and no Parliament; and they on the other ſide inſtead of an expected Happineſs, had been brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt *War had ended*, that Maſſacre and Tyranny might begin. Theſe *Jealouſies* however *rais'd*, let all Men ſee whether they be diminiſh'd or allay'd, by the Letters of his own Cabinet open'd. And yet the Breach of this Treaty is lay'd all upon the Parliament and their Commiſſioners, with odious Names of *Pertinacy, Hatred of Peace, Faction and Covetouſneſs*, nay his own Brat *Superſtition* is lay'd to their Charge; notwithſtanding his here profeſs'd Reſolution to continue both *the Order, Maintenance and Authority* of *Prelates*, as a Truth of God.

And who *were moſt to blame in the Unſucceßfulneſs of that Treaty*, his Appeal is to Gods Deciſion: *believing* to be *very excuſable* at that Tribunal. But if ever Man *Gloried in an unflexible Stifneſs*, he came not behind any: And that *grand Maxim*, always to put ſomething into his Treaties, which might give *Colour* to refuſe all that was in other Things granted, and to make them *ſignifie nothing*, was his own principal Maxim and particular Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners. Yet all, by his own Verdict, muſt be conſtru'd *Reaſon* in the King, and *depraved Temper* in the Parliament.

That the *higheſt Tide of Succeſs*, with theſe Principles and Deſigns, *ſet him not above a Treaty*, no great wonder. But that his *loweſt Ebb* could not be *lower then a Fight*, was a Preſumption that ruin'd him.

He preſag'd the future *Unſucceßfulneſs of Treaties by the Unwillingneſs of ſome Men to treat*: And could not ſee what was preſent that their Unwillingneſs had good Cauſe to proceed from the continual Experience of his own Obſtinacy and Breach of Word.

His Prayer therefore of *Forgiveneſs* to the Guilt of *that Treaties Breaking*, he had good Reaſon to ſay heartily over; as including no Man in that Guilt ſooner then himſelf.

As for that Proteſtation following in his Prayer, *How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War*, unleſs he thought himſelf ſtill in that perfidious Miſt, between *Colebrook* and *Hounſlow*, and thought that Miſt could hide him from the Eye of Heav'n as well as of Man, after ſuch a Bloody Recompence given to our firſt Offers of Peace, how could this in the ſight of Heav'n without Horrours of Conſcience be utter'd?

XIX. *Upon the various Events of the War.*

IT is no new, or unwonted Thing for bad Men to claim as much part in God as his beſt Servants; to uſurp and imitate their Words and appropriate to themſelves thoſe Properties which belong only to the good and

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righteous. This not only in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but here alſo in this Chapter of *Apocrypha*. He tells us much, why *it pleas'd God* to ſend him Victory or Loſs (although what in ſo doing was the Intent of God, he might be much miſtaken as to his own Particular) but we are yet to learn what real good USE he made thereof in his Practice.

Thoſe Numbers which he grew to *from ſmall Beginnings*, were not ſuch as out of Love came to protect him, for none approv'd his Actions as a King, except Courtiers and *Prelates*, but were ſuch as fled to be protected by him from the Fear of that Reformation, which the Pravity of their Lives would not bear. Such a Snow-ball he might eaſily gather by rowling through thoſe cold and dark Provinces of Ignorance and Lewdneſs, where on a ſudden he became ſo numerous. He imputes that to Gods *Protection*, which, to them who perſiſt in a bad Cauſe, is either his Long-ſuffering or his Hard'ning; and that to wholeſom *Chaſtiſement*, which were the gradual Beginnings of a ſevere Puniſhment. For if neither God nor Nature put Civil Power in the Hands of any whomſoever, but to a lawful End, and commands our Obedience to the Authority of Law only, not to the Tyrannical Force of any Perſon, and if the Laws of our Land have plac'd the Sword in no Mans ſingle Hand, ſo much as to unſheath againſt a foreign Enemy, much leſs upon the native People, but have plac'd it in that elective Body of the Parliament, to whom the making, repealing, judging and interpreting of Law it ſelf was alſo committed, as was fitteſt, ſo long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one Mans Will, then was the King himſelf diſobedient and rebellious to that Law by which he reign'd; and by Authority of Parliament to raiſe Arms againſt him in Defence of Law and Liberty, we do not only *think*, but believe and know, was juſtifiable both *by the Word of God, the Laws of the Land and all* lawful *Oaths*; and they who ſided with him fought againſt all theſe.

The ſame Allegations, which he uſes for himſelf and his Party, may as well fit any Tyrant in the World: For let the Parliament be call'd a Faction when the King pleaſes, and that no Law muſt be made or chang'd, either civil or religious, becauſe no Law will content *all Sides*, then muſt be made or chang'd no Law at all; but what a Tyrant, be he Proteſtant or Papiſt, thinks fit. Which Tyrannous Aſſertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights againſt, and dyes fighting, if his other Sins overweigh not, dyes a *Martyr* undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Commonwealth: And I hold it not as the Opinion, but as the full Belief and Perſwaſion of far holier and wiſer Men then *Paraſitic Preachers*. Who, without their Dinner-doctrin, know, that neither *King, Law, Civil Oaths or Religion* was ever *eſtabliſh'd* without the Parliament: And their Power is the ſame to abrogate as to eſtabliſh: Neither is any thing to be thought *eſtabliſh'd* which that Houſe declares to be aboliſh'd. Where the Parliament ſits, there inſeparably ſits the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatſoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parliament, in the trueſt Senſe fought for all theſe; who fought for the King divided from his Parliament, fought for the Shadow of a King againſt all theſe; and for Things that were not, as if they were *eſtabliſh'd*. It were a Thing monſtrouſly abſurd and contradictory to give the Parliament a Legiſlative Power, and then to upbraid them for tranſgreſſing old Eſtabliſhments.

But the King and his Party having loſt in this Quarrel their Heaven upon Earth, begin to make great Reck'ning of *Eternal Life*, and at an eaſy Rate *in Forma Pauperis* canonize one another into Heaven; he them in his Book, they him in the Portraiture before his Book: But, as was ſaid before, Stage-work will not do it; much leſs *the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe*; wherein moſt frequently they dy'd *in a brutiſh Fierceneſs*, with Oaths and other damning Words in their Mouths; as if ſuch had been *all the Oaths* they fought for:

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Which undoubtedly ſent them full Sail on another Voyage then to Heaven. In the mean while they to whom God gave Victory, never brought to the King at *Oxford* the State of their *Conſciences*, that he ſhould preſume without Confeſſion, more then a Pope preſumes, to tell abroad what *Conflicts and Accuſations*, Men whom he never ſpoke with, have *in their own Thoughts*. We never read of any *Engliſh* King but one that was a Confeſſor; and his Name was *EDWARD*: Yet ſure it paſs'd his Skill to know Thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not ſtick to ſlander Mens inward Conſciences, which they can neither ſee nor know, much leſs will care to ſlander outward Actions, which they pretend to ſee, though with Senſes never ſo vitiated.

To judge of *his Condition conquer'd*, and the Manner of *dying* on that Side, by the *ſober Men* that *choſe* it, would be his ſmall Advantage: It being moſt notorious, that they who were hotteſt in his Cauſe, the moſt of them were Men oft'ner drunk then by their good Will ſober, and very many of them ſo fought and ſo dy'd.

And that *the Conſcience* of any Man ſhould grow *ſuſpicious*, or *be now convicted* by any *Pretentions* in the Parliament, which are now prov'd *falſe and unintended*, there can be no juſt Cauſe. For neither did they ever pretend to eſtabliſh his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judge of Laws by their being *eſtabliſh'd*, but to eſtabliſh them by their being good and neceſſary.

He tells the World, *He often pray'd that all on his Side might be as faithful to God and their own Souls as to him.* But Kings, above all other Men, have in their Hands not to pray only but to do. To make that Prayer effectual, he ſhould have govern'd as well as pray'd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well aſſur'd, they were more *faithful* to their Luſt and Rapine then to him.

In the wonted Predication of his own Vertues he goes on to tell us, that to *conquer he never deſir'd, but only to reſtore the Laws and Liberties of his People.* It had been happy then he had known at laſt, that by Force to reſtore Laws abrogated by the Legiſlative Parliament, is to conquer abſolutely both them and Law it ſelf. And for our Liberties, none ever oppreſs'd them more, both in Peace and War; *firſt*, like a Maſter by his arbitrary Power; *next*, as an Enemy by hoſtile Invaſion.

And if his beſt Friends fear'd him, and *he himſelf in the Temptation of an Abſolute Conqueſt*, it was not only pious but friendly in the Parliament, both to fear him and reſiſt him; ſince their not yielding, was the only means to keep him out of that *Temptation* wherein he doubted his own Strength.

He takes himſelf to be *guilty in this War of nothing elſe, but of confirming the Power of ſome Men*: Thus all along he ſignifies the Parliament, whom to have ſettl'd by an Act, he counts to be his only Guiltineſs. So well he knew that to continue a Parliament, was to raiſe a War againſt himſelf; what were his Actions then and his Government the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parliaments made War on their Kings, but on their Tyrants; whoſe *Modeſty and Gratitude* was more wanting to the Parliament, then theirs to any of ſuch Kings.

What he *yielded* was his Fear; what he *deny'd* was his Obſtinacy; *had he yielded more*, Fear might perchance have ſav'd him; had he granted *leſs*, his Obſtinacy had perhaps the ſooner deliver'd us.

To review the Occaſions of this War will be to them never *too late*, who would be warn'd by his Example from the like Evils: But *to wiſh only a happy Concluſion*, will never expiate the Fault of his *unhappy Beginnings*. 'Tis true on

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our ſide the Sins of our Lives not ſeldom fought againſt us: But on their Side, beſides thoſe, the grand Sin of their Cauſe.

How can it be otherwiſe, when *he deſires* here moſt unreaſonably, and indeed ſacrilegiouſly, that we ſhould be *ſubject to him*, though not *further*, yet as far as *all of us may be ſubject to God*; to whom this Expreſſion leaves no Precedency. He who *deſires* from Man as much Obedience and Subjection, as we may all pay to God, deſires not leſs then to be a God; a Sacriledg far worſe then medling with the Biſhops Lands, as he eſteems it.

His Prayer is a Good Prayer and a Glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little Leven, levens the whole Lump. It ſhould have purg'd out the Leven of Untruth in telling God that the *Blood of his Subjects by him ſhed* was *in his juſt and neceſſary Defence*. Yet this is remarkable; God hath here ſo orderd his Prayer, that as his own Lips acquitted the Parliament, not long before his Death, of all the Blood ſpilt in this War, ſo now his Prayer unwittingly draws it upon himſelf. For God *imputes* not to any Man the Blood he ſpills in a juſt Cauſe: And no Man ever begged his *not imputing* of that which he in his Juſtice could not impute. So that now whether purpoſely, or unaware, he hath confeſſed both to God and Man the Blood-guiltineſs of all this War to lie upon his own Head.

XX. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

THIS Chapter cannot punctually be anſwer'd without more Repetitions then now can be excuſable: Which perhaps have already been more humour'd then was needful. As it preſents us with nothing new, ſo with his Exceptions againſt Reformation pitifully old and tatter'd with continual Uſing; not only in his Book, but in the Words and Writings of every *Papiſt* and *Popiſh* King. On the Scene he thruſts out firſt an *Antimaſque* of two *Bugbears*, *Novelty* and *Perturbation*; that the Ill-looks and Noiſe of thoſe two, may, as long as poſſible, drive off all Endeavours of a Reformation. Thus ſought Pope *Adrian* by repreſenting the like vain Terrors, to divert and diſſipate the Zeal of thoſe reforming Princes of the Age before in *Germany*. And if we credit *Latimer*'s Sermons, our *Papiſts* here in *England* pleaded the ſame Dangers and Inconveniences againſt that which was reform'd by *Edward* the VI. Whereas if thoſe Fears had been available, Chriſtianity it ſelf had never been receiv'd. Which Chriſt foretold us, would not be admitted without the Cenſure of Novelty and many great Commotions. Theſe therefore are not to deter us.

He grants Reformation to be *a good Work*, and confeſſes, *What the Indulgence of Times and Corruption of Manners might have deprav'd*. So did the foremention'd *Pope*, and our Grandſire Papiſts in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one Song with this here, that *they are ſorry to ſee ſo little Regard had to Laws eſtabliſh'd, and the Religion ſettl'd.*

Popular Compliance, Diſſolution of all Order and Government in the Church, Schiſms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confuſions, Sacrilegious Invaſions, Contempt of the Clergy and their Liturgy, Diminution of Princes: All theſe Complaints are to be read in the Meſſages and Speeches almoſt of every Legat from the *Pope* to thoſe States and Cities which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the ſame Pretences, or had them naturally in him from the ſame Spirit. Neither was there ever ſo ſincere a Reformation that hath eſcap'd theſe Clamours.

He offer'd a *Synod or Convocation rightly choſen*. So offer'd all thoſe *Popiſh* Kings heretofore; a Courſe the moſt unſatisfactory, as Matters have been long carry'd, and found by Experience in the Church liable to the greateſt Fraud and Packing: no Solution or Redreſs of Evil, but an Increaſe rather, deteſted therefore by *Nazianzen* and ſome other of the Fathers. And let it be

be produc'd, what good hath been done by *Synods* from the firſt Times of Reformation.

Not to juſtify what Enormities the Vulgar may commit in the Rudeneſs of their Zeal, we need but only inſtance how he bemoans the *pulling down of Croſſes* and other ſuperſtitious Monuments, as the Effect *of a popular and deceitful Reformation.* How little this ſavours of a *Proteſtant*, is too eaſily perceiv'd.

What he charges in defect of *Piety, Charity and Morality*, hath been alſo charg'd by *Papiſts* upon the beſt reformed Churches: Not as if they the Accuſers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of their Malignity to all Endeavour of Amendment; as we know who accus'd to God the Sincerity of *Job*; an Accuſation of all others the moſt eaſy, whenas there lives not any mortal Man ſo Excellent, who in theſe Things is not always Deficient. But the Infirmities of beſt Men, and the Scandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of Reforming, whoſe bold Intruſion covets to be ever ſeen in Things moſt Sacred as they are moſt Specious, can lay no juſt Blemiſh upon the Integrity of others, much leſs upon the Purpoſe of Reformation it ſelf. Neither can the evil Doings of ſome be the Excuſe of our delaying or deſerting that Duty to the Church, which for no reſpect of Times or carnal Policies can be at any time unſeaſonable.

He tells with great ſhew of Piety, what kind of Perſons *public Reformers* ought to be, and what they ought to do. 'Tis ſtrange that in above twenty Years, the Church growing ſtill worſe and worſe under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor do, as he pretends here ſo well to know; nay, which is worſt of all, after the greateſt Part of his Reign ſpent in neither knowing nor doing ought toward a Reformation, either in Church or State, ſhould ſpend the Reſidue in hindring thoſe by a ſeven Years War, whom it concern'd with his Conſent, or without it, to do their Parts in that great Performance.

'Tis True, that the *Method of Reforming*, may well ſubſiſt without *Perturbation of the State*; but that it falls out otherwiſe, for the moſt Part, is the plain Text of Scripture. And if by his own Rule he had allow'd us *to fear God firſt*, and the King in due Order, our Allegiance might have ſtill followed our Religion in a fit Subordination. But if *Chriſts Kingdom* be taken for the true Diſciplin of the Church, and by *his Kingdom* be meant the Violence he us'd againſt it, and to uphold an Antichriſtian Hierachy, then ſure enough it is, that Chriſts Kingdom could *not be ſet up* without *pulling down his*: And they were beſt Chriſtians who were leaſt ſubject to him. *Chriſts Government*, out of Queſtion, meaning it Prelatical, he thought would *confirm his*: And this was that which *overthrew it.*

He profeſſes *to own his Kingdom from Chriſt, and to deſire to Rule for his Glory, and the Churches Good*: The Pope and the King of *Spain* profeſs every where as much; and both his Practice and all his Reaſonings, all his Enmity againſt the true Church we ſee hath been the ſame with theirs, ſince the time that in his Letter to the Pope he aſſur'd them both of his full Compliance. *But evil Beginnings never bring forth good Concluſions*: They are his own Words, and he ratify'd them by his own Ending. To the Pope he ingag'd himſelf to hazard Life and Eſtate for the *Roman* Religion, whether in Complement he did it, or in Earneſt; and God, who ſtood nearer then he for Complementing minded, writ down theſe Words; that according to his Reſolution, ſo it ſhould come to paſs. He prays againſt *his Hypocriſy and Phariſaical Waſhings*, a Prayer to him moſt Pertinent, but choaks it ſtreight with other Words, which pray him deeper into his old Errors and Deluſions.

XXI. *Upon His Letters taken and divulged.*

THE Kings Letters taken at the Battel of *Naſeby*, being of greateſt Importance to let the People ſee what Faith there was in all his Promiſes and ſolemn Proteſtations, were tranſmitted to public View by ſpecial Order of the Parliament. They diſcover'd his good Affection to *Papiſts* and *Iriſh* Rebels, the ſtreight Intelligence he held, the pernicious and diſhourable Peace he made with them, not ſollicited but rather ſolliciting, which by all Invocations that were Holy he had in public abjur'd. They revealed his Endeavours to bring in foreign Forces, *Iriſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Lorainers* and our old Invaders the *Danes* upon us, beſides his Subtleties and myſterious Arts in treating. To ſum up all, they ſhew'd him govern'd by a Woman. All which though ſuſpected vehemently before, and from good Grounds believ'd, yet by him and his Adherents peremptorily deny'd, were, by the opening of that Cabinet, viſible to all Men under his own Hand.

The Parliament therefore to clear themſelves of aſperſing him without Cauſe, and that the People might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by Falſities and Court Impudence, in Matters of ſo high Concernment, to let them know on what Terms their Duty ſtood, and the Kingdoms Peace, conceiv'd it moſt expedient and neceſſary, that thoſe Letters ſhould be made Public. This the King affirms was by them done without *Honour and Civility*: Words, which if they contain not in them, as in the Language of a Courtier moſt commonly they do not, more of Subſtance and Reality then Complement, Ceremony, Court-fauning and Diſſembling, enter not I ſuppoſe further then the Ear into any wiſe Mans Conſideration. Matters were not then between the Parliament and a King their Enemy in that State of trifling, as to obſerve thoſe ſuperficial Vanities. But if Honour and Civility mean, as they did of old, Diſcretion, Honeſty, Prudence and plain Truth, it will be then maintain'd againſt any Sect of thoſe *Cabaliſts*, that the Parliament in doing what they did with thoſe Letters, could ſuffer in their Honour and Civility no Diminution. The Reaſons are already heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings, to tranſgreſs the Bounds of all Honour and Civility, there ſhould not want Examples good ſtore, if Brevity would permit; in point of Letters this one ſhall ſuffice. The *Dutcheſs* of *Burgundy* and Heir of Duke *Charles*, had promis'd to her Subjects, that ſhe intended no otherwiſe to govern, then by Advice of the three Eſtates; but to *Lewis* the *French* King had written Letters, that ſhe had reſolv'd to commit wholly the managing of her Affairs to four Perſons, whom ſhe nam'd. The three Eſtates not doubting the Sincerity of her Princely Word, ſend Embaſſadors to *Lewis*, who then beſieg'd *Arras* belonging to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. The King taking hold of this Occaſion to ſet them at Diviſion among themſelves, queſtion'd their Credence; which when they offer'd to produce with their Inſtructions, he not only ſhews them the private Letter of their Dutcheſs, but gives it them to carry Home, wherewith to affront her; which they did, ſhe denying it ſtoutly; till they, ſpreading it before her Face in a full Aſſembly, convicted her of an open Lye. Which although *Commines* the Hiſtorian much blames, as a Deed too harſh and diſhonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at War with their Princeſs, yet to his Maſter *Lewis*, who firſt divulg'd thoſe Letters, to the open ſhaming of that young Governeſs, he imputes no Incivility or Diſhonour at all, although betraying a certain Confidence repos'd by that Letter in his Royal Secrecy.

With much more Reaſon then may Letters not intercepted only, but won in Battle from an Enemy, be made public to the beſt Advantages of them that win them, to the Diſcovery of ſuch important Truth or Falſhood. Was

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it not more Diſhonourable in himſelf to feign Suſpicions and Jealouſies, which we firſt found among thoſe Letters, touching the Chaſtity of his Mother, thereby to gain Aſſiſtance from the King of *Denmark*, as in Vindication of his Siſter? The Damſel of *Burgundy*, at ſight of her own Letter, was ſoon blank, and more ingenuous then to ſtand Outfacing; but this Man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking, world without end, to make good his Integrity and fair Dealing contradicted by his own Hand and Seal. They who can pick nothing out of them but Phraſes ſhall be counted *Bees*: They that diſcern further both there and here, that *Conſtancy to his Wife* is ſet in Place before Laws and Religion, are in his Naturalities no better then *Spiders*.

He would work the People to a Perſwaſion, that *if he be miſerable they cannot be happy*. What ſhould hinder them? Were they all born Twins of *Hippocrates* with him and his Fortune, one Birth one Burial? It were a Nation miſerable indeed, not worth the Name of a Nation, but a Race of Idiots, whoſe Happineſs and Welfare depended upon one Man. The Happineſs of a Nation conſiſts in true Religion, Piety, Juſtice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and the Contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomſoever theſe Vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the Architects of their own Happineſs; and whether to themſelves or others are not leſs then Kings. But in him, which of theſe Vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the Well-governing of ſo much as his own Houſhold, which was the moſt Licentious and Ill-govern'd in the whole Land.

But the opening of his Letters was deſign'd by the Parliament to make *all Reconciliation deſperate*. Are the Lives of ſo many good and faithful Men, that dy'd for the Freedom of their Country, to be ſo ſlighted, as to be forgotten in a ſtupid Reconcilement without Juſtice done them? What he fears not by War and Slaughter, ſhould we fear *to make deſperate* by opening his Letters? Which Fact he would Parallel with *Chams* revealing of his Fathers Nakedneſs: When he at that Time could be no way eſteem'd *the Father of his Country*, but the Deſtroyer; nor had he ever before merited that former Title.

He thanks God he cannot only bear this with Patience, but with Charity forgive the Doers. Is not this meer Mockery to thank God for what he can do, but will not? For is it Patience to impute *Barbariſm and Inhumanity* to the opening of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to cloath them with Curſes in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiven in his Diſcourſe. In which Prayer to ſhew how readily he can return Good for Evil to the Parliament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak alſo, for the diſmantling of his Letters he wiſhes, *They may be cover'd with the Cloak of Confuſion*. Which I ſuppoſe they do reſign with much willingneſs, both Livery, Badge and Cognizance, to them who choſe rather to be his Servants and Vaſſals, then to ſtand againſt him for the Liberty of their Country.

XXII. *Upon His going to the* Scots.

THE Kings coming in, whether to the *Scots* or *Engliſh*, deſerv'd no thanks: For *Neceſſity was his Counſelor*: And that he hated them both alike, his Expreſſions every where manifeſt. Some ſay his Purpoſe was to have come to *London*, till hearing how ſtrictly it was proclaim'd, that no Man ſhould conceal him, he diverted his Courſe. But that had been a frivolous Excuſe: And beſides he himſelf rehearſing the Conſultations had, before he took his Journey, ſhews us clearly that he was determin'd to adventure *upon their Loyalty who firſt began his Troubles*. And that the *Scots* had notice of it before, hath been long ſince brought to Light. What Pru-

dence there could be in it, no Man can imagin; Malice there might be, by raiſing new Jealouſies to divide Friends. For beſides his diffidence of the *Engliſh*, it was no ſmall Diſhonour that he put upon them, when rather then yield himſelf to the Parliament of *England*, he yielded to a Hireling Army of *Scots* in *England*, pay'd for their Service here, not in *Scotch* Coyn, but in *Engliſh* Silver; nay, who from the firſt beginning of theſe Troubles, what with brotherly Aſſiſtance, and what with monthly Pay, have defended their own Liberty and Conſciences at our Charge. However it was a hazardous and raſh Journey taken, *to reſolve Riddles in Mens Loyalty*, who had more Reaſon to miſtruſt the Riddle of ſuch a diſguiſed Yielding: And to put himſelf in their Hands whoſe Loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the Courſe to be reſolved of it, but to tempt it. *What Providence deny'd to Force*, he thought *it might grant* to Fraud, which he ſtiles *Prudence*: But Providence was not couzen'd with Diſguiſes, neither outward nor inward.

To have known *his greateſt Danger in his ſuppoſed Safety, and his greateſt Safety in his ſuppoſed Danger*, was to him a fatal Riddle never yet reſolved; wherein rather to have imploy'd his main Skill, had been much more to his Preſervation.

Had he *known when the Game was loſt*, it might have ſaved much *Conteſt*: but the way *to give over fairly*, was not to ſlip out of open War into a new Diſguiſe. He lays down his Arms, but not his Wiles; nor all his Arms, for in Obſtinacy he comes no leſs arm'd then ever, *Cap a pè*. And what were they but Wiles, continually to move for Treaties, and yet to perſiſt the ſame Man, and to *fortify his Mind* before hand, ſtill purpoſing to grant no more then what ſeem'd Good to that violent and lawleſs Triumvirate within him, under the falſify'd Names of his Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience, the old circulating Dance of his Shifts and Evaſions.

The Words of a King, as they are *full of Power*, in the authority and ſtrength of Law, ſo like *Sampſon*, without the Strength of that *Nazarites* Lock, they have no more Power in them then the Words of another Man.

He adores Reaſon as *Domitian* did *Minerva*, and calls her the *Divineſt Power*, thereby to intimate as if at Reaſoning, as at his own Weapon, no Man were ſo able as himſelf. Might we be ſo happy as to know where theſe Monuments of his Reaſon may be ſeen, for in his Actions and his Writing they appear as thinly as could be expected from the meaneſt Parts, bred up in the midſt of ſo many ways extraordinary to know ſomething. He who reads his Talk, would think he had left *Oxford* not without mature Deliberation: Yet his Prayer confeſſes, that *he knew not what to do*. Thus is verifyed that Pſalm; *he poureth Contempt upon Princes and cauſeth them to wander in the Wilderneſs where there is no way*, Pſal. 107.

XXIII. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh.

THAT the *Scots* in *England* ſhould *ſell their Kings*, as he himſelf here affirms, and for a *Price ſo much above that*, which the Covetouſneſs of *Judas* was contented with to ſell *our Saviour*, is ſo foul an Infamy and Diſhonour caſt upon them, as befits none to vindicate but themſelves. And it were but friendly Councel to wiſh them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firm Belief that they ſold his Father. The reſt of this Chapter he ſacrifices to the Echo of his Conſcience, out-babling Creeds and Aves, glorying in his reſolute Obſtinacy, and as it were triumphing how *Evident it is now*, that *not evil Councellors*, but he himſelf hath been the Author of all our Troubles. Herein only we ſhall diſagree to the Worlds end, while he who ſought ſo manifeſtly to have annihilated all our Laws and Liberties, hath

hath the Confidence to perſwade us that he hath *Fought* and *Suffer'd* all this while in their Defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Commiſſions under Hand and Seal, nor by his own Actions held as in a Mirror before his Face, will be convinc'd to ſee his Faults, can much leſs be won upon by any Force of Words, neither he nor any that take after him; who in that reſpect are no more to be diſputed with, then they who deny Principles. No Queſtion then, but the Parliament did wiſely in their Decree at laſt, to make no more Addreſſes. For how unalterable his Will was, that would have been our Lord, how utterly averſe from the Parliament and Reformation, during his Confinement, we may behold in this Chapter. But to be ever anſwering fruitleſs Repetitions, I ſhould become liable to anſwer for the ſame my ſelf. He borrows *David*'s Pſalms, as he charges the *Aſſembly of Divines* in his Twentieth Diſcourſe, *To have ſet forth old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt.* Had he borrow'd *David's* Heart, it had been much the Holier Theft. For ſuch kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the Borrower, among good Authors, is accounted *Plagiary.* However, this was more tolerable then *Pammela's* Prayer, ſtol'n out of Sir *Philip.*

XXIV. *Upon the Denying him the Attendance of his Chaplains.*

A CHAPLAIN is a Thing ſo Diminutive and Inconſiderable, that how he ſhould come here among Matters of ſo great Concernment, to take ſuch room up in the Diſcourſes of a Prince, if it be not wondered, is to be ſmil'd, at. Certainly by me, ſo mean an Argument ſhall not be writt'n; but I ſhall huddle him as he does Prayers. The Scripture owns no ſuch Order, no ſuch Function in the Church; and the Church not owning them, they are left, for ought I know, to ſuch a further Examining as the Sons of *Sceva* the *Jew* met with; Biſhops or Presbyters we know, and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be liſted among the upper Servingmen of ſome great Houſhold and be admitted to ſome ſuch Place, as may ſtile them the Sewers, or the Yeomen-Uſhers of Devotion, where the Maſter is too reſty, or too rich, to ſay his own Prayers, or to bleſs his own Table. Wherefore ſhould the Parliament then take ſuch Implements of the Court Cupboard into their Conſideration? They knew them to have been the main Corrupters at the Kings Elbow: They knew the King to have been always their moſt attentive Scholar and Imitator, and of a Child to have ſuck'd from them and their Cloſetwork all his impotent Principles of Tyranny and Superſtition. While therefore they had any hope left of his Reclaiming theſe Sowers of malignant Tares, they kept aſunder from him; and ſent to him ſuch of the Miniſters and other zealous Perſons, as they thought were beſt able to inſtruct him, and to convert him. What could Religion her ſelf have done more to the ſaving of a Soul? But when they found him paſt Cure, and that he to himſelf was grown the moſt evil Counſelor of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and ſome of them attended him, or elſe were at his Call to the very laſt. Yet here he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then ſuperſtitious *Micah* did to the *Danites*, who had tak'n away his Houſhold Prieſt. *Ye have taken away my Gods which I made and the Prieſt and what have I more?* And perhaps the whole Story of *Micah* might ſquare not unfitly to this Argument: *Now know I*, ſaith the, *that the Lord will do me good, ſeeing I have a* Levite *to my Prieſt.* *Micah* had as great a Care that his Prieſt ſhould be *Moſaical*, as the King had that his ſhould be *Apoſtolical*; yet both in an Error touching their Prieſts. Houſhold and private Oriſons were not to be officiated by Prieſts; for neither did public Prayer appertain only to their Office. Kings heretofore, *David*, *Solomon* and *Jehoſaphat*, who might not touch

touch the Prieſthood, yet might pray in Public, yea in the Temple, while the Prieſts themſelves ſtood and heard. What ail'd this King then that he could not chew his own Mattins without the Prieſts *Ore tenus*? Yet is it like he could not pray at home, who can here publiſh a whole Prayer-Book of his own and ſignifies in ſome part of this Chapter, almoſt as good a Mind to be a Prieſt himſelf as *Micah* had to let his Son be. There was doubtleſs therefore ſome other Matter in it which made him ſo deſirous to have his Chaplains about him, who were not only the Contrivers, but very oft the Inſtruments alſo of his Deſigns.

The Miniſters which were ſent him no marvel he indur'd not; for they preach'd Repentance to him: The others gave him eaſie Confeſſion, eaſie Abſolution, nay *ſtrengthen'd his Hand and hearden'd his Heart* by applauding him in his wilful Ways. To them he was an *Ahab*, to theſe a *Conſtantine*; it muſt follow then that they to him were as unwelcome as *Eliah* was to *Ahab*, theſe as dear and pleaſing as *Amaziah* the Prieſt of *Bethel* was to *Jeroboam*. Theſe had learnt well the Leſſon that would pleaſe; *Propheſie not againſt* Bethel, *for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court*; and had taught the King to ſay of thoſe Miniſters which the Parliament had ſent, Amos *hath conſpir'd againſt me, the Land is not able to bear all his Words*.

Returning to our firſt Parallel, this King look'd upon his Prelates, *as Orphans under the Sacrilegious Eyes of many rapacious Reformers*: And there was as great Fear of Sacrilege between *Micah* and his Mother, till with their holy Treaſure, about the Loſs thereof there was ſuch Curſing, they made a grav'n and a molten *Image*, and got a Prieſt of their own. To let go his criticizing about the *Sound of Prayers, Impious, Rude or Paſſionate*, Modes of his own deviſing, we are in danger to fall again upon the Flats and Shallows of *Liturgy*. Which if I ſhould repeat again, would turn my Anſwers into *Reſponſories* and beget another *Liturgy*, having too much of one already.

This only I ſhall add, that if the Heart, as he alleges, cannot ſafely *joyn with another Mans extemporal Sufficiency*, becauſe we know not ſo exactly what they mean to ſay, then thoſe public Prayers made in the Temple by thoſe forenamed Kings and by the Apoſtles in the Congregation, and by the ancient Chriſtians for above three hundred Years before *Liturgy* came in, were with the People made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heretofore pray'd without Chaplains, ev'n publickly in the Temple it ſelf, and that every *private Believer is inveſted with a royal Prieſthood*, yet like one that reliſh'd not what he *taſted of the heav'nly Gift, and the good Word of God*, whoſe Name he ſo confidently takes into his Mouth, he frames to himſelf impertient and vain Reaſons, why he ſhould rather pray by the officiating Mouth of a Cloſet-Chaplain. *Their Prayers*, ſaith he, *are more prevalent, they flow from Minds more enlighten'd, from Affections leſs diſtracted*. Admit this true, which is not; this might be ſomething ſaid as to their Prayers for him? but what avails it to their praying with him. If his own Mind *be incumber'd with ſecular Affairs*, what helps it his particular Prayer, though the Mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new Preferment, or his Dinner? The Fervency of one Man in Prayer cann ot ſuperarrogate for the Coldneſs of another; neither can *his Spiritual Defects* in that Duty be made out, in the Acceptance of God, by another Mans Abilities. Let him endeavour to have more Light in himſelf: And not to walk by another Man's Lamp, but to get Oyl into his own. Let him caſt from him, as in a Chriſtian Warfare, that ſecular Incumberance with either diſtracts, or overloads him; his Load elſe will never be the leſs heavy, becauſe another Mans is light. Thus theſe Pious Flouriſhes and Colours examin'd throughly, are like the Apples of *Aſphaltus*, appearing goodly to the ſudden Eye, but look well upon them, or at leaſt but touch them, and they turn into Cinders.

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In hs Prayer he remembers what *Voices of Joy and Gladneſs* there were in his Chappel, *Gods Houſe*, in his Opinion, between the Singing Men and the Organs; and this was *Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; the Vanity, Superſtition and Miſdevotion of which Place, was a Scandal far and near: Wherein ſo many Things were Sung and Pray'd in thoſe Songs, which were not underſtood: And yet he who makes a difficulty how the People can joyn their Hearts to extemporal Prayers, though diſtinctly heard and underſtood makes no queſtion, how they ſhould joyn their Hearts in Unity to Songs not underſtood.

I believe that God is no more mov'd with a Prayer elaborately Penn'd, then Men truly charitable are mov'd with the penn'd Speech of a Beggar.

Finally, O ye Miniſters! Read hear what Work he makes among your Gally-pots, your *Balmes* and *Cordials*, and not only your *ſweet Sippets* in Widdows Houſes, but the huge Gobbets wherewith he charges you to have devour'd Houſes and all; the *Houſes of your Brethren, your King and your God*. Cry him up for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you down for *Atheiſts* into Hell.

XXV. *Upon his penitential Meditations and Vows at* Holmby.

IT is not hard for any Man, who hath a Bible in his Hands, to borrow good Words and Holy Sayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a Work of Grace only from above. He borrows here many penitential Verſes out of *Davids* Pſalms. So did many among thoſe *Iſraelites*, who had revolted from the true Worſhip of God, *invent to themſelves Inſtruments of Muſic like* David, and probably Pſalms alſo like his and yet the Prophet *Amos* complains heavily againſt them. But to prove how ſhort this is of true Repentance, I will recite the Penitence of others, who have Repented in Words not borrow'd but their own and yet by the Doom of Scripture it ſelf are judg'd Reprobates.

Cain ſaid unto the Lord, *My Iniquity is greater then I can bear, behold thou haſt driv'n me this day from the Face of the Earth, and from thy Face ſhall I be hid.*

And when Eſau *heard the Words of his Father, he cry'd with an exceeding bitter Cry, and ſaid, Bleſs me ev'n me alſo O my Father!* Yet *found no place of Repentance, though he ſought it carefully with Tears*, Heb. 12.

And *Pharoah* ſaid to *Moſes*, *The Lord is Righteous, I and my People are wicked; I have Sinn'd againſt the Lord your God and againſt you.*

And *Balaam* ſaid, *Let me die the Death of the Righteous and let my laſt End be like his.*

And *Saul* ſaid to *Samuel*, *I have Sinn'd, for I have tranſgreſs'd the Commandment of the Lord; yet honour me now I pray thee before the Elders of my People.*

And when Ahab *heard the Words of* Eliah, *he rent his Cloaths and put Sackcloth upon his Fleſh and Faſted, and lay in Sackcloth and went ſoftly.*

Jehoram alſo *rent his Cloaths, and the People look'd and behold he had Sackcloth upon his Fleſh*, yet in the very Act of his Humiliation he could ſay, *God do ſo, and more alſo to me, if the Head of* Eliſhah *ſhall ſtand on him this Day.*

Therefore *ſaith the Lord, They have not cry'd unto me with their Heart, when they howl'd upon their Beds. They return, but not to the moſt High*, Hoſea 7.

And *Judas* ſaid, *I have Sinned, in that I have betray'd innocent Blood.*

And *Simon Magus* ſaid, *Pray ye to the Lord for me that none of theſe things come upon me.*

All

All these took the Pains both to confess and to repent in their own Words, and many of them in their own Tears, not in *David*'s. But transported with the vain Ostentation of imitating *David*'s Language, not his Life, observe how he brings a Curse upon himself and his Fathers House (God so disposing it) by his usurp'd and ill-imitated Prayer, *Let thy Anger I beseech thee be against me and my Fathers House, as for these Sheep what have they done.* For if *David* indeed sin'd in numbring the People, of which Fault he in earnest made that Confession, and acquitted the whole People from the Guilt of that Sin, then doth this King, using the same Words, bear witness against himself to be the guilty Person, and either in his Soul and Conscience here acquits the Parliament and the People, or else abuses the Words of *David*, and dissembles grosly even to the Face of God; which is apparent in the very next Line; wherein he accuses, even the Church it self to God, as if she were the *Churches Enemy*, for having overcome his Tyrany by the powerful and miraculous Might of God's manifest Arm: For to other Strength in the midst of our Divisions and Disorders, who can attribute our Victories? Thus had this miserable Man no worse Enemies to sollicite and mature his own Destruction from the hast'ned Sentence of Divine Justice, then the obdurate Curses which proceeded against himself out of his own Mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vows, which as the Vows of Hypocrites use to be, are most commonly absurd, and some wicked. *Jacob* vow'd, that God should be his God, if he granted him but what was necessary to perform that Vow, Life and Subsistence: But the Obedience proffer'd here is nothing so cheap. He who took so heinously to be offer'd nineteen Propositions from the Parliament, capitulates here with God almost in as many Articles.

If he will continue that Light, or rather that Darkness of the Gospel, which is among his *Prelates*, settle their Luxuries, and make them gorgeous Bishops.

If he will *restore* the Grievances and Mischiefs of those Obsolete and Popish Laws, which the Parliament without his Consent hath abrogated, and will suffer Justice to be executed according to his Sense.

If he will suppress the many Schisms in Church, to contradict himself in that which he hath foretold must and shall come to pass, and will remove Reformation as the greatest Schism of all, and Factions in the State, by which he means in every Leaf the Parliament.

If he will *restore him* to his negative Voice and the *Militia*, as much to say as arbitrary Power, which he wrongfully avers to be the *Right of his Predecessors.*

If he will turn the Hearts of his People to their old Cathedral and Parochial Service in the *Liturgy*, and their Passive Obedience to the KING.

If he will quench the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withstanding the Piracy of *RUPERT*, and the plotted *Irish* Invasion.

If he will bless him with the Freedom of Bishops again in the House of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the House of Commons, *and deliver the Honour of Parliament* into his Hands, from the most natural and due Protection of the People, that entrusted them with the dangerous Enterprize of being faithful to their Country against the Rage and Malice of his Tyrannous Opposition.

If he will keep him from that great Offence of following the Counsel of his Parliament, and *enacting* what they advise him to, which in all Reason and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to do, and not to call that *Sacriledge*, which Necessity through the Continuance of his own Civil War hath compell'd them to, Necessity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Hezekiah* take all the Silver which was found in Gods House,

Houſe, and cut off the Gold which overlaid thoſe Doors and Pillars, and give it to *Sennacherib*; neceſſity, which oft-times made the Primitive Church to ſell her ſacred Utenſils, even to the Communion-Chalice.

If he will reſtore him to a Capacity of glorifying him by doing that both in Church and State, which muſt needs diſhonour and pollute his Name.

If he will bring him again with Peace, Honour and Safety to his chief City, without repenting, without ſatisfying for the Blood ſpilt, only for a few politic Conceſſions, which are as good as nothing.

If he will put again the Sword into his Hand, to puniſh thoſe that have deliver'd us, and to *protect* Delinquents againſt the Juſtice of Parliament.

Then, if it be poſſible to reconcile Contradictions, he will praiſe him by diſpleaſing him, and ſerve him by diſſerving him.

His Glory, in the gaudy Copes and painted Windows, Miters, Rochets, Altars and the chanted Service-book *ſhall be dearer to him* then the Eſtabliſhing his *CROWN* in Righteouſneſs and the ſpiritual Power of Religion.

He will pardon thoſe that have offended him in particular, but there ſhall want no ſubtle ways to be even with them upon another Score of their ſuppos'd Offences againſt the Commonwealth; whereby he may at once affect the Glory of a ſeeming Juſtice, and deſtroy them pleaſantly, while he feigns to forgive them as to his own Particular, and outwardly bewails them.

Theſe are the Conditions of his Treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he ſtood upon with the Parliament: As if Commiſſions of Array could deal with him alſo. But of all theſe Conditions, as it is now evident in our Eyes, God accepted none, but that final Petition, which he ſo oft, no doubt but by the ſecret Judgment of God, importunes againſt his own Head; praying God, *That his Mercies might be ſo toward him, as his Reſolutions of Truth and Peace were toward his People.* It follows then, God having cut him off without granting any of theſe Mercies, that his Reſolutions were as feign'd as his Vows were fruſtrate.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surpriſal of the King at* Holmeby.

TO give Account to Royaliſts what was done with their vanquiſh'd King, yielded up into our Hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rip up their Falling out in the Ear of a common Enemy, thereby making him the Judge, or at leaſt the well pleas'd Auditor of their Diſagreement, is neither wiſe nor comely. To the King therefore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this Action, there belongs no Anſwer. Æmulations, all Men know, are incident among Military Men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But ſome of the former Army, eminent enough for their own Martial Deeds, and prevalent in the Houſe of Commons, touch'd with Envy to be ſo far out-done by a new Model which they contemn'd, took Advantage of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Names, and the Virulence of ſome Miniſters to raiſe Diſturbance. And the War being then ended, thought ſlightly to have diſcarded them, who had faithfully done the Work, without their due Pay, and the Reward of their invincible Valour. But they who had the Sword yet in their Hands, diſdaining to be made the firſt Objects of Ingratitude and Oppreſſion, after all that Expence of their Blood for Juſtice and the common Liberty, ſeiz'd upon the King their Priſoner, whom nothing but their matchleſs Deeds had brought ſo low as to

ſurrender up his Perſon: Though he, to ſtir up new Diſcord, choſe rather to give up himſelf a Captive to his own Countrymen who leſs had won him. This in Likelyhood might have grown to ſome Height of Miſchief; Partly through the Striſe which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriours, but chiefly through the ſeditious Tongues of ſome falſe Miniſters, more zealous againſt Schiſms then againſt their own Simony and Pluralities, or watchful of the common Enemy, whoſe ſubtle Inſinuations had got ſo far in among them, as with all Diligence to blow the Coals. But it pleas'd God not to embroil and put to confuſion his whole People for the Perverſeneſs of a few. The Growth of our Diſſention was either prevented or ſoon quieted; the Enemy ſoon deceiv'd of his rejoycing, and and the King eſpecially diſappointed of not the meaneſt Morſel that his Hope preſented him, to ruin us by our Diviſion. And being now ſo nigh the End, we may the better be at Leiſure to ſtay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He ſaith of his Surpriſal, that it was a *Motion eccentric and irregular*. What then? His own Alluſion, from the celeſtial Bodies, puts us in Mind, that irregular Motions may be neceſſary on Earth ſometimes, as well as conſtantly in Heaven. That is not always beſt, which is moſt regular to written Law. Great Worthies heretofore by diſobeying Law, oft-times have ſav'd the Commonwealth: And the Law afterward by firm Decree hath approv'd that Planetary Motion, that unblameable Exorbitancy in them.

He means no good to either *Independent* or *Presbyterian*, and yet his Parable, like that of *Balaam*, is over-rul'd to portend them good, far beſide his Intention. *Thoſe Twins* that ſtrove *enclos'd in the Womb of* Rebecca, were the Seed of *Abraham*; the younger undoubtedly gain'd the heavenly Birth-right; the elder though ſupplanted in his Simily, ſhall yet, no queſtion, find a better Portion then *ESAU* found, and far above his Uncircumciſed *PRELATES*.

He cenſures, and in cenſuring ſeems to hope, *it will be an ill Omen*, that they *who build* Jeruſalem *divide their Tongues and Hands*. But his Hope fail'd him with his Example; for that there were Diviſions both of Tongues and Hands at the building of *Jeruſalem*, the Story would have certify'd him; and yet the Work proſper'd; and if God will, ſo may this; notwithſtanding all the Craft and malignant Wiles of *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, adding what Fuel they can to our Diſſentions; or the Indignity of his Compariſon, that likens us to thoſe ſeditious *Zealots* whoſe *inteſtine Fury* brought Deſtruction to the laſt *Jeruſalem*.

It being now no more in his Hand to be reveng'd on his Oppoſers, he ſeeks to ſatiate his Fancy with the Imagination of ſome Revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a Drought obſerves the SKY, ſits and watches when any thing will drop, that might ſolace him with the Likeneſs of a Puniſhment from Heaven upon us; which he ſtrait expounds how he pleaſes. No evil can befal the Parliament or City, but he poſitively interprets it a Judgment upon them for his Sake; as if the very Manuſcript of Gods Judgments had been deliver'd to his Cuſtody and Expoſition. But his Reading declares it well to be a falſe Copy which he uſes; diſpenſing often to his own bad Deeds and Succeſſes the Teſtimony of divine Favour, and to the good Deeds and Succeſſes of other Men, divine Wrath and Vengeance. But to counterfeit the Hand of God is the boldeſt of all Forgery; And he, who without Warrant but his own fantaſtic Surmiſe, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the ſecret and unſearchable Myſteries of high Providence, is likely for the moſt Part to miſtake and ſlander them; and approaches to the Madneſs of thoſe reprobate Thoughts, that would wreſt the Sword of Juſtice out of Gods own Hand, and employ it more juſtly in his own Conceit. It was a

ſmall

ſmall Thing to contend with the Parliament about ſole Power of the *Militia*, when we ſee him doing little leſs then laying Hands on the Weapons of God himſelf, which are his Judgments to weild and manage them by the Sway and Bent of his own frail Cogitations. Therefore *they that by Tumults firſt occaſion'd the raiſing of Armies*, in his Doom, *muſt* needs *be chaſtn'd by their own Army for new Tumults*.

Firſt, Note here his Confeſſion, that thoſe Tumults were the firſt Occaſion of raiſing Armies, and by Conſequence that he himſelf rais'd them firſt, againſt thoſe ſuppoſed Tumults. But who occaſion'd thoſe Tumults, or who made them ſo, being at firſt nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable Concourſe of People, hath been diſcuſt already. And that thoſe pretented Tumults were chaſtiz'd by their own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at Tic-tack with words; *Tumults and Armies, Armies and Tumults*, but ſeems more like the Method of a Juſtice Irrational then Divine.

If the City were chaſten'd by the Army for new Tumults, the Reaſon is by himſelf ſet down evident and immediate, *the new Tumults*. With what Senſe can it be referr'd then to another far-ſetch'd and imaginary Cauſe that happened ſo many years before, and in his Suppoſition only as a Cauſe. *Manlius* defended the *Capitol* and the *Romans* from their Enemies the *Gauls*: *Manlius* for Sedition afterward was by the *Romans* thrown headlong from the *Capitol*, therefore *Manlius* was puniſh'd by Divine Juſtice for defending the *Capitol*, becauſe in that Place puniſh'd for Sedition, and by thoſe whom he defended. This is his *Logic* upon Divine Juſtice; and was the ſame before upon the Death of Sir *John Hotham*. And here again. *Such as were content to ſee him driven away by unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army*. Was this a Judgment? Was it not a Mercy rather, that they had a noble and victorious Army ſo near at Hand to fly to?

From Gods Juſtice he comes down to *Mans Juſtice*. Thoſe few of both Houſes *who at firſt withdrew with him* from the vain Pretence of Tumults, *were counted Deſertors*; therefore thoſe many muſt be alſo Deſertors who withdrew afterwards from real Tumults: As if it were the Place that made a Parliament, and not the End and Cauſe. Becauſe it is deny'd that thoſe were Tumults from which the King made ſhew of being driven, is it therefore of neceſſity imply'd, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If ſome Men fly in craft, may not other Men have cauſe to fly in earneſt? But mark the difference between their Flight and his; they ſoon return'd in Safety to their Places, he not till after many Years, and then a Captive to receive his Puniſhment. So that their flying, whether the Cauſe be conſider'd or the Event, or both, neither juſtify'd him, nor *condemned themſelves*.

But he will needs have *Vengeance to purſue and overtake them*; though to bring it in, it coſt him an inconvenient and obnoxious Compariſon, *As the Mice and Rats overtook a* German *Biſhop*. I would our Mice and Rats had been as Orthodoxal here, and had ſo purſu'd all his Biſhops out of *England*; then Vermin had rid away Vermin, which now hath loſt the Lives of too many thouſand honeſt Men to do.

He cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with Sorrow and Pity. But Sorrow and Pity in a weak and overmaſter'd Enemy, is look'd upon no otherwiſe then as the Aſhes of his Revenge burnt out upon it ſelf; or as the Damp of a coold Fury when we ſay, it gives. But in this Manner to ſit ſpelling and obſerving Divine Juſtice upon every Accident and ſlight Diſturbance that may happen humanly to the Affairs of Men, is but another Fragment of his broken Revenge: And yet the ſhrewdeſt and the cunningeſt Obloquy that can be thrown upon their Actions. For if he can perſwade Men, that the Parliament and their Cauſe is purſu'd with Divine Vengeance, he hath attain'd his End, to make all Men forſake them, and think the worſt that can be thought of them.

Nor is he only content to ſuborn Divine Juſtice in his Cenſure of what is paſt, but he aſſumes the Perſon of Chriſt himſelf to Prognoſticate over us what he wiſhes would come. So little is any Thing or Perſon ſacred from him, no not in Heaven, which he will not uſe and put on, if it may ſerve him plauſibly, to wreck his Spleen, or eaſe his Mind upon the Parliament. Although if ever *fatal Blindneſs* did both *attend and puniſh* Wilfulneſs, if ever any *enjoy'd not Comforts*, for *neglecting Counſel belonging to their Peace*, it was in none more evidently brought to paſs then in himſelf: And his Predictions againſt the Parliament and their Adherents, have for the moſt part been verify'd upon his own Head, and upon his chief Counſelors.

He concludes with high Praiſes of the Army. But Praiſes in an Eenemy are ſuperfluous, or ſmell of Craft; and the Army ſhall not need his Praiſes; nor the Parliament fare worſe for his accuſing Prayers that follow. Wherein as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Chriſt, ſo neither can his Aſſurance that they whom he ſeems to pray for, in doing what they did againſt him, *knew not what they did.* It was but Arrogance therefore and not Charity to lay ſuch Ignorance to others in the Sight of God, till he himſelf had been Infallible, like him whoſe peculiar Words he overweeningly aſſumes.

XXVII. *Intituled to the* PRINCE *of* Wales.

WHAT the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a King of *England*, concerns not him; God and the Parliament having now otherwiſe diſpos'd of *England*. But becauſe I ſee it done with ſome Artifice and Labour, to poſſeſs the People that they might amend their preſent Condition, by his or by his Sons Reſtorement, I ſhall ſhew Point by Point, that although the King had been Reinſtall'd to his Deſire, or that his Son admitted, ſhould obſerve exactly all his Fathers Precepts, yet that this would be ſo far from conducing to our Happineſs, either as *a Remedy to the preſent Diſtempers, or a Prevention of the like to come*, that it would inevitably throw us back again into all our paſt and fulfilled Miſeries; would force us to fight over again all our tedious Wars, and put us to another fatal Strugling for Liberty and Life, more dubious then the former. In which as our Succeſs hath been no other then our Cauſe; ſo it will be evident to all Poſterity, that his *Misfortunes* were the meer Conſequence of his perverſe *Judgment*.

Firſt, He argues from the *experience of thoſe Troubles* which both he and his Son have had, to the Improvement of their *Piety* and *Patience*: And by the way bears Witneſs in his own Words, that the corrupt Education of his Youth, which was but glanc'd at only in ſome former Paſſages of this Anſwer, was a Thing neither of mean Conſideration, nor untruly charg'd upon him or his Son: Himſelf confeſſing here, that *Court Delights are prone either to root up all true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with ſome Leaves and withering Formalities of them, without any real Fruits tending to the publick Good*: Which preſents him ſtill in his own Words another *Rehoboam*, *ſoftened* by a far worſe Court then *Solomons*, *and ſo corrupted* by *Flatteries*, which he affirms to be *inſeparable*, to the overturning of all *Peace*, and the Loſs of his own Honour and Kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bred up and nurtur'd to the Throne, far worſe then *Rehoboam*, unleſs he be of thoſe who equaliz'd his Father to King *Solomon*, we have here his own Confeſſion. And how voluptuouſly, how idly reigning in the Hands of other Men, he either tyranniz'd or trifl'd away thoſe ſeventeen Years of Peace, without Care, or Thought, as if to be a King had been nothing elſe in his Apprehenſion, but to Eat and Drink, and have his Will, and take his Pleaſure, though there be, who can relate his domeſtic Life to the Exactneſs of a Diary, there ſhall be here no mention made. This yet we might have

then

then foreſeen, that he who ſpent his Leiſure ſo remiſsly and ſo corruptly to his own Pleaſing, would one day or other be worſe buſied and imploy'd to our Sorrow. And that he acted in good earneſt what *Rehoboam* did but threaten, to make his little Finger heavier then his Fathers Loyns, and to whip us with his two twiſted Scorpions, both temporal and ſpiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have felt. What good Uſe he made afterward of his Adverſity, both his Impenitence and Obſtinacy to the end (for he was no *Manaſſeth*) and the Sequel of theſe his meditated Reſolutions, abundantly expreſs; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all thoſe putrid and pernicious Documents both of State and of Religion, inſtill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Veſſel nothing better ſeaſon'd, which were the firſt Occaſion both of his own and all our Miſeries. And if he in the beſt Maturity of his Years and Underſtanding made no better Uſe to himſelf, or others of his ſo long and manifold Afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the Reaſon of his own Affairs, there can be no Probability that his Son, bred up, not in the ſoft Effeminacies of Court only, but in the rugged and more boiſtrous Licence of undiſciplined Camps and Garriſons, for Years unable to reflect with Judgment upon his own Condition, and thus ill-inſtructed by his Father, ſhould give his Mind to walk by any other Rules then theſe bequeath'd him as on the death Bed of his Father, and as the choiſeſt of all that Experience, which his moſt ſerious Obſervation and Retirement in good or evil Days had taught him. *David* indeed by ſuffering without juſt Cauſe, learnt that Meekneſs and that Wiſdom by Adverſity, which made him much the fitter Man to Reign. But they who ſuffer as Oppreſſors, Tyrants, Violaters of Law and Perſecutors of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they once get hold again of that Dignity and Power which they had loſt, are but whetted and inrag'd by what they ſuffer'd, againſt thoſe whom they look upon as them that caus'd their Sufferings.

How he hath been *ſubject to the Scepter of Gods Word and Spirit*, though acknowledg'd to be the *beſt Government*, and what his *Diſpenſation of Civil Power* hath been, with what *Juſtice*, and what *Honour to the Public Peace*, it is but looking back upon the whole Catalogue of his Deeds, and that will be ſufficient to remember us. *The Cup of Gods Phyſic*, as he calls it, what Alteration it wrought in him to a firm *Healthfulneſs* from any Surfeit, or Exceſs whereof the People generally thought him ſick, if any Man would go about to prove, we have his own Teſtimony following here, that it wrought none at all.

Firſt, He hath the ſame fix'd Opinion and Eſteem of his old *Epheſian* Goddeſs, call'd the *Church of England*, as he had ever; and charges ſtrictly his Son after him to perſevere in that Antipapal Schiſm (for it is not much better) as that *which will be neceſſary both for his Souls and the Kingdoms Peace*. But if this can be any Foundation of the Kingdoms Peace, which was the firſt Cauſe of our Diſtractions, let common Senſe be Judge. It is a Rule and Principle worthy to be known by Chriſtians, that no Scripture, no nor ſo much as any ancient Creed, binds our Faith, or our Obedience to any Church whatſoever, denominated by a particular Name, far leſs, if it be diſtinguiſh'd by a ſeveral Government from that which is indeed Catholic. No Man was ever bid be ſubject to the Church of *Corinth*, *Rome* or *Aſia*, but to the Church without Addition, as it held faithful to the Rules of Scripture, and the Government eſtabliſh'd in all Places by the Apoſtles; which at firſt was univerſally the ſame in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or diſtinguiſh'd by the Diverſity of Countries, Territories or civil Bounds. That Church that from the Name of a diſtinct Place takes Authority to ſet up a diſtinct Faith or Government, is a Schiſm and Faction, not a Church. It were an Injury to condemn the Papiſt

Papiſt of Abſurdity and Contradiction, for adhering to his Catholic *Romiſh* Religion, if we, for the Pleaſure of a King and his politic Conſiderations, ſhall adhere to a Catholic *Engliſh*.

But ſuppoſe the Church of *England* were, as it ought to be; how is it to us the ſafer by being ſo nam'd and eſtabliſh'd, whenas that very Name and Eſtabliſhment, by his Contriving, or Approbation, ſerv'd for nothing elſe but to delude us and amuſe us, while the Church of *England* was almoſt changed into the Church of *Rome*. Which as every Man knows in general to be True, ſo the particular Treatiſe and Tranſactions tending to that Concluſion, are at large diſcover'd in a Book intitul'd the *Engliſh Pope*. But when the People, diſcerning theſe Abuſes, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parliament demanded of the King to uneſtabliſh that Prelatical Government, which without Scripture had uſurp'd over us, ſtreight, as *Pharaoh* accus'd of Idleneſs the *Iſraelites* that ſought leave to go and Sacrifice to God, he lays Faction to their Charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing Reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, he forewarns him: *That the Devil of Rebellion doth moſt commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation*: And ſays enough to make him hate it, as the worſt of Evils, and the Bane of his Crown: Nay he counſels him to *let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to him, ſo as not ſpeedily and effectually to ſuppreſs Errors and Schiſms*. Whereby we may perceive plainly that our Conſciences were deſtin'd to the ſame Servitude and Perſecution, if not worſe then before, whether under him, or if it ſhould ſo happen, under his Son; who count all Proteſtant Churches Erroneous and Schiſmatical, which are not Epiſcopal.

His next Precept is concerning our Civil Liberties; which by his ſole Voice and predominate Will muſt be circumſcrib'd, and not permitted to extend a Hands breadth further then his Interpretation of *the Laws already ſettled*. And although all human Laws are but the Off-ſpring of that Frailty, that Fallibility and Imperfection which was in their Authors, whereby many Laws in the Change of ignorant and obſcure Ages, may be found both ſcandalous and full of Grievance to their Poſterity that made them, and no Law is further Good, then mutable upon juſt Occaſion, yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a New would ſave the Kingdom, we ſhall not have it unleſs his Arbitrary Voice will ſo far ſlacken the ſtiff Curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made theſe we have. Where are then the *Engliſh* Liberties which we boaſt to have been left us by our Progenitors? To that he anſwers, that *Our Liberties conſiſt in the Enjoyment of the Fruits of our Induſtry, and the Benefit of thoſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented. Firſt*, for the Enjoyment of thoſe Fruits, which our Induſtry and Labours have made our own upon our own, what Privileg is that, above what the *Turks*, *Jews* and *Mores* enjoy under the *Turkiſh* Monarchy? For without that kind of Juſtice, which is alſo in *Argiers*, among Theeves and Pirats between themſelves, no kind of Government, no Society, juſt or unjuſt, could ſtand; no Combination or Conſpiracy could ſtick together. Which he alſo acknowledges in theſe Words: *That if the Crown upon his Head be ſo heavy as to oppreſs the whole Body, the weakneſs of inferiour Members cannot return any thing of Strength, Honour, or Safety to the Head; but that a neceſſary Debilitation* muſt follow. So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himſelf and the Subſiſtence of his own Regal Power in the firſt Place, and before the Conſideration of any Right belonging to the Subject. We expect therefore ſomething more, that muſt diſtinguiſh Free Government from Slaviſh. But inſtead of that, this King, though ever talking and proteſting as ſmooth as now, ſuffer'd it in his own Hearing to be Preach'd and Pleaded without controul, or check, by them whom he moſt favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no Property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings Right.

Next,

Next, for the *Benefit of thoſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented*, we never had it under him; for not to ſpeak of Laws ill executed, when the Parliament, and in them the People have conſented to divers Laws, and, according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, he took upon him to have a negative Will, as the tranſcendent and ultimate Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our ſelves did not conſent, but complain'd of. Thus theſe two Heads wherein the utmoſt of his Allowance here will give our Liberties leave to conſiſt, the one of them ſhall be ſo far only made good to us, as may ſupport his own Intereſt and Crown, from *Ruin* or *Debilitation*; and ſo far *Turkiſh* Vaſſals enjoy as much Liberty under *Mahomet* and the grand *Signior*: The other we neither yet have enjoy'd under him, nor were ever like to do under the Tyranny of a negative Voice, which he claims above the unanimous Conſent and Power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parliament.

In which Negative Voice to have been caſt by the Doom of War, and put to Death by thoſe who vanquiſh'd him in their own Defence, he reckons to himſelf more then a Negative *Martyrdom*. But Martyrs bear witneſs to the Truth, not to themſelves. If I bear Witneſs of my ſelf, ſaith *Chriſt*, my Witneſs is not true. He who writes himſelf *Martyr* by his own Inſcription, is like an ill Painter, who by writing on the ſhapeleſs Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell Paſſengers what ſhape it is; which elſe no Man could imagin: No more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dies for his Religion becauſe it is *Eſtabliſh'd*. Certainly, if *Agrippa* had turn'd Chriſtian, as he was once turning, and had put to Death *Scribes* and *Phariſees* for obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, and refuſing Chriſtianity, they had died a truer Martyrdom. For thoſe Laws were Eſtabliſh'd by God and *Moſes*, theſe by no warrantable Authors of Religion, whoſe Laws in all other beſt reformed Churches are rejected. And if to die for an Eſtabliſhment of Religion be Martyrdom, then *Romiſh* Prieſts executed for that, which had ſo many Hundred Years been Eſtabliſh'd in this Land, are no worſe Martyrs then he. *Laſtly*, if to die for *the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience*, be enough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct Blaſphemy, as ſome have done conſtantly, may not boaſt a Martyrdom? As for the Conſtitution or Repeal of Civil Laws, that Power lying only in the Parliament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preſerve a leſſer Law with the Contempt and Violation of a greater, it will conclude him not ſo much as in a civil and metaphorical Senſe to have dy'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plain Tranſgreſſor of them. And ſhould the Parliament, endu'd with Legiſlative Power, make our Laws, and be after to diſpute them Peice-meal with the Reaſon, Conſcience, Humour, Paſſion, Fancy, Folly, Obſtinacy, or other Ends of one Man, whoſe ſole Word and Will ſhall baffle and unmake what all the Wiſdom of a Parliament hath been deliberatly framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible Thing a Parliament would ſoon be, and what a baſe unworthy Nation we who boaſt our Freedom, and ſend them with the manifeſt Peril of their Lives to preſerve it, they who are not mark'd by Deſtiny for Slaves, may apprehend. In this ſervile Condition to have kept us ſtill under Hatches, he both reſolves here to the laſt and ſo inſtructs his Son.

As to thoſe offer'd Condeſcenſions of *Charitable Connivence, or Toleration*, if we conſider what went before and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not ſuffering *ever ſo little* to *ſeem a deſpicable* Schiſm, without effectual Suppreſſion, as he warn'd him before, and what with *no Oppoſition of Law, Government, or eſtabliſh'd Religion* to be permitted, which is his following Proviſo, and wholly within his own Conſtruction, what a miſerable and ſuſpected Toleration, under Spies and haunting Promooters

mooters we ſhould enjoy, is apparent. Beſides that it is ſo far beneath the Honour of a Parliament and free Nation, to beg and ſupplicate the Godſhip of one frail Man, for the bare and ſimple Toleration of what they all conſent to be both Juſt, Pious and beſt Pleaſing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjuſt and miſchievous in the Church or State, ſhall by him alone againſt them all be kept up and eſtabliſh'd; and they conſur'd the while for a *covetous, ambitious and ſacrilegious Faction.*

Another Bait to allure the People, is the Charge he lays upon his Son, to be tender of them. Which if we ſhould believe in Part, becauſe they are his Herd, his Cattel, the Stock upon his Ground, as he accounts them, whom to waſt and deſtroy would undo himſelf, yet the Inducement which he brings to move him, renders the Motion it ſelf ſomething ſuſpitious. For if Princes *need no Palliation*, as he tells his Son, wherefore is it that he himſelf hath ſo oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other other Men, have not more Change of Rayment in their Wardrobes, then Variety of Shifts and *Palliations* in their ſolemn Actings and Pretences to the People.

To try next if he can inſnare the prime Men of thoſe who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his Meaning was, he calls the *Patrons and Vindicators of the People*, he gives out *Indemnity*, and offers *Acts of Oblivion.* But they who with a good Conſcience and upright Heart, did their Civil Duties in the ſight of God, and in their ſeveral Places, to reſiſt Tyranny and the Violence of Superſtition banded both againſt them, he may be ſure will never ſeek to be forgiv'n that, which may be juſtly attributed to their immortal Praiſe; nor will aſſent ever to the guilty Blotting out of thoſe Actions before Men, by which their Faith aſſures them they chiefly ſtand approv'd, and are had in Remembrance before the Throne of God.

He exhorts his Son *not to ſtudy Revenge.* But how far he, or at leaſt they about him, intend to follow that Exhortation, was ſeen lately at the *Hague*; and by what Attempts were likewiſe made in other Places. How implacable they would be, it will be Wiſdom and our Safety to believe rather and prevent then to make Tryal. And it will concern the Multitude, though courted here, to take heed how they ſeek to hide or colour their own Fickleneſs and Inſtability with a bad Repentance of their well-doing and their Fidelity to the better Cauſe; to which at firſt ſo chearfully and conſcientiouſly they joyn'd themſelves.

He returns again to extol *the Church of* England, and again requires his Son by the joynt Authority of *a Father and a King, not to let his heart receive the leaſt check, or diſaffection againſt it.* And not without cauſe, for by that means having ſole Influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the People, *after long Search and many Diſputes*, he could not poſſibly find a more compendious and politic Way to uphold and ſettle Tyranny, then by ſubduing firſt the Conſciences of Vulgar Men, with the inſenſible Poyſon of their ſlaviſh Doctrin: For then the Body and beſotted Mind without much Reluctancy was likelieſt to admit the Yoke.

He commends alſo *Parliaments held with Freedom and with Honour.* But I would ask how that can be, while he only muſt be the ſole Free Perſon in that Number; and would have the Power with his unaccountable Denyal, to diſhonour them by rejecting all their Counſels, to confine their Lawgiving Power, which is the Foundation of our Freedom and to change at his Pleaſure the very Name of a Parliament into the Name of a Faction.

The Concluſion therefore muſt needs be quite contrary to what he concludes, that nothing can be more *unhappy*, more diſhonourable, more unſafe *for all*, then when a *Wiſe, Grave and Honourable Parliament* ſhall have labour'd, debated, argu'd, conſulted and as he himſelf ſpeaks, *contributed* for the public Good *all their Councels in Common*, to be then fruſtrated,

ted, diſappointed, deny'd and repuls'd by the ſingle Whiff of a Negative, from the Mouth of one wilful Man; nay, to be blaſted, to be ſtruck as mute and motionleſs as a Parliament of Tapeſtry in the Hangings; or elſe after all their Pains and Travel to be diſſolv'd, and caſt away like ſo many Noughts in Arithmetic, unleſs it be to turn the O of their Inſignificance into a Lamentation with the People, who had ſo vainly ſent them. For this is not *to enact all Things by public Conſent*, as he would have us be perſwaded, this is to enact nothing but by the private Conſent and Leave of one not negative Tyrant; this is Miſchief without Remedy, a ſtifling and obſtructing Evil that hath no Vent, no Outlet, no Paſſage through: Grant him this, and the Parliament hath no more Freedom then if it ſate in his Nooſe, which when he pleaſes to draw together with one twich of his Negative, ſhall throttle a whole Nation, to the Wiſh of *Caligula*, in one Neck. This with the Power of *Militia* in his own Hands over our Bodies and Eſtates, and the *Prelates* to enthral our Conſciences, either by Fraud or Force, is the Sum of that Happineſs and Liberty we were to look for, whether in his own Reſtitution, or in theſe Precepts given to his Son. Which unavoidably would have ſet us in the ſame State of Miſery, wherein we were before; and have either compell'd us to ſubmit like Bond-ſlaves, or put us back to a ſecond Wandring over that horrid Wilderneſs of Diſtraction and civil Slaughter, which, not without the ſtrong and miraculous Hand of God aſſiſting us, we have meaſur'd out, and ſurviv'd. And who knows, if we make ſo ſlight of this incomparable Deliverance, which God hath beſtow'd upon us, but that we ſhall like thoſe fooliſh *Iſraelites*, who depos'd God and *Samuel* to ſet up a King, *Cry out* one Day *becauſe of our King*, which we have been mad upon; and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us.

There remains now but little more of his Diſcourſe, whereof yet to take a ſhort View will not be amiſs. His Words make Semblance as if he were magnanimouſly exerciſing himſelf, and ſo teaching his Son, *to want as well as to wear a Crown*; and would ſeem to account it *not worth taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable and irreligious Terms*; and yet to his very laſt did nothing more induſtriouſly then ſtrive to take up and enjoy again his ſequeſtred Crown, upon the moſt ſordid, diſloyal, diſhonourable and irreligious Terms, not of making Peace only, but of joyning and incorporating with the murderous *Iriſh*, formerly by himſelf declar'd againſt, for *wicked and deteſtable Rebels, odious to God and all good Men.* And who but thoſe Rebels now, are the chief Strength and Confidence of his Son: while the *Presbyter-Scot* that woes and ſolicits him, is neglected and put off, as if no Terms were to him ſordid, irreligious and diſhonourable, but the *Scottiſh* and *Presbyterian.*

He bids his Son *keep to the true Principles of Piety, Vertue and Honour, and he ſhall never want a Kingdom.* And I ſay, People of *England*, keep ye to thoſe Principles, and ye ſhall never want a King. Nay after ſuch a fair Deliverance as this, with ſo much Fortitude and Valour ſhewn againſt a Tyrant, that People that ſhould ſeek a King, claiming what this Man claims, would ſhew themſelves to be by Nature Slaves and arrant Beaſts; not fit for that Liberty which they cry'd out and bellow'd for, but fitter to be led back again into their old Bondage, like a Sort of clamouring and fighting Brutes broke looſe, that know not how to uſe or poſſeſs the Liberty which they fought for.

The laſt Sentence, whereon he ſeems to venture the whole Weight of all his former Reaſons and Argumentations, *That Religion to their GOD and Loyalty to their KING cannot be parted, without the Sin and Infelicity of a PEOPLE*, is contrary to the plain Teaching of Chriſt, that *no Man can ſerve two Maſters*, but, if he hold to the one, he muſt reject and forſake the other. If God then and earthly Kings be for the moſt part not ſeveral only but oppo-

ſite Maſters, it will as oft happen, that they who will ſerve their King muſt forſake their God; and they who will ſerve God, muſt forſake their King; which then will neither be their Sin nor their Infelicity; but their Wiſdom, their Piety and their true Happineſs: As to be deluded by theſe unſound and ſubtle Oſtentations here, would be their Miſery.

XXVIII. *Entituled, Meditations upon* DEATH.

IT might be well thought by him who reads no further then the Title of this laſt Eſſay; that it requir'd no Anſwer. For all other human Things are diſputed, and will be variouſly thought off to the Worlds end. But this Buſineſs of DEATH is a plain Caſe, and admits no Controverſy: In that Center all Opinions meet. Nevertheleſs, ſince out of thoſe few mortifying Hours, that ſhould have been intireſt to themſelves, and moſt at Peace from all Paſſion and Diſquiet, he can afford ſpare Time to inveigh bitterly againſt that Juſtice which was done upon him, it will be needful to ſay ſomething in Defence of thoſe Proceedings; though briefly, in regard ſo much on this Subject hath been written already.

It happen'd once, as we find in *Eſdras* and *Joſephus*, Authors not leſs believ'd then any under Sacred, to be a great and ſolemn Debate in the Court of *Darius*, what Thing was to be counted ſtrongeſt of all other. He that could reſolve this, in Reward of his excelling Wiſdom, ſhould be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, ſleep on a Bed of Gold, and ſit next to *Darius*. None but they doubtleſs who were reputed wiſe, had the Queſtion propounded to them. Who after ſome Reſpite given them by the King to conſider, in full Aſſembly of all his Lords and graveſt Counſellors, return'd ſeverally what they thought. The firſt held that Wine was ſtrongeſt, another that the King was ſtrongeſt. But *Zorobabel*, Prince of the captive *Jews*, and Heir to the Crown of *Judah*, being one of them, prov'd Women to be ſtronger then the King, for that he himſelf had ſeen a Concubine take his Crown from off his Head to ſet it upon her own: And others beſides him have lately ſeen the like Feat done, and not in Jeſt. Yet he prov'd on, and it was ſo yielded by the King himſelf and all his Sages, that neither Wine nor Women, nor the King, but Truth of all other Things was the ſtrongeſt. For me, though neither ask'd, nor in a Nation that gives ſuch Rewards to Wiſdom, I ſhall pronounce my Sentence ſomewhat different from *Zorobabel*; and ſhall defend, that either Truth and Juſtice are all one, for Truth is but Juſtice in our Knowledge, and Juſtice is but Truth in our Practice, and he indeed ſo explains himſelf in ſaying that with Truth is no accepting of Perſons, which is the Property of Juſtice; or elſe, if there be any odds, that Juſtice, though not ſtronger then Truth, yet by her Office is to put forth and exhibit more Strength in the Affairs of Mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation; and her utmoſt Efficiency is but Teaching: But Juſtice in her very Eſſence is all Strength and Activity; and hath a Sword put into her Hand, to uſe againſt all Violence and Oppreſſion on the Earth. She it is moſt truly, who accepts no Perſon and exempts none from the Severity of her Stroke. She never ſuffers Injury to prevail, but when Falſhood firſt prevails over Truth, and that alſo is a kind of Juſtice done on them who are ſo deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfeit her Sword, as ſome did that Buckler, fabl'd to fall from Heaven into the Capitol, yet ſhe communicates her Power to none but ſuch as like her ſelf are juſt, or at leaſt will do Juſtice. For it were extream Partiality and Injuſtice, the flat Denial and Overthrow of her ſelf, to put her own Authentic Sword into the Hand of an unjuſt and wicked Man, or ſo far to accept and exalt one mortal Perſon above his Equals, that he alone ſhall have the puniſhing of all other Men tranſgreſſing, and not receive like Puniſh-

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ment from Men, when he himſelf ſhall be found the higheſt Tranſgreſſor.

We may conlude therefore, that Juſtice, above all other Things, is and ought to be the ſtrongeſt: She is the Strength, the Kingdom, the Power and Majeſty of all Ages. Truth her ſelf would ſubſcribe to this, though *Darius* and all the Monarchs of the World ſhould deny. And if by Sentence thus written it were my Happineſs to ſet free the Minds of *Engliſh* Men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the Strength and ſupreme Sword of Juſtice hath deliver'd them, I ſhall have done a Work not much inferior to that of *Zorobabel*: Who by well praiſing and extolling the Force of Truth, in that contemplative Strength conquer'd *Darius*, and freed his Country and the People of God from the Captivity of *Babylon*. Which I ſhall yet not deſpair to do, if they in this Land, whoſe Minds are yet captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledge the Strength and Supremacy of Juſtice, as that *Heathen* King was, to confeſs the Strength of Truth: Or let them but, as he did, grant that, and they will ſoon perceive that Truth reſigns all her outward Strength to Juſtice: Juſtice therefore muſt needs be ſtrongeſt, both in her own and in the Strength of Truth. But if a King may do among Men whatſoever is his Will and Pleaſure, and notwithſtanding be unaccountable to Men, then contrary to this magnify'd Wiſdom of *Zorobabel*, neither Truth nor Juſtice, but the King is ſtrongeſt of all other Things: Which that *Perſian* Monarch himſelf in the midſt of all his Pride and Glory durſt not aſſume.

Let us ſee therefore what this King hath to affirm, why the Sentence of Juſtice and the Weight of that Sword which ſhe delivers into the Hands of Men, ſhould be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human Race. *Firſt*, he pleads that *no LAW of God or Man gives to Subjects any Power of Judicature without or againſt him.* Which Aſſertion ſhall be prov'd in every Part to be moſt untrue. The firſt expreſs Law of God given to Mankind, was that to *Noah*, as a Law in general to all the Sons of Men. And by that moſt ancient and univerſal Law, *Whoſoever ſheddeth Mans Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*, we find here no Exception. If a King therefore do this, to a King, and that by Men alſo, the ſame ſhall be done. This in the Law of *Moſes*, which came next, ſeveral times is repeated, and in one Place remarkably, *Numb.* 35. *Ye ſhall take no Satisfaction for the Life of a Murtherer, but he ſhall ſurely be put to Death: The Land cannot be cleanſed of the Blood that is ſhed therein*, but by the Blood of him that ſhed it. This is ſo ſpoken, as that which concern'd all *Iſrael*, not one Man alone to ſee perform'd; and if no Satisfaction were to be taken, then certainly no Exception. Nay the King, when they ſhould ſet up any, was to obſerve the whole Law, and not only to ſee it done, but to *do it*; *that his Heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren*, to dream of vain and reaſonleſs Prerogatives or Exemptions, whereby the Law it ſelf muſt needs be founded in Unrighteouſneſs.

And were that true, which is moſt falſe, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet abſurd to think that the Anointment of God ſhould be, as it were, a Charm againſt Law; and give them Privilege, who puniſh others, to ſin themſelves unpuniſhably. The Hgh Prieſt was the Lords Anointed as well as any King, and with the ſame conſecrated Oil: Yet *Solomon* had put to death *Abiathar*, had it not been for other Reſpects then that Anointment. If God himſelf ſay to Kings, *Touch not mine Anointed*, meaning his choſen People, as is evident in that Pſalm, yet no Man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Laws if they offend, then certainly, though *David*, as a private Man and in his own Cauſe, fear'd to lift his Hand againſt the Lords Anointed, much leſs can this forbid the Law, or diſarm Juſtice from having legal Power againſt any King. No other ſupreme

Magiſtrate in what kind of Government ſoever lays Claim to any ſuch enormous Priviledg; wherefore then ſhould any King who is but one kind of Magiſtrate, and ſet over the People for no other End then they?

Next, In order of Time to the Laws of *Moſes*, are thoſe of Chriſt, who declares profeſſedly his Judicature to be Spiritual, abſtract from civil Managements, and therefore leaves all Nations to their own particular Laws and way of Government. Yet becauſe the Church hath a kind of Juriſdiction within her own Bounds, and that alſo, though in Proceſs of Time much corrupted and plainly turn'd into a corporal Judicature, yet much approv'd by this King, it will be firm enough and valid againſt him, if Subjects, by the Laws of Church alſo, be *inveſted with a Power of Judicature* both without and againſt their King, though pretending, and by them acklowledg'd *next and immediately under Chriſt Supream Head and Governour*. *Theodoſius* the Emperour, having made a Slaughter of the *Theſſalonians* for Sedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his Face by St. *Ambroſe*, who was his Subject: And Excommunion is the utmoſt of Eccleſiaſtical Judicature, a Spiritual putting to Death. But this, ye will ſay, was only an Example. Read then the Story; and it will appear, both that *Ambroſe* avouch'd it for the Law of God, and *Theodoſius* confeſt it of his own Accord to be ſo; *and that the Law of God was not to be made void in him, for any Reverence to his Imperial Power*. From hence, not to be tedious, I ſhall paſs into our own Land of *Britain*; and ſhow that Subjects here have exercis'd the utmoſt of ſpiritual Judicature and more then Spiritual againſt their Kings, his Predeceſſors. *Vortiger* for committing Inceſt with his Daughter, was by St. *German*, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a *Britiſh* Councel about the Year 448. and thereupon ſoon after was depos'd. *Mauricus*, a King in *Wales*, for Breach of Oath and the Murther of *Cynetus*, was excommunicated and curſt with all his Off-ſpring, by *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaff* in full *Synod*, about the Year 560. and not reſtor'd, till he had repented. *Morcant*, another King in *Wales*, having ſlain *Frioc* his Uncle, was fain to come in Perſon and receive Judgment from the ſame Biſhop and his Clergy; who upon his Penitence acquitted him, for no other Cauſe then leaſt the Kingdom ſhould be deſtitute of a Succeſſor in the Royal Line. Theſe Examples are of the *Primitive*, *Britiſh* and *Epiſcopal* Church; long e're they had any Commerce or Communion with the Church of *Rome*. What Power afterward of depoſing Kings, and ſo conſequently of putting them to Death, was aſſum'd and practis'd by the Canon Law, I omit as a Thing generally known. Certainly, if whole Councels of the *Romiſh* Church have in the midſt of their Dimneſs diſcern'd ſo much of Truth, as to Decree at *Conſtance* and at *Baſil*, and many of them to avouch at *Trent* alſo, that a Councel is above the Pope, and may judge him, though by them not deny'd to be the Vicar of Chriſt, we in our clearer Light may be aſham'd not to diſcern further, that a Parliament is, by all Equity and Right, above a King, and may judge him, whoſe Reaſons and Pretenſions to hold of God only, as his immediate Vicegerent, we know how far fetch'd they are, and inſufficient.

As for the Laws of Man, it would ask a Volume to repeat all that might be cited in this Point againſt him from all Antiquity. In *Greece*, *Oreſtes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, and by Succeſſion King of *Argos*, was in that Country judg'd and condemn'd to Death for killing his Mother: Whence eſcaping, he was judg'd again, though a Stranger, before the great Counſel of *Areopagus* in *Athens*. And this memorable Act of Judicature, was the firſt that brought the Juſtice of that grave Senate into Fame and high Eſtimation over all *Greece* for many Ages after. And in the ſame City, Tyrants were to undergo Legal Sentence by the Laws of *Solon*. The Kings of *Sparta*, though deſcended lineally from *Hercules*, eſteem'd a God among them, were often judg'd and ſometimes put to Death by the moſt juſt and renowned Laws of *Lycurgus*;

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who, though a King, thought it moſt unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himſelf. In *Rome* the Laws made by *Valerius Publicola*, and what the Senate decreed againſt *Nero*, that he ſhould be judg'd and puniſh'd according to the Laws of their Anceſtors, and what in like manner was Decreed againſt other Emperours, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like Power of Judicature to Subjects againſt Tyrants, is written clearly by the beſt and famouſeſt Civilians. For if it was Decreed by *Theodoſius*, and ſtands yet firm in the Code of *Juſtinian*, that the Law is above the Emperour, then certainly the Emperour being under Law, the Law may judge him, and if judge him, may puniſh him, proving Tyrannous: How elſe is the Law above him, or to what Purpoſe. Theſe are neceſſary Deductions; and thereafter hath been done in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be here recited.

But what need we any further Search after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is ſo fully and ſo plainly ſet down Lawful in our own. Where ancient Books tell us, *Bracton*, *Fleta* and others, that the King is under Law, and inferiour to his Court of Parliament; that although his Place *to do Juſtice* be higheſt, yet that he ſtands as liable *to receive Juſtice*, as the meaneſt of his Kingdom. Nay *Alfred*, the moſt worthy King, and by ſome accounted firſt abſolute Monarch of the *Saxons* here, ſo ordain'd; as is cited out of an ancient Law Book call'd the *Mirror*; in *Rights of the Kingdom*, *p.* 31. where it is complain'd on, *As the ſovereign Abuſe of all*, that *the King ſhould be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be ſubject to it by his Oath:* Of which Oath anciently it was the laſt Clauſe, that the King *ſhould be as lyable and obedient to ſuffer Right, as others of his People.* And indeed it were but fond and ſenſleſs, that the King ſhould be accountable to every petty Suit in leſſer Courts, as we all know he was, and not be ſubject to the Judicature of Parliament in the main Matters of our common Safety or Deſtruction; that he ſhould be anſwerable in the ordinary Courſe of Law for any Wrong done to a private Perſon, and not anſwerable in Court of Parliament for deſtroying the whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added, as in an Argument over-copious rather then barren, we ſee it manifeſt that all Laws both of God and Man are made without Exemption of any Perſon whomſoever; and that if Kings preſume to over-top the Law by which they reign for the public Good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into Order: And that can no way be more juſtly, then by thoſe who exalted them to that high Place. For who ſhould better underſtand their own Laws, and when they are tranſgreſt, then they who are Govern'd by them, and whoſe Conſent firſt made them: And who can have more Right to take Knowledg of Things done within a Free Nation then they within themſelves?

Thoſe objected Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we ſwore, not to his Perſon, but as it was inveſted with his Authority; and his Authority was by the People firſt given him conditionally, in Law and under Law and under Oath, alſo for the Kingdoms Good and not otherwiſe: The Oaths then were interchang'd and mutual; ſtood and fell together; he ſwore Fidelity to his Truſt; not as a deluding Ceremony, but as a real Condition of their admitting him for King; and the Conqueror himſelf ſwore it after then at his Crowning: They ſwore Homage and Fealty to his Perſon in that Truſt. There was no Reaſon why the Kingdom ſhould be further bound by Oaths to him, then he by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way broken: And having broken the ancient Crown Oath of *Alfred* above mention'd, conceals not his Penalty.

As for the Covenant, if that be meant, certainly no diſcreet Perſon can imagin it ſhould bind us to him in any ſtricter Senſe then thoſe Oaths formerly. The Acts of Hoſtility, which we receiv'd from him, were no ſuch dear Obligements, that we ſhould own him more Fealty and Defence for being

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our Enemy, then we could before when we took him only for a King. They were accus'd by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other End then to make themſelves great, and to deſtroy the Kings Perſon and Authority. For which reaſon they added that third Article, teſtifying to the World, that as they were reſolv'd to endeavour firſt a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to preſerve the Rights of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, ſo they intended, ſo far as it might conſiſt with the Preſervation and Defence of theſe, to preſerve the Kings Perſon and Authority; but not otherwiſe. As far as this comes to, they covenant and ſwear in the ſixth Article to preſerve and defend the Perſons and Authority of one another, and all thoſe that enter into that League; ſo that this Covenant gives no unlimitable Exemption to the Kings Perſons, but gives to all as much Defence and Preſervation as to him, and to him as much as to their own Perſons and no more; that is to ſay, in Order and Subordination to thoſe main Ends for which we live and are a Nation of Men joyn'd in Society either Chriſtian or at leaſt Human. But if the Covenant were made abſolute, to preſerve and defend any one whomſoever, without reſpect had, either to the true Religion, or thoſe other ſuperiour Things to be defended and preſerv'd however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covenant was rather a moſt fooliſh, haſty and unlawful Vow, then a deliberate and well-weigh'd Covenant; Swearing us into Labyrinths and Repugnances, no way to be ſolv'd or reconcil'd, and therefore no way to be kept: As firſt offending againſt the Law of God, to vow the abſolute Preſervation, Defence and Maintaining of one Man though in his Sins and Offences never ſo great and heinous againſt God or his Neighbour; and to except a Perſon from Juſtice, whereas his Law excepts none. *Secondly*, it offends againſt the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath been prov'd, Kings in receiving Juſtice, and undergoing due Tryal, are not diſferenc'd from the meaneſt Subject. *Laſtly*, It contradicts and offends againſt the Covenant it ſelf, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to open Tryal and condign Puniſhment all thoſe that ſhall be found guilty of ſuch Crimes and Delinquences, whereof the King by his own Letters and other undenyable Teſtimonies not brought to Light till afterward, was found and convicted to be the chief Actor in what they thought him at the time of taking that Covenant, to be over-rul'd only by evil Counſelers; and thoſe, or whomſoever they ſhould diſcover to be Principal, they vow'd to try, *either by their own Supreme Judicatories*, for ſo ev'n then they call'd them, *or by others having Power from them to that effect*. So that to have brought the King to condign Puniſhment hath not broke the Covenant, but it would have broke the Covenant to have ſav'd him from thoſe Judicatories, which both Nations declar'd in that Covenant to be *Supreme* againſt any Perſon whatſoever. And if the Covenant ſwore otherwiſe to preſerve him then in the Preſervation of true Religion and our Liberties, againſt which he fought, if not in Arms, yet in Reſolution to his dying Day, and now after Death ſtill fights againſt, in this his Book, the Covenant was better brok'n, then he ſav'd. And God hath teſtifi'd by all propitious and evident Signs, whereby in theſe latter Times he is wont to teſtify what pleaſes him; that ſuch a ſolemn and for many Ages unexampl'd Act of due Puniſhment, was no *Mockery of Juſtice*, but a moſt grateful and well-pleaſing Sacrifice. Neither was it *to cover their Perjury* as he accuſes, but to uncover his Perjury to the Oath of his Coronation.

The reſt of his Diſcourſe quite forgets the Title; and turns his Meditations upon Death into Obloquy and bitter Vehemence againſt his *Judges and Accuſers*; imitating therein, not our Saviour, but his Grand-Mother *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, as alſo in the moſt of his other Scruples, Exceptions and Evaſions:

vaſions: And from whom he ſeems to have learnt, as it were by Heart, or elſe by kind, that which is thought by his Admirers to be the moſt vertuous, moſt manly, moſt Chriſtian and moſt Martyr-like both of his Words and Speeches here, and of his Anſwers and Behaviour at his Tryal.

It is a ſad Fate, he ſaith, *to have his Enemies both Accuſers, Parties and Judges.* Sad indeed, but no ſufficient Plea to acquit him from being ſo judg'd. For what Malefactor might not ſometimes plead the like? If his own Crimes have made all Men his Enemies, who elſe can judge him? They of the Powder-Plot againſt his Father might as well have pleaded the ſame. Nay, at the Reſurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then ſhall judge the World, are *both Enemies, Judges, Parties and Accuſers.*

So much he thinks to abound in his own Defence, that he undertakes an unmeaſurable Task; to beſpeak *the ſingular Care and Protection of God over all Kings*, as *being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order and Religion on Earth.* But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft enough hath expreſt; and the Earth it ſelf hath too long groan'd under the Burthen of their Injuſtice, Diſorder and Irreligion. Therefore *to bind their Kings in Chains and their Nobles with Links of Iron*, is an Honour belonging to his Saints; not to build *Babel*, which was *Nimrods* Work, the firſt King, *and the beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel; but to deſtroy it, eſpecially that Spiritual *Babel*: And firſt to overcome thoſe *European* Kings, which receive their Power; not from God, but from the Beaſt; and are counted no better then his ten Horns. *Theſe ſhall hate the great Whore*, and yet *ſhall give their Kingdoms to the Beaſt that carries her: they ſhall commit Fornication with her*, and yet *ſhall Burn her with Fire*, and yet *ſhall Lament the Fall of* Babylon, where they fornicated with her.

Thus ſhall they be too and fro, doubtful and ambiguous in all their Doings, until at laſt, *joyning their Armies with the Beaſt*, whoſe Power firſt rais'd them, they ſhall periſh with him by the *King of Kings* againſt whom they have rebell'd? and *the Fouls ſhall eat their Fleſh.* This is their Doom written, and the utmoſt that we find concerning them in theſe latter Days; which we have much more cauſe to believe, then his unwarranted Revelation here, prophecying what ſhall follow after his Death, with the Spirit of Enmity, not of St. *John.*

He would fain bring us out of Conceit with the good *Succeſs* which God hath vouchſaf'd us. We meaſure not our Cauſe by our Succeſs, but our Succeſs by our Cauſe. Yet certainly in a good Cauſe Succeſs is a good Confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good Men almoſt in every Leaf of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are ſure it argues not againſt us; but as much or more for us, then ill Succeſs argues for them; for to the Wicked, God hath denounc'd ill Succeſs in all that they take in Hand.

He hopes much of thoſe *ſofter Tempers*, as he calls them, and *leſs advantaged by his Ruin, that their Conſciences do already* gripe them. 'Tis true, there be a ſort of moody, hot-brain'd, and always unedify'd Conſciences; apt to engage their Leaders into great and dangerous Affairs paſt Retirement, and then, upon a ſudden Qualm and Swimming of their Conſcience, to betray them baſely in the midſt of what was chiefly undertaken for their ſakes. Let ſuch Men never meet with any faithful Parliament to hazzard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and die in ſervile Condition and their ſcrupulous Queaſineſs, if no Inſtruction will confirm them. Others there be in whoſe Conſciences the Loſs of Gain and thoſe Advantages they hop'd for, hath ſprung a ſudden Leak. Theſe are they that cry out the Covenant brok'n, and to keep it better, ſlide back into Neutrality, or joyn actually with Incendiaries and Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to puniſh thoſe, firſt in *Scotland*, then in *Ulſter*, who

who have provoked him with the moſt hateful kind of Mockery, to break his Covenant under Pretence of ſtricteſt keeping it; and hath ſubjected them to thoſe Malignants, with whom they ſcrupl'd not to be Aſſociats. In God therefore we ſhall not fear what their falſe Fraternity can do againſt us.

He ſeeks again with cunning Words to turn our Succeſs into our Sin. But might call to Mind, that the Scripture ſpeaks of thoſe alſo, who *when God ſlew them, then ſought him*; yet did but *flatter him with their Mouth, and ly'd to him with their Tongues; for their Heart was not right with him.* And there was one, who in the time of his Affliction treſpaſs'd more againſt God; *This was that King* Ahaz.

He glories much in the Forgiveneſs of his Enemies; ſo did his Grand-Mother at her Death. Wiſe Men would ſooner have believ'd him, had he not ſo often told us ſo. But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his Charity over us.* And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as *glorious* as Trumpets before the Alms of Hypocrites; and more eſpecially the Trophies of ſuch an aſpiring Charity as offers in his Prayer to ſhare Victory with Gods *Compaſſion*, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as theſe may perhaps catch the People, as was intended: But how they pleaſe God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in Secret, much leſs written to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gain him after Death a ſhort, contemptible and ſoon fading Reward; not what he aims at, to ſtir the Conſtancy and ſolid Firmneſs of any wiſe Man, or to unſettle the Conſcience of any knowing Chriſtian, if he could ever aim at a Thing ſo Hopeleſs, and above the Genius of his *Cleric* Elocution, but to catch the worthleſs Approbation of an inconſtant, irrational and Image-doting Rabble. The reſt, whom perhaps Ignorance without Malice, or ſome Error, leſs then fatal, hath for the Time miſled, on this ſide Sorcery or Obduration, may find the Grace and good Guidance to bethink themſelves and Recover.

The END.

ARTICLES OF PEACE,

Made and Concluded with the

Iriſh Rebels and Papiſts,

By *JAMES* Earl of *ORMOND*,

For and in behalf of the late King, and by Virtue of his Authority.

Alſo a Letter ſent by *ORMOND* to Col. *JONES*, Governour of *DUBLIN*, and his Anſwer thereunto.

AND

A Repreſentation of the *Scotch Presbytery* at *Belfaſt* in *Ireland*.

Upon all which are added Obſervations.

The Author *J. MILTON.*

Printed in the Year, MDCXCVII.

BY THE

Lord Lieutenant General,

AND

GENERAL GOVERNOUR

OF THE

KINGDOM

OF

IRELAND.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS Articles of Peace are made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between Us, *JAMES* Lord Marqueſs of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieut. General, and General Governour of His Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, by Vertue of the Authority wherewith We are intruſted, for, and on the behalf of His Moſt Excellent Majeſty of the one Part, and the General Aſſembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the ſaid Kingdom, for and on the behalf of His Majeſties *Roman Catholics* Subjects of the ſame, on the other Part; a true Copy of which Articles of Peace is hereunto annexed. We the Lord Lieut. do by this Proclamation, in His Majeſties Name publiſh the ſame, and do in His Majeſties Name ſtrictly Charge and Command all His Majeſties Subjects, and all others Inhabiting or Reſiding within His Majeſties ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* to take Notice thereof, and to render due Obedience to the ſame in all the Parts thereof.

And as His Majeſty hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep Senſe of the Miſeries and Calamities brought upon this His Kingdom and People, and out of a Hope conceived by His Majeſty, that it may prevent the further Effuſion of His Subjects Blood, redeem them out of all the Miſeries and Calamities under which they now ſuffer, reſtore them to all Quietneſs, and Happineſs under His Majeſties moſt Gracious Government, deliver the Kingdom in General, from thoſe Slaughters, Depredations, Rapines and Spoyls which always accompany a War, encourage the Subjects and others with Comfort to betake themſelves to Trade, Traffic, Commerce, Manufacture and all other Things, which un-interrupted, may increaſe the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom, beget in all His Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, a perfect Unity amongſt themſelves, after the too long continued Diviſion amongſt them: So His Majeſty aſſures himſelf, that all His Subjects of this His Kingdom (duly conſidering the great and ineſtimable Benefits which they may find in this Peace) will with all Duty render due Obedience thereunto. And We in His Majeſties Name, do hereby declare, that all Perſons ſo rendering due Obedience to the ſaid Peace, ſhall be protected, cheriſhed, countenanced and ſupported by His Majeſty, and His Royal Authority, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Articles of Peace.

Given at our Caſtle of Kilkenny 17 January, 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Articles of Peace, made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between His Excellency *JAMES* Lord Marqueſs of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General of His Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, for, and on the behalf of His moſt Excellent Majeſty, by Vertue of the Authority wherewith the ſaid Lord Lieutenant is intruſted, on the one Part: And the General Aſſembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the ſaid Kingdom, for, and on the behalf of His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of the ſame, on the other Part.

HIS *Majeſties* Roman Catholic *Subjects, as thereunto bound by Allegiance, Duty and Nature, do moſt humbly and freely Acknowledg and Recognize their Sovereign Lord King* Charles *to be lawful and undoubted King of this Kingdom of* Ireland, *and other His Highneſs Realms and Dominions: And His Majeſties ſaid* Roman Catholic *Subjects, apprehending with a deep Senſe, the ſad Condition whereunto His Majeſty is reduced. As a further Teſtimony of their Loyalty: Do declare, that they and their Poſterity for ever, to the utmoſt of their Power, even to the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes will maintain and uphold His Majeſty, His Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, their Rights, Prerogatives, Government and Authority, and thereunto freely and heartily will render all due Obedience.*

Of which faithful and loyal Recognition and Declaration ſo ſeaſonably made by the ſaid Roman Catholics; *His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd to accept, and accordingly to own them His loyal and dutiful Subjects: And is further graciouſly pleas'd to extend unto them the following Graces and Securities.*

I. *IMPRIMIS*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of His moſt Excellent Majeſty; and the ſaid General Aſſembly, for, and on the behalf of the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Subjects, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That it ſhall be enacted by ACT to be paſſed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, that all and every the Profeſſors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion within the ſaid Kingdom, ſhall be free and exempt from all Mulcts, Penalties, Reſtraints and Inhibitions that are, or may be, impos'd upon them by any Law, Statute, Uſage or Cuſtom whatſoever, for, or concerning, the free Exerciſe of the *Roman Catholic* Religion: And that it ſhall be likewiſe Enacted, that the ſaid *Roman Catholics* or any of them, ſhall not be queſtion'd or moleſted in their Perſons, Goods or Eſtates, for any Matter or Cauſe whatſoever, for, concerning, or by reaſon of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, by Vertue of any Power, Authority, Statute, Law or Uſage whatſoever: And that it ſhall be further Enacted, that no *Roman Catholic* in this Kingdom ſhall be compelled to exerciſe any Religion, Form of Devotion or Divine-Service other then ſuch as ſhall be agreeable to their Conſcience, and that they ſhall not be prejudiced or moleſted in their Perſons, Goods or Eſtates for not obſerving, uſing or hearing the Book of Common-prayer, or any other Form of Devotion or Divine-Service by Vertue of any Colour or Statute made in the ſecond Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, or by Vertue or Colour of any other Law, Declaration of Law, Statute, Cuſtom or Uſage whatſoever, made or declared, or to be made or declared: And that it ſhall be further Enacted, that the Profeſſors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion, or any of them be not bound or obliged to take the Oath commonly call'd the Oath of *Supremacy* expreſſed in the Statute of 2 *Elizabeth c.* 1. or in any other Statute or Statutes: And that the ſaid Oath ſhall not be tendered unto them, and that the Refuſal of the ſaid Oath ſhall not redound to the Prejudice of them, or any of them, they taking the Oath of Allegiance *in hæc verba*, viz. I A. B. *Do hereby acknowledg, profeſs, teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, before*

before God and the World, that our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES *is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majeſties Dominions and Countries; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, and His Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever which ſhall be made againſt His or their Crown and Dignity, and do my beſt Endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours for the Time being, all Treaſon or Traiterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know or hear to be intended againſt His Majeſty or any of them, and I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian, ſo help me God,* &c. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant doth not hereby intend that any thing in theſe Conceſſions contain'd ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to the granting of Churches, Church-livings, or the Exerciſe of Jurisdiction, the Authority of the ſaid Lord Lieutenant not extending ſo far, yet the ſaid Lord Lieutenant is authoriz'd to give the ſaid *Roman Catholics* full Aſſurance, as hereby the ſaid Lord Lieutenant doth give unto the ſaid *Roman Catholics* full Aſſurance, that they or any of them ſhall not be moleſted in the Poſſeſſion which they have at preſent of the Churches and Church-livings, or of the Exerciſe of their reſpective Juriſdictions, as they now exerciſe the ſame until ſuch time as His Majeſty upon a full Conſideration of the Deſires of the ſaid *Roman Catholics* in a free Parliament to be held in this Kingdom ſhall declare His further Pleaſure.

II. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that a free Parliament ſhall be held in this Kingdom within ſix Months after the Date of theſe Articles of PEACE, or as ſoon after as *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or the major Part of them will deſire the ſame, ſo that by Poſſibility it may be held, and that in the mean time, and until the Articles of theſe Preſents, agreed to be paſs'd in Parliament be accordingly paſs'd, the ſame ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd as to the Matters therein contain'd, as if they were enacted in Parliament: And that in caſe a Parliament be not call'd and held in this Kingdom within two Years next after the Date of theſe Articles of Peace, then His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the Time being, will at the Requeſt of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or the major Part of them, call a General Aſſembly of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom, to attend upon the ſaid Lord Lieutenant or other His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the Time being, in ſome convenient Place, for the better ſettling of the Affairs of the Kingdom; and it is further concluded, accorded and agreed by and between the ſaid Parties, that all Matters that by theſe Articles are agreed upon to be paſs'd in Parliament, ſhall be tranſmitted into *ENGLAND*, according to the uſual Form, to be paſs'd in the ſaid Parliament, and that the ſaid Acts ſo agreed upon, and ſo to be paſs'd, ſhall receive no Disjunction or Alteration here or in *England*; provided that nothing ſhall be concluded by both or either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, which may bring Preju-

dice to any of His Majeſties *Proteſtant* Party, or their Adherents, or to his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects or their Adherents, other then ſuch Things as upon this Treaty are concluded to be done, or ſuch Things as may be proper for the Committee of Priviledges of either or both Houſes to take Cognizance of, as in ſuch Caſes heretofore hath been accuſtom'd, and other then ſuch Matters as His Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd to declare His further Pleaſure in, to be paſs'd in Parliament for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, and other then ſuch Things as ſhall be propounded to either or both Houſes by His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, during the ſaid Parliament, for the Advancement of his Majeſties Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom, which Clauſe is to admit no Conſtruction which may trench upon the Articles of Peace or any of them, and that both Houſes of Parliament may conſider what they ſhall think convenient touching the Repeal or Suſpenſion of the Statute commonly call'd, *Poynings* ACT, Entituled, An ACT that no Parliament be holden in that Land, until the ACTS be certifyed into *ENGLAND*.

III. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed; that all Acts, Ordinances and Orders made by both or either Houſes of Parliament, to the Blemiſh, Diſhonour or Prejudice of his Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, or any of them ſithence the 7th. of *Auguſt* 1641. ſhall be vacated; and that the ſame and all Exemplifications and other Acts which continue the Memory of them be made void by Act to be paſs'd in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, and that in the mean time the ſaid Acts or Ordinances, or any of them, ſhall be no Prejudice to the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, or any of them.

IV. *Item*, It is alſo concluded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is likewiſe graciouſly pleas'd, that all Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries in this Kingdom, and all the Proceſſes and other Proceedings thereupon, and all Letters, Patents, Grants, Leaſes, Cuſtoms, Bonds, Recognizances, and all Records, Act or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquiſitions and all other Things depending upon, or taken by Reaſon of the ſaid Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, ſithence the 7th. day of *Auguſt* 1641. in Prejudice of the ſaid *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, or any of them, or the Widdows of them, or any of them ſhall be vacated and made void in ſuch ſort as no Memory ſhall remain thereof, to the Blemiſh, Diſhonour or Prejudice of the ſaid *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, or any of them, or the Widdows of them, or any of them? and that to be done when the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, ~~Sr. *Nicholas Plunket*~~ Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neal*, *Miles Reilie* and *Gerrald Fennel*, Eſquires, or the major Part of them ſhall deſire the ſame, ſo that by Poſſibility it may be done, and in the mean time that no ſuch Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries, Proceſſes or any other Proceedings thereupon, or any Letters, Patents, Grants, Leaſes, Cuſtodiums, Bonds, Recognizances, or any Record or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquiſitions, or any other Thing depending upon, or by reaſon of the ſaid Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, ſhall in any ſort prejudice the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, or any of them, but that they and every of them ſhall be forthwith upon Perfection of theſe Articles, reſtor'd to their reſpective Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments reſpectively, provided, that no Man ſhall be queſtion'd by reaſon hereof, for Meaſne Rates or Waſtes, ſaving wilful Waſtes committed after the firſt day of *May* laſt paſt.

V. *Item*,

V. *Item*, It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, that as ſoon as poſſible may be, all Impediments which may hinder the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, to ſit or vote in the next intended Parliament, or to chooſe, or to be choſen Knights and Burgeſſes, to ſit or vote there, ſhall be removed, and that before the ſaid Parliament.

VI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that all Debts ſhall remain as they were upon the 23. of *October* 1641. Notwithſtanding any Diſpoſition made, or to be made, by Vertue or Colour of any Attainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture, and that no Diſpoſition or Grant made, or to be made of any ſuch Debts, by Vertue of any Artainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture ſhall be of Force, and this to be paſſed as an Act in the next Parliament,

VII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed; that for the ſecuring of the Eſtates or reputed Eſtates of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders, or reputed Freeholders, as well of *Connaght*, and County of *Clare*, or Country of *Thomond* as of the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, the ſame to be ſecured by Act of Parliament, according to the Intent of the 25. Article of the Graces granted in the fourth Year of His Majeſties Reign, the Tenor whereof for ſo much as concerneth the ſame, doth enſue in theſe Words, *viz.* We are graciouſly pleaſed, that for the Inhabitants of *Connaght* and Country of *Thomond* and County of *Clare*, that their ſeveral Eſtates ſhall be confirmed unto them and their Heirs againſt us, and our Heirs and Succeſſors, by Act to be paſſed in the next Parliament to be holden in *Ireland*, to the end the ſame may never hereafter be brought into any further Queſtion by Us, or our Heirs and Succeſſors. In which Act of Parliament ſo to be paſſed, you are to take care, that all Tenures in *Capite*, and all Rents and Services as are now due, or which ought to be anſwered unto us out of the ſaid Lands and Premiſes, by any Letters Patents, paſt thereof, ſince the firſt Year of King *HENRI* the Eight, or found by any Office taken from the ſaid firſt Year of King *HENRI* the VIII. until the 21. of *July* 1645. whereby our late dear Father or any his Predeceſſors actually received any Profit, by Wardſhip, Liveries, Primer-ſeiſins, Meaſne, Rates, Ouſterlemains or Fines of Alienations without Licence, be again reſerved unto us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and all the reſt of the Premiſes to be holden of our Caſtle of *Athlone* by *K*nights Service, acording to our ſaid late Fathers Letters, notwithſtanding any Tenures in *Capite* found for Us by Office, ſince th 21. of *July* 1615. and not appearing in any ſuch Letters Patents, or Offices, within which Rule His Majeſty is likewiſe graciouſly pleaſed, that the ſaid Lands in the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary* be included, but to be held by ſuch Rents and Tenures only, as they were in the fourth Year of his Majeſties Reign; provided always, that the ſaid Lords, *K*nights, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the ſaid Province of *Connaght*, County of *Clare* and Country of *Thomond* and Counties of *Tipperary* and *Limerick* ſhall have and enjoy the full Benefit of ſuch Compoſition and Agreement which ſhall be made with his moſt Excellent Majeſty, for the Court of Wards, Tenures, Reſpits and Iſſues of Homage, any Clauſe in this Article to the contrary notwithſtanding; and as for the Lands within the Counties of *Kilkenny* and *Wickloe*; unto which his Majeſty was intituled by Offices, taken or found in the time of the Earl of *Straffords* Government in this *K*ingdom, His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that the State thereof ſhall be conſidered in the next intended Parliament, where His Majeſty will aſſent unto that which ſhall be juſt and honourable, and that the like Act of Limitation of His Majeſties Titles, for the Security of the Eſtates of his Subjects of this

*K*ingdom

*K*ingdom be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament as was Enacted in the 21. Year of his late Majeſty *K*ing *JAMES* his Reign in *ENGLAND.*

VIII. *Item*, it is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that all Incapacities impoſed upon the Natives of this Kingdom or any of them, as Natives, by any Act of Parliament, Proviſoes in Patents or otherwiſe, be taken away by Act to be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the City of *Dublin* or elſewhere, as ſhall be thought fit by his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being; and in caſe the ſaid Inns of Court ſhall be erected before the firſt day of the next Parliament, then the ſame ſhall be in ſuch Place as his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennel*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall think fit; and that ſuch Students, Natives of this Kingdom, as ſhall be therein, may take and receive the uſual Degrees accuſtom'd in any Inns of Court, they taking the enſuing Oath; viz. *I* A. B. *do hereby acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify and declare in my Conſcience before God and the World, that our Sovereign Lord King* Charles *is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majeſties Dominions and Countries; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, and His Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and them will defend to the utmoſt of my Power againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Crown and Dignity, and do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other His Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, all Treaſon or Traiterous Conſpiracies which I ſhall know or hear to be intended againſt His Majeſty or any of them And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Chriſtian, ſo help me God*, &c. And His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects may erect and keep free Schools for Education of Youths in this Kingdom, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that all the Matters aſſented unto in this Article be paſſed as Acts of Parliament in the ſaid next Parliament.

IX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed; that Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in his Majeſties Armies in this Kingdom ſhall be upon Perfection of theſe Articles actually and by particular Inſtances conferred upon his *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, and that upon the Diſtribution conferring and diſpoſing of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in his Majeſties Armies in this Kingdom, for the future no Difference ſhall be made between the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, and other his Majeſties Subjects. But that ſuch Diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities; and that all His Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, as well *Roman Catholics* as others, may for His Majeſties Service and their own Security, arm themſelves the beſt they may, wherein they ſhall have all fitting Incouragement: And it is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd; That Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in the Civil Government in this Kingdom, ſhall be upon paſſing of the Bills in theſe Articles mentioned in the next Parliament, actually and by particular Inſtances conferred upon his Majeſties

Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, and that in the Diſtribution, Conferring and Diſpoſal of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt in the Civil Government; for the future no Difference ſhall be made between the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, and other His Majeſties Subjects, but that ſuch Diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities, and that in the Diſtribution of Miniſterial Offices or Places, which now are, or hereafter ſhall be void in this Kingdom, Equality ſhall be us'd to the *Roman Catholic* Natives of this Kingdom, as to other his Majeſties Subjects; and that the Command of Forts, Caſtles, Garriſon-Towns and other Places of Importance of this Kingdom, ſhall be conferred upon His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom upon Perfection of theſe Articles actually and by particular Inſtances, and that in the Diſtribution, Conferring and Diſpoſal of the Forts, Caſtles, Garriſon-Towns, and other Places of Importance in this Kingdom, no Difference ſhall be made between His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, and other His Majeſties Subjects, but that ſuch Diſtribution ſhall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their reſpective Merits and Abilities, and that until full Settlement in Parliament fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand and five hundred Horſe of the *Roman Catholics* of this Kingdom ſhall be of the ſtanding Army of this Kingdom: And that until full Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſq; or any ſeven or more of them, the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskery*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Kt, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Bar., *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſq; ſhall diminiſh or add unto the ſaid Number, as they ſhall ſee Cauſe from time to time.

X. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, that His Majeſty will accept of the yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thouſand pounds Sterling, to be applotted with Indifferency and Equality, and conſented to be paid to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors in Parliament, for and in lieu of the Court of Wards in this Kingdom, Tenures in Capite, Common Knights-ſervice, and all other Tenures within the Cognizance of that Court, and for, and in lieu of all Wardſhips, Primer-ſeizins, Fines, Ouſterlemains, Liveries, Intruſions, Alienations, Meaſne Rates, Releaſes and all other Profits, within the Cognizance of the ſaid Court, or incident to the ſaid Tenures, or any of them, or Fines to accrew to His Majeſty by reaſon of the ſaid Tenures or any of them, and for, and in lieu of Reſpites and Iſſues of Homage and Fines for the ſame. And the ſaid yearly Rent being ſo applotted and conſented unto in Parliament as aforeſaid, then a Bill is to be agreed on in the ſaid Parliament to be paſſed as an Act for the ſecuring of the ſaid yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thouſand Pounds to be applotted as aforeſaid, and for the Extinction and taking away of the ſaid Court, and other Matters aforeſaid in this Article contained. And it is further agreed, that reaſonable Compoſitions ſhall be accepted for Wardſhips fallen ſince the 23. of *October* 1641. and already granted, and that no Wardſhips fallen and not granted, or that ſhall fall, ſhall be paſſed until the Succeſs of this Article ſhall appear; and if his Majeſty be ſecured as aforeſaid, then all Wardſhips fallen ſince the ſaid

23d of *October*, are to be included in the Agreement aforeſaid, upon Compoſition to be made with ſuch as have Grants as aforeſaid, which Compoſition to be made with the Grantees ſince the Time aforeſaid, is to be left to indifferent Perſons, and the Umpirage to the ſaid Lord Lieutenant.

XI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That no Noble-man or Peer of this Realm in Parliament, ſhall be hereafter capable of more Proxies then two, and that blank Proxies ſhall be hereafter totally diſ-allowed; and that if ſuch Noble Men or Peers of this Realm, as have no Eſtates in this Kingdom do not within five Years, to begin from the Concluſion of theſe Articles, purchaſe in this Kingdom as followeth, *viz.* A Lord Baron 200 *l. per Annum*, a Lord Viſcount 400 *l. per Annum*, and an Earl 600 *l. per Annum*, a Marqueſs 800 *l. per Annum*, a Duke 1000 *l. per Annum*, ſhall looſe their Votes in Parliament until ſuch Time as they ſhall afterwards acquire ſuch Eſtates reſpectively; and that none be admitted in the Houſe of Commons, but ſuch as ſhall be eſtated and reſident within this Kingdom.

XII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That as for, and concerning, the Independency of the Parliament of *Ireland* on the Parliament of *England*, His Majeſty will leave both Houſes of Parliament in this Kingdom to make ſuch Declaration therein as ſhall be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

XIII. *Item*, It is further concluded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That the Councel-Table ſhall contain it ſelf within its proper Bounds, in handling Matters of State and Weight fit for that Place, amongſt which the Patents of Plantation, and the Offices whereupon thoſe Grants are founded to be handled, as Matters of State, and to be heard and determined by His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, and the Councel publicly at the Councel-Board, and not otherwiſe, but Titles between Party and Party grown after theſe Patents granted, are to be left to the ordinary Courſe of Law, and that the Councel-Table do not hereafter intermeddle with common Buſineſs, that is within the Cognizance of the ordinary Courts, nor with the altering of Poſſeſſions of Lands, nor make, nor uſe, private Orders, Hearings or References, concerning any ſuch Matter, nor grant any Injunction or Order for ſtay of any Suits in any Civil Cauſe: And that Parties griev'd for or by reaſon of any Proceedings formerly had there, may commence their Suits, and proſecute the ſame in any of His Majeſties Courts of Juſtice or Equity for remedy of their pretended Rights, without any Reſtraint or Interruption from His Majeſty, or otherwiſe by the Chief Governour or Governours, and Councel of this Kingdom: And that the Proceedings in the reſpective Preſidency Courts, ſhall be purſuant, and according to His Majeſties printed Book of Inſtructions, and that they ſhall contain themſelves within the Limits preſcribed by that Book, when the Kingdom ſhall be reſtored to ſuch a Degree of Quietneſs, as they be not neceſſarily enforced to exceed the ſame.

XIV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That as for, and concerning, one Statute made in this Kingdom, in the eleventh Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, intituled an ACT for ſtaying of Wooll, Flocks, Tallow and other Neceſſaries within this Realm: And another Statute made in the ſaid Kingdom, in the twelfth Year of the Reign of the ſaid Queen, intituled an ACT

and one other Statute made in the ſaid Kingdom, in the 13 Year of the Reign of the ſaid late Queen, intituled an Exemplanation of the Act made in

a Seſſion of this Parliament for the ſtaying of Wooll, Flocks, Tallow and other Wares and Commodities mention'd in the ſaid Act, and certain Articles added to the ſame Act, all concerning ſtaple or native Commodities of this Kingdom ſhall be repealed, if it ſhall be ſo thought fit in the Parliament (excepting for Wooll and Wooll-fells)and that ſuch indifferent Perſons as ſhall be agreed on by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtollogh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them ſhall be authorized by Commiſſion under the great Seal, to moderate and aſcertain the Rates of Merchandize to be exported or imported out of, or into, this Kingdom, as they ſhall think fit.

XV. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed,by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That all and every Perſon and Perſons within this Kingdom, pretending to have ſuffered by Offices found of ſeveral Countries, Territories, Lands and Hereditaments in the Province of *Ulſter*, and other Provinces of this Kingdom, in or ſince the firſt Year of King *James* his Reign, or by Attainders or Forfeitures, or by Pretence and Colour thereof,ſince the ſaid 1. Year of King *James*,or by other Acts depending on the ſaid Offices, Attainders and Forfeitures may petition His Majeſty in Parliament for Relief and Redreſs; and if after Examination it ſhall appear to His Majeſty, the ſaid Perſons, or any of them have been Injured, then His Majeſty will preſcribe a Courſe to repair the Perſon or Perſons ſo ſuffering according to Juſtice and Honour.

XVI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That as to the particular Caſes of *Maurice* Lord Viſc. *de Rupe and Fermoy*, *Arthur* Lord Viſc.*Iveagh*,Sir *Edward Fitz* Gerrald of *Cloangliſh* Baronet,*Charles Mac Carty Reag*, *Roger Moore*, *Anthony Mare*, *William Fitz* Gerrald, *Anthony Linch*, *John Lacy*, *Collo Mac Brien Mac Mahowne*, *Daniel Caſtigni*, *Edmond Fitz* Gerrald of *Ballimartir*, *Lucas Keating*, *Theobald Roch Fitz Miles*, *Thomas Fitz* Gerrald of the *Vally*, *John Bourke* of *Loghmaske*, *Edmond Fitz* Gerrald of *Ballimallo*, *James Fitz William* Gerrald of *Glinane* and *Edward Sutton*, they may petition His Majeſty in the next Parliament, whereupon His Majeſty will take ſuch Conſideration of them as ſhall be juſt and fit.

XVII. *Item*, It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the Citizens, Free-men, Burgeſſes and former Inhabitants of the City of *Cork*, Towns of *Toughall* and *Downegarven* ſhall be forthwith upon Perfection of theſe Articles, reſtored to their reſpective Poſſeſſions and Eſtates in the ſaid City and Towns, reſpectively, where the ſame extends not to the endangering of the ſaid Garriſons in the ſaid City and Towns. In which caſe ſo many of the ſaid Citizens and Inhabitants,as ſhall not be admitted to the preſent Poſſeſſion of their Houſes within the ſaid City and Towns, ſhall be afforded a valuable annual Rent for the ſame, until Settlement in Parliament, at which time they ſhall be reſtor'd to thoſe their Poſſeſſions. And it is further agreed, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the ſaid Citizens, Freemen, Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the ſaid City of *Cork* and Towns of *Toughall* and *Downegarven*, reſpectively, ſhall be enabled in convenient Time before the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, to chooſe and return Burgeſſes into the ſame Parliament.

XVIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That an ACT of Oblivion be paſt in the next Parliament, to extend to all His

Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom, and their Adherents, of all Treaſons and Offences, Capital, Criminal and Perſonal, and other Offences of what Nature, Kind or Quality ſoever, in ſuch Manner, as if ſuch Treaſons or Offences had never been committed, perpetrated or done: That the ſaid Act do extend to the Heirs, Children, Kindred, Executors, Adminiſtrators, Wives, Widows, Dowagers or Aſſigns of ſuch of the ſaid Subjects and their Adherents who dy'd on, before, or ſince, the 23d of *October*, 1641. that the ſaid Act do relate to the firſt Day of the next Parliament, that the ſaid Act do extend to all bodies Politic and Corporate, and their reſpective Succeſſors, and unto all Cities, Burroughs, Counties, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thitlings and every of them within this Kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the ſaid Offences, or any other Offence or Offences in them, or any of them committed, or done by *His* Majeſties ſaid Subjects, or their Adherents, or any of them, before, in, or ſince the 23d of *October*, 1641. Provided this Act ſhall not extend to be conſtrued to pardon any Offence or Offences, for which any Perſon or Perſons have been convicted or attainted of Record at any time before the 23d Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1641. That this Act ſhall extend to Piracies, and all other Offences committed upon the Sea, by His Majeſties ſaid Subjects, or their Adherents or any of them, that in this Act of Oblivion, Words of Releaſe, Acquittal and Diſcharge be inſerted, that no Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, Counties, Cities, Burroughs, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thitlings, or any of them within this Kingdom, included within the ſaid Act be troubled, impeached, ſued, inquieted or moleſted, for, or by reaſon of any Offence, Matter or Thing whatſoever, compriſed within the ſaid Act: And the ſaid Act ſhall extend to all Rents, Goods and Chattels taken, detained or grown due to the Subjects of the one Party from the other ſince the 23d of *October*, 1641. to the Date of theſe Articles of Peace; and alſo to all Cuſtoms, Rents, Arrears of Rents, to Prizes, Recognizances, Bonds, Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties and to all other Profits, Perquiſits and Dues which were due, or did, or ſhould accrew to His Majeſty on, before, or ſince the 23d of *October*, 1641. until the Perfection of theſe Articles, and likewiſe to all Meaſne, Rates, Fines of what Nature ſoever, Recognizances, Judgments, Executions thereupon, and Penalties whatſoever, and to all other Profit due to His Majeſty ſince the ſaid 23d of *October* and before, until the Perfection of theſe Articles, for, by reaſon, or which lay within the Survey or Recognizance of the Court of Wards; and alſo to all Reſpits, Iſſues of Homage and Fines for the ſame; provided this ſhall not extend to diſcharge or remit any of the Kings Debts or Subſidies due before the ſaid 23d of *October*, 1641, which were then or before levyed, or taken by the Sheriffs, Commiſſioners, Receivers or Collectors, and not then or before accounted for, or ſince diſpoſed to the public Uſe of the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Subjects, but that ſuch Perſons may be brought to account for the ſame after full Settlement in Parliament, and not before, unleſs by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, as the ſaid Lord Lieutenant otherwiſe ſhall think fit; provided, that ſuch barbarous and inhuman Crimes as ſhall be particularized and agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſc. *Dillon* of *Coſtollogh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*

nell Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, as to the Actors and Procurers thereof be left to be tryed and adjudged by ſuch indifferent Commiſſioners as ſhall be agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtollogh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskery*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them; and that the Power of the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall continue only for two Years next enſuing the Date of their Commiſſion, which Commiſſion is to iſſue within ſix Months after the Date of theſe Articles; provided alſo, that the Commiſſioners to be agreed on for Tryal of the ſaid particular Crimes to be excepted; ſhall hear, order and determine all Caſes of Truſt, where Relief may or ought in Equity to be afforded againſt all Manner of Perſons, according to the Equity and Circumſtances of every ſuch Caſes, and His Majeſties chief Governour or Governours and other Magiſtrates for the time being, in all His Majeſties Courts of Juſtice, and other His Majeſties Officers of what Condition or Quality ſoever be bound and requir'd to take Notice of, and purſue the ſaid Act of Oblivion without Pleading or Suit to be made for the ſame, and that no Clerk or other Officers do make out or write out any Manner of Writs, Proceſſes, Summons or other Precept, for, concerning, or by reaſon of any Matter, Cauſe or Thing whatſoever releaſed, forgiven, diſcharged, or to be forgiven by the ſaid Act, under pain of 20 *l.* Sterling, and that no Sheriff or other Officer, do execute any ſuch Writ, Proceſs, Summons or Precept; and that no Record, Writing or Memory, do remain of any Offence or Offences, releaſed or forgiven or mentioned to be forgiven by this Act; and that all other Clauſes uſually inſerted in Acts of general Pardon or Oblivion, enlarging His Majeſties Grace and Mercy, nor herein particularized, be inſerted and comprized in the ſaid Act, when the Bill ſhall be drawn up with the Exceptions already expreſſed and none other. Provided always, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion, ſhall not extend to any Treaſon, Felony or other Offence or Offences, which ſhall be committed or done from or after the Date of theſe Articles, until the firſt Day of the before mentioned next Parliament, to be held in this Kingdom; provided alſo, that any Act or Acts, which ſhall be done by Vertue, Pretence, or in Purſuance of theſe Articles of Peace agreed upon, or any Act or Acts which ſhall be done by Virtue, Colour or Pretence of the Power or Authority uſed, or exerciſed by and amongſt the Confederate *Roman Catholics* after the Date of the ſaid Articles, and before the ſaid Publication, ſhall not be accounted, taken, conſtrued, or to be, Treaſon, Felony, or other Offence to be excepted out of the ſaid Act of Oblivion; provided likewiſe, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion, ſhall not extend unto any Perſon or Perſons, that will not obey and ſubmit unto the Peace concluded and agreed on by theſe Articles; provided further, that the ſaid Act of Oblivion, or any Thing in this Article contained, ſhall not hinder or interrupt the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtollogh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, to call to an Account, and proceed againſt the Councel and Congregation, and the reſpective Supream Councels, Commiſſioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time by the Confederate *Catholics* to manage their Affairs, or any other Perſon or Perſons accomptable to an Accompt for their reſpective Receipts and Diſburſements, ſince the Beginning of their reſpective Imployments under the ſaid Confederate *Catholics*, or to acquit or releaſe any Arrears of Exciſes, Cuſtoms, or public Taxes to be accoun-

ted for ſince the 23. of *October* 1641. and not diſpos'd of hitherto, to the public Uſe, but that the Parties therein concern'd may be call'd to an Account for the ſame as aforeſaid, by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, the ſaid ACT or any thing therein contain'd to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XIX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that an ACT be paſs'd in the next Parliament, prohibiting, that neither the Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours, Lord Chancellor, Lord High Treaſurer, Vice-Treaſurer, Chancellor, or any of the Barons of the Exchequer, Privy Councel or Judges of the four Courts be Farmers of His Majeſties Cuſtoms within this Kingdom.

XX. *Item*, It is likewiſe concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that an ACT of Parliament paſs in this Kingdom againſt Monopolies, ſuch as was enacted in *England* 21. *Jacobi Regis*, with a further Clauſe of repealing of all Grants of Monopolies in this Kingdom, and that Commiſſioners be agreed upon by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, to ſet down the Rates for the Cuſtom and Impoſition to be laid on *Aquavitæ*, *Wine*, *Oyl*, *Tarn* and *Tobacco*.

XXI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that ſuch Perſons as ſhall be agreed on by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall be as ſoon as may be authoriz'd by Commiſſion under the great Seal to regulate the Court of Caſtle-chamber, and ſuch Cauſes as ſhall be brought into, and cenſur'd in, the ſaid Court.

XXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that two Acts lately paſs'd in this Kingdom, one prohibiting the plowing with Horſes by the Tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of Oats in the Straw be repeal'd.

XXIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, for as much as upon Application of Agents from this Kingdom unto his Majeſty in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and lately upon humble Suit made unto His Majeſty, by a Committee of both Houſes of the Parliament of this Kingdom, Order was given by his Majeſty for Redreſs of ſeveral Grievances, and for ſo many of thoſe as are not expreſs'd in the Articles, whereof both Houſes in the next enſuing Parliament ſhall deſire the Benefit of His Majeſties ſaid former Directions for Redreſs therein, that the ſame be afforded them, yet ſo, as for Prevention of Inconveniences to his Majeſties Service, that the Warning mention'd in the 24. Article of the Graces in the Fourth Year of his Majeſties Reign be ſo underſtood, that the Warning being left at the Perſons Dwelling-houſes be held ſufficient Warning, and as to the 22. Article of the ſaid Graces, the Proceſs hitherto us'd in the Court

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of Wards do ſtill continue, as hitherto it hath done in that, and hath been us'd in other *Engliſh* Courts, but the Court of Wards being compounded for ſo much of the aforeſaid Anſwer as concerns Warning and Proceſs ſhall be omitted.

XXIV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that Maritime Cauſes may be determin'd in this Kingdom, without driving of Merchants or others to appeal and ſeek Juſtice elſewhere; and if it ſhall fall out that there be Cauſe of an Appeal, the Party griev'd is to appeal to his Majeſty in the Chancery of *IRELAND*, and the Sentence thereupon to be given by the Delegates, to be definitive and not to be queſtion'd upon any further Appeal, except it be in the Parliament of this Kingdom, if the Parliament ſhall then be ſitting, otherwiſe not, this to be by ACT of Parliament, and until the ſaid Parliament, the Admiralty and Maritime Cauſes ſhall be order'd and ſettl'd by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them.

XXV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, that his Majeſties Subjects of this Kingdom be eas'd of all Rents and Increaſe of Rents lately rais'd on the Commiſſion or defective Titles in the Earl of *Stafford*'s Government, this to be by ACT of Parliament; and that in the mean time the ſaid Rents or Increaſe of Rents ſhall not be written for, by any Proceſs, or the Payment thereof in any Sort procur'd.

XXVI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and his Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that by ACT to be paſs'd in the next Parliament, all the Arrears of Intereſtmony, which did accrue and grow due by way of Debt, Mortgage or otherwiſe, and yet not ſo ſatisfy'd ſince the 23. of *October* 1641. until the Perfection of theſe Articles, ſhall be fully forgiven and be releas'd, and that for and during the Space of three Years next enſuing, no more ſhall be taken for Uſe or Intereſt of Money then five Pounds *per Centum*. And in Caſes of Equity ariſing through Diſability, occaſion'd by the Diſtempers of the Times, the Conſiderations of Equity to be like unto both Parties; but as for Mortgages contracted between His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects and others of that Party, where Entry hath been made by the Mortgagers againſt Law, and the Condition of their Mortgages, and detain'd wrongfully by them without giving any Satisfaction to the Mortgagees, or where any ſuch Mortgagers have made Profit of the Lands mortgaged above Country Charges, yet anſwer no Rent, or other Conſideration to the Mortgagees, the Parties griev'd reſpectively to be left for Relief to a Courſe of Equity therein.

XXVII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, that immediatly upon Perfection of theſe Articles, the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtelogh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, ſhall be authoriz'd by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, hear, determin and execute, in and throughout, this Kingdom, the enſuing Particulars, and all the Matters thereupon depending, and that ſuch Authority and other

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the Authorities hereafter mention'd ſhall remain of Force without Revocation, Alteration or Diminution, until Acts of Parliament be paſs'd, according to the Purport and Intent of theſe Articles, and that in Caſe of Death, Miſcarriage, Diſability to ſerve by reaſon of Sickneſs or otherwiſe of any the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, and His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall name and authorize another in the Place of ſuch as ſhall be ſo dead or ſhall miſcarry himſelf, or be ſo diſabled, and that the ſame ſhall be ſuch Perſon as ſhall be allow'd of by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall*, Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them then living. And that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall have Power to applot, raiſe and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality by way of Exciſe or otherwiſe, upon all his Majeſties Subjects within the ſaid Kingdom, their Perſons, Eſtates and Goods, towards the Maintenance of ſuch Army or Armies as ſhall be thought fit to continue, and be in Pay for His Majeſties Service, the Defence of the Kingdom, and other the neceſſary public Charges thereof, and towards the Maintenance of the Forts, Caſtles, Garriſons and Towns of both or either Party, other then ſuch of the ſaid Forts, Garriſons and Caſtles, as from time to time, until there ſhall be a Settlement in Parliament ſhall be thought fit, by His Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh* Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, not to be maintained at the Charge of the Public, provided that his Majeſties Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the Time being, be firſt made acquainted with ſuch Taxes, Levies and Exciſes as ſhall be made, and the Manner of Levying thereof, and that he approve the ſame; and to the end that ſuch of the Proteſtant Party, as ſhall ſubmit to the Peace may in the ſeveral Counties where any of their Eſtates lyeth, have Equality and Indifferency in the Aſſeſſments and Levies that ſhall concern their Eſtates in the ſaid ſeveral Counties.

It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, That in the directions which ſhall iſſue to any ſuch County, for the Applotting, Subdividing and Levying of the ſaid public Aſſeſſments, ſome of the ſaid Proteſtant Party ſhall be joyned with others of the *Roman Catholic* Party to that Purpoſe, and for effecting that Service; and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them

them ſhall have Power to levy the Arrears of all Exciſes and other public Taxes impoſed by the Confederate *Roman Catholics*, and yet unpaid, and to to call Receivers and other Accomptants of all former Taxes and all public Dues to a juſt and ſtrict Account either by themſelves, or by ſuch as they or any ſeven or more of them ſhall name or appoint; and that the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall from time to time iſſue Commiſſions to ſuch Perſon and Perſons as ſhall be named and appointed by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, for letting, ſetting and improving the Eſtates of all ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as ſhall adhere to any Party oppoſing His Majeſties Authority and not ſubmitting to the Peace; and that the Profits of ſuch Eſtates ſhall be converted by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, to the Maintenance of the Kings Army and other neceſſary Charges, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tirlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them ſhall have power to applot, raiſe and leavy Means with Indifferency and Equality for the buying of Arms and Ammunition, and for the entertaining of Frigats in ſuch Proportion as ſhall be thought fit by His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, the ſaid Arms and Ammunition, to be laid up in ſuch Magazins, and under the Charge of ſuch Perſons as ſhall be agreed on, by the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, and to be diſpoſed of, and the ſaid Frigats to be imployed for his Majeſties Service, and the public Uſe and Benefit of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſq; or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall have Power to applot, raiſe and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality, by way of Exciſe or otherwiſe, in the ſeveral Cities, corporate Towns, Counties and part of Counties, now within the Quarters and only upon the Eſtates of the ſaid confederate *Roman Catholics*, all ſuch Sum and Sums of Money as ſhall appear to the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard*

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Barnwall Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tirlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them to be really due, for, and in the Diſcharge of the public Ingagements of the ſaid Confederate *Catholics*, incurred or grown due before the Concluſion of theſe Articles; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, ſhall be authoriz'd to appoint Receivers, Collectors and all other Officers, for ſuch Monies as ſhall be aſſeſſed, taxed or applotted, in Purſuance of the Authorities mention'd in this Article, and for the Arrears of all former Applotments, Taxes and other public Dues yet unpaid; And that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, in caſe of Refractories or Delinquency, may diſtrain and impriſon, and cauſe ſuch Delinquents to be diſtrained and impriſoned. And the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, make perfect Books of all ſuch Monies, as ſhall be applotted, raiſed or levy'd, out of which Books, they are to make ſeveral and reſpective Abſtracts, to be delivered under their Hands, or the Hands of any Seven or more of them, to the ſeveral and reſpective Collectors, which ſhall be appointed to Levy and Receive the ſame. And that a Duplicate of the ſaid Books, under the Hands of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſq; or any Seven or more of them, be delivered unto His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, whereby a perfect Account may be given; and that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskery*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Kt, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Bar. *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſq; or any Seven or more of them, ſhall have Power to call the Councel and Congregation, and the reſpective Supream Councels, and Commiſſioners General, appointed hitherto from time to time, by the ſaid Confederate *Roman Catholics*, to manage their public Affairs, and all other Perſons accountable to an Account, for all their Receipts and Diſburſments ſince the Beginning of their reſpective Imployments, under the Confederate *Roman Catholics*.

XXVIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by, and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That for the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, and the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven

or

or more of them, ſhall for the preſent agree upon ſuch Perſons, who are to be authorized by Commiſſion under the great Seal, to be Commiſſioners of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery, in, and throughout the Kingdom, to continue during Pleaſure, with ſuch Power, as Juſtices of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery in former time of *Peace*, have uſually had, which is not to extend unto any Crime or Offence, committed before the firſt of *May* laſt paſt, and to be qualify'd with Power to hear and determin all Civil Cauſes coming before them, not exceeding ten Pounds; provided that they ſhall not intermeddle with Titles of Lands; provided likewiſe, the Authority of ſuch Commiſſioners, ſhall not extend to queſtion any Perſon or Perſons, for any Shipping, Cattle or Goods, heretofore taken by either Party from the other, or other Injuries done contrary to the Articles of Ceſſation, concluded by and with the ſaid *Roman Catholic* Party, in, or ſince *May* laſt, but that the ſame ſhall be determined by ſuch indifferent Perſons, as the Lord Lieutenant, by the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them ſhall think fit, to the End, that ſpeedy and equal Juſtice, may be done to all Parties grieved; and the ſaid Commiſſioners are to make their Eſtreats as accuſtomed of Peace and ſhall take the enſuing Oath, *viz.* You ſhall Swear, That as Juſtice of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery in the Counties of *A. B.* in all Articles to the Commiſſion to you directed. You ſhall do equal Right to the poor, and to the rich after your Cunning and Wit and Power, and after the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and in Purſuance of theſe Articles; and you ſhall not be of Councel of any Quarrel hanging before you; and the Iſſues, Fines and Amerciaments which ſhall happen to be made, and all Forfeitures which ſhall happen before you, you ſhall cauſe to be entred without any Concealment or Imbezling, and ſend to the Court of Exchequer, or to ſuch other Place as His Majeſties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom ſhall appoint, until there may be Acceſs unto the ſaid Court of Exchequer; You ſhall not let for Gift or other Cauſe, but well and truly, you ſhall do your Office of Juſtice of *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal* delivery in that behalf, and that you take nothing for your Office of Juſtice of the *Peace*, *Oyer* and *Terminer*, *Aſſizes* and *Goal*-delivery to be done, but of the King, and Fees accuſtomed; and you ſhall not direct, or cauſe to be directed, any Warrant by you, to be made to the Parties, but you ſhall direct them to the Sheriffs and Bayliffs of the ſaid Counties reſpectively, or other the Kings Officers or Miniſters, or other indifferent Perſons to do Execution thereof, ſo help me God, *&c.*

And that as well in the ſaid Commiſſion, as in all other Commiſſions and Authorities to be iſſued in Purſuance of the preſent Articles, this Clauſe ſhall be inſerted, *viz.* That all Officers, Civil and Martial, ſhall be required to be aiding and aſſiſting and obedient unto the ſaid Commiſſioners, and other Perſons to be authorized as aboveſaid in the Execution of their reſpective Powers.

XXIX. *Item.* It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That His Majeſties *Roman Catholic* Subjects, do continue the Poſſeſſion of ſuch of His Majeſties Cities, Garriſons, Towns, Forts and Caſtles which are within their now Quarters, until Settlement by Parliament, and to be commanded, ruled and governed in Chief, upon occaſion of Neceſſity (as to the Martial and Military Affairs) by ſuch as His Majeſty, or his Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, ſhall appoint; and

the ſaid Appointment to be by, and with, the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them, and His Majeſties Chief Governour or Governours, is to iſſue Commiſſions accordingly, to ſuch Perſons, as ſhall be ſo named and appointed as aforeſaid, for the Executing of ſuch Command, Rule or Government, to continue until all the Particulars in theſe preſent Articles agreed on to paſs in Parliament, ſhall be accordingly paſſed, only in caſe of Death or Misbehaviour, ſuch other Perſon or Perſons to be appointed for the ſaid Command, Rule and Government, to be named and appointed in the Place or Places, of him or them, who ſhall ſo dye, or misbehave themſelves as the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall think fit, and to be continued until a Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid.

XXX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleaſed, That all Cuſtoms and Tenths of Prizes belonging to his His Majeſty, which from the Perfection of theſe Articles, ſhall fall due within this Kingdom, ſhall be paid unto His Majeſties Receipt, or until Recourſe may be had thereunto in the ordinary Legal Way, unto ſuch Perſon or Perſons, and in ſuch Place or Places, and under ſuch Controuls, as the Lord Lieutenant ſhall appoint to be diſpoſed of, in order to the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and the Defraying of other the neceſſary public Charges thereof, for the Eaſe of the Subjects in other their Levyes, Charges and Applotments. And that all, and every Perſon or Perſons, who are at preſent intruſted and imployed by the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, in the Entries, Receipts, Collections, or otherwiſe concerning the ſaid Cuſtoms and Tenths of Prizes, do continue their reſpective Imployments in the ſame, until full Settlement in Parliament accountable to His Majeſties Receipts, or until Recourſe may be had thereunto; as the ſaid Lord Lieutenant ſhall appoint as aforeſaid, other then to ſuch, and ſo many of them, as to the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by, and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neal*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennel*, Eſquires, or any Seven or more of them ſhall be thought fit to be altered; and then, and in ſuch Caſe, or in Caſe of Death, Fraud or Misbehaviour, or other Alteration of any ſuch Perſon or Perſons, then ſuch other Perſon or Perſons to be imployed therein, as ſhall be thought fit by the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by, and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them; and when it ſhall appear, that any Perſon or Perſons, who ſhall be found Faithful to His Majeſty, hath Right

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to any of the Offices or Places about the ſaid Cuſtoms, whereunto he, or they, may not be admitted until Settlement in Parliament as aforeſaid, that a reaſonable Compenſation ſhall be afforded to ſuch Perſon or Perſons for the ſame.

XXXI. *Item*, As for and concerning His Majeſties Rents, payable at *Eaſter* next, and from thenceforth to grow due, until a Settlement in Parliament. It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the ſaid Rents be not written for, or levyed, until a full Settlement in Parliament, and in due Time upon Application to be made to the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom by the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, for Remittal of thoſe Rents, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the the time being, ſhall intimate their Deſires, and the Reaſon thereof to His Majeſty, who upon conſideration of the preſent Condition of this Kingdom will declare his gracious Pleaſure therein, as ſhall be juſt and honourable, and ſatisfactory to the Reaſonable Deſires of His Subjects.

XXXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by, and between the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is graciouſly pleas'd, That the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* and *Goal* Delivery to be named as aforeſaid, ſhall have Power to hear and determin all Murthers, Man-ſlaughters, Rapes, Stealths, Burning of Houſes and Corn in Rick or Stack, Robberies, Burglaries, forcible Entries, Detainers of Poſſeſſions and other Offences committed or done, and to be committed and done ſince the firſt Day of *May* laſt paſt, until the firſt Day of the next Parliament, theſe preſent Articles, or any Thing therein contained to the contrary, notwithſtanding; provided, that the Authority of the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall not extend to queſtion any Perſon or Perſons, for doing or committing any Act whatſoever, before the Concluſion of this Treaty, by Vertue or Colour of any Warrant or Direction from thoſe in public Authority among the Confederate *Roman Catholics* nor unto any Act which ſhall be done after the perfecting and concluding of theſe Articles, by Vertue or Pretence of any Authority which is now by theſe Articles agreed on; provided alſo that the ſaid Commiſſion ſhall not continue longer then the firſt Day of the next Parliament.

XXXIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded, by and between, the ſaid Parties, and His Majeſty is further graciouſly pleas'd, That for the determining ſuch differences which may ariſe between His Majeſties Subjects within this Kingdom, and the Prevention of Inconvenience and Diſquiet which through want of due Remedy in ſeveral Cauſes may happen, there ſhall be Judicatures Eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, and that the Perſons to be authorized in them, ſhall have Power to do all ſuch Things as ſhall be proper and neceſſary for them to do; and the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, by, and with the Advice and Conſent of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Dillon* of *Coſtologh*, Lord Preſident of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Eſquire, Sr. *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sr. *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sr. *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlagh O Neil*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Eſquires, or any ſeven or more of them, ſhall name the ſaid Perſons ſo to be authorized, and do all other things incident unto, and neceſſary for, the Setling of the ſaid intended Judicatures.

XXXIV. *Item*, At the Inſtance, humble Suit and earneſt Deſire of the General Aſſembly of the Confederate *Roman Catholics*; is it concluded, accorded and a-

greed upon, that the *Roman Catholic* regular Clergy of this Kingdom, behaving themſelves conformable to theſe Articles of Peace, ſhall not be moleſted in the Poſſeſſions, which at preſent they have of, and in the Bodies, Scites and Precincts of ſuch *Abbies* and *Monaſtaries* belonging to any *Roman Catholic* within the ſaid Kingdom, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the ſaid Clergy ſhall not be moleſted in the enjoying of ſuch Penſions, as hitherto ſince the Wars they enjoyed for their reſpective Lively-hoods from the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, and the Scites and Precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the Body of the *Abby*, one *Garden* and *Orchard* to each *Abby*, if any there be, and what elſe is contained within the Walls, Meares or ancient Fences or Ditch, that doth ſupply the Wall thereof and no more.

XXXV. *Item*, It is conculded, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Parties, that as to all other Demands of the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, for or concerning, all or any the Matters propoſed by them, not granted or aſſented unto, in, and by the foreſaid Articles, the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, be referred to His Majeſties gracious Favour and further Conceſſions. In Witneſs whereof, the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of, His moſt Excellent Majeſty, to the one Part of theſe Articles remaining with the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, hath put his Hand and Seal: And Sir *Richard Blake* Kt. in the Chair of the General Aſſembly of the ſaid *Roman Catholics*, by Order, Command and unanimous Conſent of the ſaid *Catholics*, in full Aſſembly to the other Part thereof remaining with the ſaid Lord Lieutenant, hath put his Hand and the Public Seal, hitherto us'd by the ſaid *Roman Catholics* the 17th of *January*, 1648. And in the 24th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *CHARLES*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE not thus long forborn to invite you, with theſe under your Command, to a Submiſſion to His Majeſties Authority in me, and a Conjunction with me, in the ways of his Service, out of any the leaſt Averſion I had to you, or any of them, or out of any Diſ-eſteem I had to your Power, to advance or impede the ſame, but out of my Fear, whiles thoſe that have of late uſurped Power over the Subjects of England, *held forth the leaſt colourable Shadow of Moderation in their Intentions towards the Settlement of Church or State, and that in ſome tollerable Way with Relation to Religion, the Intereſt of the King and Crown, the Freedom of Parliamnt, the Liberties of the Subject, any Addreſſes from me propoſing the withdrawing of that Party from thoſe thus profeſſing, from whom they have received ſome, and expected further Support, would have been but coldly received, and any Determination thereupon deferred in hope and expectation of the forementioned Settlement, or that you your Self, who certainly have not wanted a Foreſight of the ſad Confuſion now covering the Face of* England, *would have declared with me, the Lord* Inchequeen, *and the* Proteſtant *Army in* Munſter, *in prevention thereof, yet my Fear was, it would have been as difficult for you, to have carried with you the main Body of the Army under your Command (not ſo clear ſighted as your ſelf) as it would have been dangerous to you, and thoſe with you well inclined, to have attempted it without them, but now that the Mask of Hypocriſy, by which the* Independant *Army hath enſnared and enſlaved all Eſtates and Degrees of Men is laid aſide, now that bareſaced, they evidently appear to be the Subverters of true Religion, and to be the Protectors and Inviters, not only of all falſe Ones, but of Irreligion and Atheiſm, now that they have barbarouſly and inhumanly laid violent, ſacrilegious Hands upon, and Murthered Gods Annointed, and our King, not as heretofore ſome Patricides have done, to make Room for ſome Uſurper, but in a way, plainly manifeſting their Intentions, to change the Monarchy of* England, *into Anarchy, unleſs their Aim be firſt to conſtitute*

ſtitute an elective Kingdom, and CROMWEL *or ſome ſuch* John *of* Leiden *being elected, then by the ſame Force, by which they have thus far compaſſed their Ends to eſtabliſh a perfect* Turkiſh *Tyranny; now that of the three Eſtates of King, Lords and Commons, whereof in all Ages Parliaments have conſiſted, there remains only a ſmall Number, and they the Dregs and Scum of the Houſe of Commons, pick'd and aw'd by the ARMY, a wicked Remnant left for no other End; then yet further, if it be poſſible to delude the People with the Name of a Parliament: The King being murther'd, the Lords and the reſt of the Commons, being by unheard of Violence, at ſeveral times forc'd from the Houſes, and ſome impriſon'd. And now that there remains no other Liberty in the Subject but to profeſs blaſphemous Opinions, to revile and tread under Foot Magiſtracy, to murther Magiſtrates, and oppreſs and undo all that are not like-minded with them. Now I ſay, that I cannot doubt, but that you, and all with you under your Command, will take this Opportunity to act and declare againſt ſo monſtrous and unparallel'd a Rebellion, and that you and they will cheerfully acknowledge, and faithfully ſerve and obey our Gracious King* CHARLES *the* II. *undoubted Heir of his Fathers Crown and Vertues; under whoſe Right and Conduct we may by Gods Aſſiſtance reſtore Proteſtant Religion to Purity, and therein ſettle it, Parliaments to their Freedom, good Laws to their Force, and our Fellow-ſubjects to their juſt Liberties, wherein how glorious and bleſſed a Thing it will be, to be ſo conſiderably inſtrumental, as you may now make your ſelf, I leave to you now to conſider. And though I conceive there are not any Motives relating to ſome particular Intereſt to be mentioned after theſe ſo weighty Conſiderations, which are ſuch as the World hath not been at any time furniſh'd with, yet I hold it my Part to aſſure you, that as there is nothing you can reaſonably propoſe for the Safety, Satisfaction or Advantage of your ſelf, or of any that ſhall adhere to you in what I deſire, that I ſhall not to the uttermoſt of my Power provide for, ſo there is nothing I would, nor ſhall more induſtriouſly avoid, then thoſe Neceſſities ariſing from my Duty to God and Man, that may by your rejecting this Offer force me to be a ſad Inſtrument of ſhedding* Engliſh *Blood, which in ſuch Caſe muſt on both Sides happen. If their Overture find place with you, as I earneſtly wiſh it may, let me know with what poſſible Speed you can, and if you pleaſe by the Bearer in what way you deſire, it ſhall be drawn on to a Concluſion. For in that, as well as in the Subſtance, you ſhall find all ready Compliance from me, that deſire to be*

Your Affectionate Friend to ſerve you,

CARRICK March 9. 1648. *ORMOND.*

For Collonel *Michael Jones* Governour of *DUBLIN.*

My LORD,

YOUR Lordſhips of the ninth, I receiv'd the twelfth inſtant, and therein have I your Lordſhips Invitation to a Conjunction with your ſelf (I ſuppoſe) as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *and with others now united with the* Iriſh, *and with the* Iriſh *themſelves alſo.*

As I underſtand not how your Lordſhip ſhould be inveſted with that Power pretended, ſo am I very well aſſur'd, that it is not in the Power of any without the Parliament of England *to give and aſſure Pardon to thoſe bloody Rebels, as by the ACT to that end paſs'd may appear more fully. I am alſo well aſſur'd, that the Parliament of* England *would never aſſent to ſuch a PEACE (ſuch as is that your Lordſhips with the Rebels) wherein is little or no Proviſion made either for the Proteſtants or the Proteſtant Religion. Nor can I underſtand how the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be ſettl'd and reſtor'd to its Purity by an Army*

Army of Papiſts, or the Proteſtant Intereſts maintain'd by thoſe very Enemies by whom they have been ſpoil'd and there ſlaughter'd: And very evident it is, that both the Proteſtants and Proteſtant Religion are in that your Lordſhips Treaty, left as in the Power of the Rebels, to be by them born down and rooted out at Pleaſure.

As for that Conſideration by your Lordſhip offer'd of the preſent and late Proceedings in England, *I ſee not how it may be a ſufficient Motive to me (or any other in like Truſt for the Parliament of* England *in the Service of this Kingdom) to joyn with thoſe Rebels upon any the Pretences in that your Lordſhips Letter mention'd, for therein were there a manifeſt betraying that Truſt repos'd in me in deſerting the Service and Work committed to me in joyning with thoſe I ſhall oppoſe, and in oppoſing whom I am oblig'd to ſerve.*

Neither conceive I it any Part of my Work and Care to take notice of any whatſoever Proceedings of STATE foreign, to my Charge and Truſt here, eſpecially, they being found hereunto apparently deſtructive.

Moſt certain it is, and former Ages have approv'd it, that the intermedling of Governours and Parties in this Kingdom, with Sidings and Parties in ENGLAND, *have been the very Betraying of this Kingdom to the* Iriſh, *whiles the* Britiſh *Forces here had been thereupon call'd off, and the Place therein laid open, and as it were given up to the common ENEMY.*

It is what your Lordſhip might have obſerv'd in your former Treaty with the Rebels, that upon your Lordſhips thereupon withdrawing, and ſending hence into England *the moſt conſiderable Part of the* Engliſh *Army then commanded by you; thereby was the remaining* Britiſh *Party not long after overpower'd, and your Quarters by the* Iriſh *over-run to the Gates of* DUBLIN, *your ſelf alſo reduced to that low Condition, as to be beſieg'd in this very City (the Metropolis and principal Cittadel of the Kingdom) and that by thoſe very Rebels, who till then could never ſtand before you; and what the End hath been of that Party, alſo, ſo ſent by your Lordſhip into* England *(although the Flower and Strength of the* Engliſh *Army here, both Officers and Soldiers) hath been very obſervable.*

And how much the Dangers are at preſent (more then in former Ages) of hazarding the Engliſh *Intereſt in this Kingdom, by ſending any Parties hence into any other Kingdom upon any Pretences whatſoever is very apparent, as in the Generality of the Rebellion, now more then formerly; ſo conſidering your Lordſhips preſent Concluſions with, and Conceſſions to, the Rebels, wherein they are allowed the continued Poſſeſſion of all the Cities, Forts and Places of Strength, whereof they ſtood poſſeſs'd at the time of their Treaty with your Lordſhip, and that they are to have a ſtanding Force (if I well remember) of* 15000. *Foot and* 2500. *Horſe (all of their own Party, Officers and Souldiers) and they (with the whole Kingdom) to be regulated by a major Part of* Iriſh *Truſtees, choſen by the Rebels themſelves, as Perſons for their Intereſts and Ends to be by them confided in, without whom nothing is to be acted. Therein I cannot but mind your Lordſhip of what hath been ſometimes by your ſelf delivered, as your Senſe in this Particular; that the* Engliſh *Intereſt in* Ireland *muſt be preſerv'd by the* Engliſh, *and not by* Iriſh, *and upon that Ground (if I be not deceiv'd) did your Lordſhip then capitulate with the Parliament of* ENGLAND, *from which clear Principle I am ſorry to ſee your Lordſhip now receding.*

As to that by your Lordſhip menac'd us here, of Blood and Force, if diſſenting from your Lordſhips Ways and Deſigns, for my particular I ſhall (my Lord) much rather chooſe to ſuffer in ſo doing (for therein ſhall I do what is becoming and anſwerable to my Truſt) then to purchaſe my ſelf on the contrary the ignominious Brand of Perfidy, by any Allurements of whatſoever Advantages offer'd me.

But

But very confident I am of the ſame divine Power which hath ſtill followed me in this WORK, and will ſtill follow me; and in that Truſt doubt I nothing of thus giving your Lordſhip plainly this my Reſolution in that Particular: So I remain,

DUBLIN, March 14. 1648. Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

Signed, MIC. JONES.

For the Lord of ORMOND *theſe.*

By the Lord Lieutenant General of *IRELAND.*

ORMOND,

WHEREAS *our late Sovereign Lord King* CHARLES *of happy Memory hath been lately by a Party of His rebellious Subjects of* ENGLAND *moſt traiterouſly, maliciouſly and inhumanly put to death and murthered; and forasmuch as his Majeſty that now is,* Charles *by the Grace of GOD King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *is Son and Heir of His ſaid late Majeſty, and therefore by the Laws of the Land, of Force, and practis'd in all Ages, is to inherit. We therefore in Diſcharge of the Duty we owe unto God, our Allegiance and Loyalty to our Sovereign, holding it fit him ſo to proclaim in and through this His Majeſties Kingdom, do by this our preſent Proclamation declare and manifeſt to the World, That* Charles *the* II. *Son and Heir of our late Sovereign Lord King* Charles *the* I. *of happy Memory, is, by the Grace of GOD, the undoubted KING of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the FAITH,* &c.

Given at *CARRICK* Feb. 26. 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A neceſſary Repreſentation of the preſent Evils, and eminent Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, ariſing from the late and preſent Practices of the Sectarian *Party in* ENGLAND: *Together with an Exhortation to Duties relating to the Covenant, unto all within our Charge; and to all the Well-affected within this Kingdom, by the Presbytery at* BELFAST, *February the 15th,* 1649.

WHEN we do ſeriouſly conſider the great and many Duties which we owe unto God and his People, over whom he hath made us Overſeers; and for whom we muſt give an Account; and when we behold the laudable Examples of the worthy Miniſters of the Province of *London,* and of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland,* in their free and faithful Teſtimonies againſt the Inſolencies of the *Sectarian* Party in *England.* Conſidering alſo the Dependency of this Kingdom upon the Kingdom of *England,*

England, and remembring how againſt ſtrong Oppoſitions we were aſſiſted by the Lord the laſt Year in Diſcharge of the like Duty, and how he puniſh'd the Contempt of our Warning upon the Deſpiſers thereof: We find our ſelves as neceſſitated; ſo the more encourag'd to caſt in our Mite in the Treaſury, leaſt our Silence ſhould involve us in the Guilt of Unfaithfulneſs, and our People in Security and Neglect of Duties.

In this Diſcharge of the Truſt put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as Sowers of Sedition, or Broachers of national and diviſive Motions, our Record is in Heaven, that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor leſs intended by us, and therefore we ſhall not fear the malitious and wicked Aſperſions, which we know Satan by his Inſtruments is ready to caſt, not only upon us, but on all who ſincerely endeavour the Advancement of Reformation.

What of late have been, and now are, the inſolent and preſumptuous Practices of the *Sectaries* in *England*, is not unknown to the World: For, *firſt*, notwithſtanding their ſpecious Pretences for Religion and Liberties, yet their late and preſent Actings, being therewith compar'd, do clearly evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive; ſince they have with a high Hand deſpis'd the OATH in breaking the Covenant, which is ſo ſtrong a Foundation to both, whilſt they loaden it with ſleighting Reproaches, calling it a Bundle of particular and contrary Intereſts, and a Snare to the People; and likewiſe labour to eſtabliſh by Laws an univerſal Toleration of all Religions, which is an Innovation overturning of Unity in Religion, and ſo directly repugnant to the Word of God, the two firſt Articles of our ſolemn Covenant, which is the greateſt Wickedneſs in them to violate, ſince many of the chiefeſt of themſelves, have with their Hands teſtify'd to the moſt High God, ſworn and ſeal'd it.

Moreover, their great Diſaffection to the Settlement of Religion, and ſo their future Breach of Covenant doth more fully appear by their ſtrong Oppoſitions to *Presbyterial* Government (the Hedge and Bulwark of Religion) whilſt they expreſs their Hatred to it, more then to the worſt of Errors, by excluding it under the name of Compulſion; when they embrace even *Paganiſm* and *Judaiſm* in the Arms of Toleration. Not to ſpeak of their Aſperſions upon it, and the Aſſertors thereof as Antichriſtian and *Popiſh*, though they have deeply ſworn to maintain the ſame Government in the firſt Article of the Covenant, as it is eſtabliſhed in the Church of *SCOTLAND*, which they now ſo deſpite and fully blaſpheme.

Again, It is more then manifeſt, that they ſeek not the Vindication, but the Extirpation of Laws and Liberties, as appears by their ſeizing on the Perſon of the King, and at their Pleaſures removing him from Place to Place, not only without the Conſent, but (if we miſtake not) againſt a direct Ordinance of Parliament: Their violent ſurpriſing, impriſoning and ſecluding many of the moſt worthy Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, directly againſt a declared Priviledge of Parliament (an Action certainly without Parallel in any Age) and their Purpoſes of aboliſhing Parliamentary Power for the future, and eſtabliſhing of a Repreſentative (as they call it) in ſtead thereof. Neither hath their Fury ſtay'd here, but without all Rule or Example, being but private Men, they have proceeded to the Tryal of the King, againſt both the Intereſt and Proteſtation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the former public Declarations of both Kingdoms (beſides the violent haſte, rejecting the hearing of any Defences) with cruel Hands have put him to Death; an Act ſo horrible, as no Hiſtory, divine or human, hath laid a Preſident of the like.

Theſe, and many other their deteſtable Inſolences, may abundantly convince every unbyaſs'd Judgment, that the preſent Practice of the *Sectaries* and their Abettors, do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms.

doms, root out lawful and ſupreme Magiſtracy (the juſt Priviledges whereof we have ſworn to maintain) and introduce a fearful Confuſion and lawleſs Anarchy.

The Spirit of God by *Solomon* tells us, *Pro.* 30. 21. *That a Servant to reign is one of the four Things for which the Earth is diſquieted, and which it cannot bear*: We wonder nothing that the Earth is diſquieted for theſe Things; but we wonder greatly, if the Earth can bear them, and albeit the Lord ſo permit, that Folly be ſet in great Dignity, and they which ſit in low Place: *That Servants ride upon Horſes, and Princes walk as Servants upon the Earth,* Eccleſ. 10. *ver.* 6, 7. Yet the ſame Wiſe Man ſaith, Prov. 19. 10. *Delight is not ſeemly for a Fool, much leſs for a Servant to have Rule over Princes.*

When we conſider theſe Things, we cannot but declare and manifeſt our uttter Diſlike and Deteſtation of ſuch unwarrantable Practiſes, directly ſubverting our Covenant, Religion, Laws and Liberties. And as Watchmen in *SION* warn all the Lovers of Truth and well-affected to the Covenant, carefully to avoid Compliance with, or not bearing witneſs againſt horrid Inſolences, leaſt partaking with them in their Sins, they alſo be Partakers of their Plagues. Therefore in the Spirit of Meekneſs, we earneſtly intreat, and in the Authority of Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe Servants we are) charge and obteſt all who reſolve to adhere unto Truth and the Covenant, diligently to obſerve and conſcientiouſly to perform theſe following Duties.

Firſt, That according to our Solemn Covenant, every one ſtudy more to the Power of Godlineſs and perſonal Reformation of themſelves and Families, becauſe for the great Breach of this part of the Covenant, God is highly offended with theſe Lands and juſtly provoked to permit Men to be the Inſtrument of our Miſery and Afflictions.

Secondly, That every one in their Station and Calling earneſtly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, *Jude* 3. And ſeek to have their Hearts eſtabliſhed with Grace, that they be not unſtable and wavering, carried about with every Wind of Doctrin; but that they receive the Truth in Love, avoiding the Company of ſuch, as withdraw from and vilifie the public Ordinances; ſpeak Evil of Church-Government; invent damnable Errors, under the ſpecious Pretence of a Goſpel-way and new Light; and highly extol the Perſons and Courſes of notorious Sectaries, leaſt God give them over to ſtrong Deluſions (the Plague of theſe Times) that they may believe Lies and be Damned.

Thirdly, That they would not be drawn by Councel, Command or Example, to ſhake off the ancient and fundamental Government of theſe Kingdoms by King and Parliament, which we are ſo deeply ingaged to preſerve by our ſolemn Covenant, as they would not be found Guilty of the great Evil of theſe Times (condemned by the Holy Ghoſt) the deſpiſing of Dominion and ſpeaking Evil of Dignities.

Fourthly, That they do cordially endeavour the Preſervation of the Union amongſt the well-affected in the Kingdoms, not being ſwayed by any National Reſpect: Remembering that Part of the Covenant: *That we ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly nor indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terrour, to be divided, or withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction.*

And *Finally*, Albeit there be more preſent Hazard from the Power of Sectaries (as were from Malignants the laſt Year) yet we are not ignorant of the evil Purpoſes of Malignants, even at this Time in all the Kingdoms; and particlarly in this, and for this Cauſe, we exhort every one with equal Watchfulneſs to keep themſelves free from aſſociating with ſuch, or from ſwerving in their Judgments to malignant Principles; and to avoid all ſuch Perſons as

have been from the Beginning known Oppoſers of Reformation, Refuſers of the Covenant, combining themſelves with Papiſts and other notorious Malignants, eſpecially ſuch who have been chief Promotors of the late Ingagement againſt *England*, Calumniators of the Work of Reformation, in reputing the Miſeries of the preſent Times unto the Advancers thereof, and that their juſt Hatred to Sectaries incline not their Minds to favour Malignants, or to think, that becauſe of the Power of Sectaries, the Cauſe of God needs the more to fear the Enmity, or to ſtand in need of the Help of Malignants.

Obſervations upon the Articles of PEACE *with the* Iriſh *Rebels, on the Letter of* ORMOND *to Col.* Jones, *and the Repreſentation of the* Presbytery *at* BELFAST.

ALthough it be a Maxim much agreeable to Wiſdom, that juſt Deeds are the beſt Anſwer to injurious Words, and Actions of whatever ſort, their own plaineſt Interpreters; yet ſince our Enemies can find the Leiſure both ways to offend us, it will be requiſite we ſhould be found in neither of thoſe ways neglectful of our juſt Defence. To let them know, that ſincere and upright Intentions can certainly with as much Eaſe deliver themſelves into Words as into Deeds.

Having therefore ſeen of late thoſe Articles of Peace granted to the Papiſt Rebels of *IRELAND*, as ſpecial Graces and Favours from the late King, in reward, moſt likely, of their Work done, and in his Name and Authority confirm'd and ratifi'd by *James* Earl of *Ormond*; together with his Letter to Col. *Jones*, Governour of *Dublin*, full of Contumely and Diſhonour, both to the Parliament and Army. And on the other ſide, an inſolent and ſeditious Repreſentation from the *Scotch* Presbytery at *Belfaſt* in in the *NORTH* of *Ireland*; no leſs diſhonourable to the State; and much about the ſame time brought hither; there will be needful as to the ſame ſlanderous Aſperſions but one and the ſame Vindication againſt them both. Nor can we ſever them in our Notice and Reſentment, though one Part intitl'd a *Presbytery*, and would be thought a Proteſtant Aſſembly, ſince their own unexampl'd Virulence hath wrapt them into the ſame Guilt, made them Accomplices and Aſſiſtants to the abhorr'd *Iriſh* Rebels, and with them at preſent to advance the ſame Intereſt: If we conſider both their Calumnies, their Hatred and the pretended Reaſons of their Hatred to be the ſame; the Time alſo and the Place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formal Words, which may be eaſily diſſembl'd, to make the perfecteſt Conjunction; and between them to divide that Iſland.

As for theſe Articles of Peace made with thoſe inhuman Rebels and Papiſts of *Ireland* by the late King, as one of his laſt Maſter-pieces, we may be confidently perſwaded, that no true born *Engliſh-man*, can ſo much as barely read them without Indignation and Diſdain, that thoſe bloody Rebels, and ſo proclaimed and judg'd of by the King himſelf, after the mercileſs and barbarous Maſſacre of ſo many thouſand *Engliſh* (who had us'd their Right and Title to that Country with ſuch Tenderneſs and Moderation, and might otherwiſe have ſecur'd themſelves with Eaſe againſt their Treachery) ſhould be now grac'd and rewarded with ſuch Freedoms and Enlargements, as none of their Anceſtors could ever merit by their beſt Obedience, which at beſt was always

ways treacherous, to be infranchiz'd with full Liberty equal to their Conquerours, whom the juſt Revenge of ancient Pyracies, cruel Captivities and the cauſleſs Infeſtation of our Coaſt, had warrantably call'd over, and the long Preſcription of many hundred Years; beſides what other Titles are acknowledg'd by their own *Iriſh* Parliaments, had fixt and ſeated in that Soil with as good a Right as the meereſt Natives.

Theſe therefore by their own foregoing Demerits and Provocations juſtly made our Vaſſals, are by the firſt Articles of this Peace advanc'd to a Condition of Freedom, ſuperior to what any *Engliſh* Proteſtants durſt have demanded. For what elſe can be the Meaning to diſcharge them the Common Oath of Supremacy, eſpecially being Papiſts (for whom principally that Oath was intended) but either to reſign them the more into their own Power, or to ſet a Mark of Diſhonour upon the *Britiſh* Loyalty; by truſting *Iriſh* Rebels for one ſingle Oath of Allegeance, as much as all his Subjects of *Britain* for the double Swearing both of Allegeance and Supremacy.

The *Second* Article puts it into the Hands of an *Iriſh* Parliament to repeal, or to ſuſpend, if they think convenient, that Act uſually call'd *Poynings Act*, which was the main and yet the civileſt and moſt moderate Acknowledgment impos'd of their Dependance on the Crown of *England*; whereby no Parliament could be ſummon'd there, no Bill be paſt, but what was firſt to be tranſmitted and allow'd under the great Seal of *England*. The recalling of which Act, tends openly to inveſt them with the Law-giving Power of their own, enables them by degrees to throw off all Subjection to this Realm, and renders them who by their endleſs Treaſons and Revolts have deſerved to hold no Parliament at all, but to be govern'd by Edicts and Garriſons, as Abſolute and Supream in that Aſſembly, as the People of *England* in their own Land. And the 12*th* Article grants them in expreſs Words, that the *Iriſh* Parliament ſhall be no more dependent on the Parliament of *England*, then the *Iriſh* themſelves ſhall declare agreeable to the Laws of *Ireland*.

The Two and Twentieth Article more ridiculous then dangerous, coming eſpecially from ſuch a ſerious Knot of Lords and Polititians, obtains, that thoſe Acts prohibiting to plow with Horſes by the Tayl, and burn Oats in the Straw, be repeal'd; enough, if nothing elſe, to declare in them a Diſpoſition not only ſottiſh, but indocible and averſe from all Civility and Amendment, and what hopes they gave for the future, who rejecting the Ingenuity of all other Nations to improve and wax more civil by a civilizing Conqueſt, though all theſe many Years better ſhown and taught, prefer their own abſurd and ſavage Cuſtoms before the moſt convincing Evidence of Reaſon and Demonſtration: A Teſtimony of their true Barbariſm and obdurate Willfulneſs to be expected no leſs in other Matters of greateſt Moment.

Yet ſuch as theſe, and thus affected, the 9*th* Article entruſts with the Militia; a Truſt which the King ſwore by God at *New-Market*, he would not commit to his Parliament of *England*, no not for an Hour. And well declares the Confidence he had in *Iriſh* Rebels, more then in his Loyalleſt Subjects. He grants them moreover till the Performance of all theſe Articles, that 15000 Foot 2500 Horſe, ſhall remain a ſtanding Army of Papiſts at the Beck and Command of *Dillon*, *Muskerry*, and other Arch-Rebels, with Power alſo of adding to that Number as they ſhall ſee Cauſe. And by other Articles allows them the conſtituting of Magiſtrates and Judges in all Cauſes, whom they think fit: And till a Settlement to their own Minds, the Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Towns and Countrys within their now Quarters being little leſs then all the Iſland, beſides what their Cruelty hath diſpeopl'd and lay'd waſte. And *Laſtly*, The whole Managing both of Peace and

War is committed to Papiſts, and the Chief Leaders of that Rebellion.

Now let all Men judge what this wants of utter alienating and acquitting the whole Province of *Ireland* from all true Fealty and Obedience to the Common-wealth of *England*. Which Act of any King againſt the Conſent of his Parliament, though no other Crime were lay'd againſt him, might of it ſelf ſtrongly conduce to the Diſ-inthroneing him of all. In *France Henry* the III. demanding Leave in greateſt Exigencies to make Sale of ſome Crown Lands only, and that to his Subjects, was anſwer'd by the Parliament then at *Blois*, that a King in no caſe, though of extreameſt Neceſſity, might alienate the Patrimony of his Crown, whereof he is but only Uſu-fructuary, as Civilians term it, the Propriety remaining ever to the Kingdom, not to the King. And in our own Nation, King *JOHN*, for reſigning, though unwillingly, his Crown to the Popes Legat, with little more hazard to his Kingdom then the Payment of 1000 Marks, and the unſightlineſs of ſuch a Ceremony, was depos'd by his Barons, and *LEWIS* the *French* King's Son elected in his Room. And to have carried only the Jewels, Plate and Treaſure into *Ireland* without Conſent of the Nobility, was one of thoſe Impeachments that condemn'd *Richard* the II. to looſe his Crown.

But how petty a Crime this will ſeem to the alienating of a whole Kingdom, which in theſe Articles of Peace we ſee as good as done by the late King, not to Friends, but to mortal Enemies, to the Accompliſhment of his own Intereſts and Ends, wholly ſeperate from the Peoples good, may without Aggravation be eaſily conceiv'd. Nay by the Covenant it ſelf, ſince that ſo cavillouſly is urg'd againſt us, we are enjoyn'd in the 4*th* Article, with all Faithfulneſs to endeavour the bringing all ſuch to public Tryal and condign Puniſhment, as ſhall divide one Kingdom from another. And what greater dividing then by a pernicious and hoſtile Peace, to diſalliege a whole Feudary Kingdom from the ancient Dominion of *England*; Exception we find there of no Perſon whatſoever; and if the King who hath actually done this, or any for him claim a Priviledge above Juſtice, it is again demanded by what expreſs Law, either of God or Man, and why he whoſe Office is to execute Law and Juſtice upon all others, ſhould ſit himſelf like a Demi-God in lawleſs and unbounded Anarchy; refuſing to be accountable for that Authority over Men, naturally his Equals, which God himſelf without a Reaſon given is not wont to exerciſe over his Creatures? And if God the nearer to be accquainted with Mankind and his Frailties and to become our Prieſt, made himſelf a Man and Subject to the Law, we gladly would be inſtructed, why any mortal Man for the good and welfare of his Brethren, being made a King, ſhould by a clean contrary Motion make himſelf a God, exalted above Law; the readieſt way to become utterly unſenſible, both of his human Condition and his own Duty.

And how ſecurely, how ſmoothly, with how little Touch or Senſe of any Commiſeration, either Princely or ſo much as Human, he hath ſold away that Juſtice ſo oft demanded, and ſo oft by himſelf acknowledg'd to be due for the Blood of more then 200000 of his Subjects, that never hurt him, never diſobey'd him, aſſaſſinated and cut in Pieces by thoſe *Iriſh* Barbarians, to give the firſt Promoting, as is more then thought, to his own Tyrannical Deſigns in *England*, will appear by the 18*th* Article of his Peace; wherein, without the leaſt regard of Juſtice, to avenge the Dead, while he thirſts to be aveng'd upon the Living, to all the Murders, Maſſacres, Treaſons, Pyracies, from the very fatal Day wherein that Rebellion firſt broke out, he grants an Act of Oblivion. If this can be juſtified, or not puniſh'd in whomſoever, while there is any Faith, any Religion, any Juſtice upon Earth, there can no Reaſon be alleg'd, why all Things are not left to Confuſion.

Confuſion. And thus much be obſerved in brief concerning theſe Articles of Peace made by the late King with his *Iriſh* Rebels.

The Letter of *Ormond* ſent to Col. *Jones*, Governour of *Dublin*, attempting his Fidelity, which the Diſcretion and true Worth of that Gentleman hath ſo well anſwer'd and repulſt, had paſſed here without mention, but that the other Part of it not content to do the Errand of Treaſon, roves into a long Digreſſion of evil and reproachful Language to the Parliament and Army of *England*. Which, though not worth their Notice, as from a Crew of Rebels whoſe Inhumanities are long ſince become the Horrour and Execration of all that hear them, yet in the purſuance of a good Endeavour, to give the World all due Satisfaction of the preſent Doings, no fit Opportunity ſhall be omitted.

He accuſes firſt, *That we are the Subverters of true Religion, the Protectors and Inviters not only of all Falſe ones, but of Irreligion and Atheiſm.* An Accuſation that no Man living could more unjuſtly uſe then our Accuſer himſelf; and which without a ſtrange Beſottedneſs he could not expect but to be retorted upon his own Head. All Men who are true Proteſtants, of which Number he gives out to be one, know not a more and immediate and killing Subverter of all true Religion then *Antichriſt*, whom they generally believe to be the Pope and Church of *Rome*, he therefore, who makes Peace with this grand Enemy and Perſecutor of the true Church, he who joyns with him, ſtrengthens him, gives him Root to grow up and ſpread his Poyſon, removing all Oppoſition againſt him, granting him Schools, Abbeys and Revenues, Garriſons, Fortreſſes, Towns, as in ſo many of thoſe Articles may be ſeen, he of all Proteſtants may be call'd moſt juſtly the Subverter of true Religion, the Protector and Inviter of Irreligion and Atheiſm, whether it be *Ormond* or his Maſter. And if it can be no way prov'd, that the Parliament hath countenanc'd Popery or Papiſts, but have every where broken their Temporal Power, thrown down their public Superſtitions, and confin'd them to the bare Enjoyment of that which is not in our Reach, their Conſciences, if they have encourag'd all true Miniſters of the Goſpel, that is to ſay, afforded them Favour and Protection in all Places where they Preach'd, and although they think not Money or Stipend to be the beſt Encouragement of of a true Paſtor, yet therein alſo have not been wanting nor intend to be, they doubt not then to affirm themſelves, not the Subverters, but the Maintainers and Defenders of true Religion; which of it ſelf, and by conſequence, is the ſureſt and ſtrongeſt Subverſion, not only of all falſe ones, but of *Irreligion* and *Atheiſm*. For *the Weapons of that Warfare*, as the Apoſtle teſtifies, who beſt knew, *are not Carnal, but Mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong Holds and all Reaſonings, and every high Thing exalted againſt the Knowledg of God, ſurpriſing every Thought unto the Obedience of Chriſt, and eaſily revenging all Diſobedience*, 2 Cor. 10. What Miniſter or Clergy-man that either underſtood his high Calling, or ſought not to erect a ſecular and carnal Tyranny over ſpiritual Things, would neglect this ample and ſublime Power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak Hand of Magiſtracy for that kind of Aid, which both the Magiſtrate hath no Commiſſion to afford him, and in the way he ſeeks it hath been always found helpleſs and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wiſeſt Men unobſerved, that the Church began then moſt apparently to degenerate, and go to ruin, when ſhe borrow'd of the Civil Power more then fair Encouragement and Protection; more then which Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles never requir'd. To ſay therefore, that We protect and invite all falſe Religions, with Irreligion alſo and Atheiſm, becauſe we lend not, or rather miſapply not, the temporal Power to help out, though in vain, the Sloth, the Spleen, the Inſufficiency of Church-men, in the Execution of ſpiritual Diſciplin, over thoſe within their Charge, or thoſe without, is an Imputation that may be laid as well upon

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the beſt regulated States and Governments through the World. Who have been ſo Prudent as never to imploy the Civil Sword further then the Edge of it could reach; that is, to Civil Offences only; proving always againſt Objects that were ſpiritual a ridiculous Weapon. Our Protection therefore to Men in Civil Matters unoffenſive we cannot deny; their Conſciences we leave as not within our Cogniſance, to the proper Cure of Inſtruction, Praying for them. Nevertheleſs, if any be found among us declar'd *Atheiſts*, Malicious Enemies of God and of Chriſt; the Parliament, I think, profeſſes not to tolerate ſuch, but with all befitting Endeavours to ſuppreſs them. Otherwiſe to protect none that in a larger Senſe may be tax'd of Irreligion or Atheiſm, may perhaps be the ready way to exclude none ſooner out of Protection, then thoſe themſelves that moſt accuſe it to be ſo general to others. *Laſtly*, that we invite ſuch as theſe, or incourage them, is a meer Slander without Proof.

He tells us next, that they have Murther'd the King. And they deny not to have juſtly and undauntedly, as became the Parliament of *England*, for more Bloodſhed and other hainous Crimes then ever King of this Land was guilty of, after open Tryal, puniſh'd him with Death. A Matter which to Men whoſe ſerious Conſideration thereof hath left no certain Precept, or Example undebated, is ſo far from giving Offence, that we implore and beſeech the Divine Majeſty ſo to uphold and ſupport their Spirits with like Fortitude and Magnanimity, that all their enſuing Actions may correſpond and prove worthy that Impartial and Noble Piece of Juſtice, wherein the Hand of God appear'd ſo evidently on our ſide. We ſhall not then need to fear what all the Rout and Faction of Men baſely principl'd can do againſt us.

The end of our Proceedings, which he takes upon him to have diſcover'd; *The Changing* forſooth *of Monarchy into Anarchy*, ſounds ſo like the ſmattering of ſome raw Polititian, and the overworn Objection of every trivial Talker, that we leave him in the Number. But ſeeing in that which follows he contains not himſelf, but contrary to what a Gentleman ſhould know of Civility, proceeds to the contemptuous Naming of a Perſon, whoſe Valour and high Merit many Enemies, more noble then himſelf, have both honour'd and fear'd, to aſſert his good Name and Reputation, of whoſe Service the Common-wealth receives ſo ample Satisfaction, 'tis anſwer'd in his behalf, that *Cromwell*, whom he couples with a Name of Scorn, hath done in few Years more eminent and remarkable Deeds whereon to *found* Nobility in his Houſe, though it were wanting, and perpetual Renown to Poſterity, then *Ormond* and all his Anceſtors put together can ſhew from any Record of their *Iriſh* Exploits, the wideſt Scene of their Glory.

He paſſes on in his groundleſs Conjectures, that the Aim of this Parliament may be perhaps to ſet up firſt an elective Kingdom, and after that a perfect *TURKISH* Tyranny. Of the former we ſuppoſe the late Act againſt Monarchy will ſuffice to acquit them. Of the latter certainly there needed no other Pattern then that Tyranny, which was ſo long modelling by the late King himſelf, with *Strafford* and that Arch-*Prelate* of *Canterbury*, his Chief Inſtruments; whoſe Deſigns God hath diſſipated. Neither is it any new Project of the Monarchs, and their Courtiers in theſe Days, though Chriſtians they would be thought, to endeavour the introducing of a plain *Turkiſh* Tyranny. Witneſs that Conſultation had in the Court of *France* under *CHARLES* the IX at *Blois*, wherein *Poncet*, a certain Court Projector, brought in ſecretly by the Chancellor *Biragha*, after many Praiſes of the *Ottoman* Government; propoſes Means and Ways at large in Preſence of the King, the Queen *Regent*, and *Anjou* the King's Brother, how with beſt Expedition and leaſt Noiſe the *Turkiſh* Tyranny might be ſet up in

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France. It appears therefore that the Deſign of bringing in that Tyranny, is a Monarchical Deſign, and not of thoſe who have diſſolv'd Monarchy.

As for Parliaments by three Eſtates, we know, that a Parliament ſignifies no more then the Supream and General Councel of a Nation, conſiſting of whomſoever choſen and aſſembled for the Public Good; which was ever practis'd, and in all Sorts of Government, before the Word *Parliament*, or the *Formality*, or the *Poſſibility* of thoſe three *Eſtates*, or ſuch a Thing as a *Titular Marqueſs* had either Name or Being in the World. The Original of all which, we could produce to be far newer then thoſe *all Ages* which he vaunts of, and by ſuch, firſt invented and contriv'd, whoſe Authority, though it were *Charles Martel*, ſtands not ſo high in our Repute, either for himſelf, or the Age he liv'd in, but that with as good Warrant we may recede from what he ordain'd, as he ordain what before was not.

But whereas, beſides he is bold to allege that of the three Eſtates, there remains only a ſmall Number, and they the *Dregs* and *Scum* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, this Reproach, and in the Mouth of an *Iriſh* Man, concerns not them only, but redounds to apparent Diſhonour of the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Doubtleſs, there muſt be thought a great Scarcity in *England* of Perſons Honourable and Deſerving, or elſe of Judgment, or ſo much as Honeſty in the People, if thoſe whom they eſteem Worthy to ſit in Parliament, be no better then *Scum* and *Dregs* in the *Iriſh* Dialect. But of ſuch like ſtuff, we meet not any where with more Excreſcence, then in his own laviſh Pen; which feeling it ſelf looſe without the Reins of Diſcretion, rambles for the moſt Part, beyond all Soberneſs and Civility. In which Torrent, he goes on negotiating and cheapning the Loyalty of our Faithful Governour of *Dublin*, as if the known and try'd Conſtancy of that valiant Gentleman, were to be bought with Court-Fumes.

He lays before him, that *there remains now no other Liberty in the Subject but to profeſs Blaſphemous Opinions, to revile and tread underfoot Magiſtracy, to murther Magiſtrates, to oppreſs and undo all that are not like minded with us.* Forgetting in the mean while, himſelf to be in the Head of a mixt Rabble, part *Papiſts*, part *Fugitives* and part *Savages*, guilty in the higheſt Degree of all theſe Crimes. What more Blaſphemous, not Opinion, but whole Religion then Popery, plung'd into Idolatrous and Ceremonial Superſtition, the very Death of all true Religion; figur'd to us by the Scripture it ſelf in the Shape of that Beaſt, *full of the Names of Blaſphemy*, which we mention to him, as to one that would be counted Proteſtant, and had his Breeding in the Houſe of a Biſhop. And who are thoſe that have trod underfoot Magiſtracy, murthered Magiſtrates, oppreſs'd and undone all that ſided not with them, but the *Iriſh* Rebels, in that horrible Conſpiracy, for which *Ormond* himſelf hath either been, or ſeem'd to be their Enemy; though now their Ringleader. And let him ask the Jeſuits about him, whether it be not their known Doctrin and alſo Practice, not by fair and due Proceſs of Juſtice to puniſh Kings and Magiſtrates, which we diſavow not, but to murther them in the baſeſt and moſt aſſaſſinous Manner, if their Church-Intereſt ſo require. There will not need more Words to this Windy Railer, convicted openly of all thoſe Crimes which he ſo confidently and yet falſly charges upon others.

We have now to deal, though in the ſame Country, with another Sort of Adverſaries, in ſhew far different, in ſubſtance much what the ſame. Theſe write themſelves the *Presbytery* of *Belfaſt*, a Place better known by the Name of a late Barony, then by the Fame of theſe Mens Doctrin or Eccleſiaſtical Deeds; whoſe Obſcurity till now, never came to our Hearing. And ſurely we ſhould think this their Repreſentment far beneath conſiderable, who have neglected and paſt over the like Unadviſedneſs of their Fellows, in other Places more near us, were it not to obſerve in ſome Particulars, the Sympathy,

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good Intelligence and joynt Pace, which they go in the *North* of *Ireland*, with their copartning Rebels in the *South*, driving on the ſame Intereſt to looſe us that Kingdom, that they may gain it themſelves, or at leaſt ſhare in the Spoyl: Though the other be open Enemies, theſe pretended Brethren.

The Introduction of their Manifeſt, out of doubt muſt be zealous; *Their Duty*, they ſay, *to God and his People, over whom he hath made them Overſeers, and for whom they muſt give Accompt.* What mean theſe Men? Is the Presbytery of *Belfaſt*, a ſmall Town in *Ulſter*, of ſo large Extent, that their Voices cannot ſerve to teach Duties in the Congregation which they overſee, without ſpreading and divulging to all Parts, far beyond the Dioceſs of *Patric*, or *Columba*, their written Repreſentation, under the ſubtle Pretence of Feeding their own Flock? Or do they think to over-ſee or undertake to give an Account, for all to whom their Paper ſends Greeting? St. *Paul* to the Elders of *Epheſus*, thinks it ſufficient to give Charge, *that they take heed to themſelves and to the Flock*, over which they were made Over-ſeers; beyond thoſe Bounds, he inlarges not their Commiſſion. And ſurely when we put down Biſhops, and put up Presbyters, which the moſt of them have made Uſe of to enrich and exalt themſelves, and turn the firſt Heel againſt their Benefactors, we did not think that one Claſſic Fraternity ſo obſcure and ſo remote, ſhould involve us and all State-Affairs within the Cenſure and Juriſdiction of *Belfaſt*, upon Pretence of over-ſeeing their own Charge.

We very well know, that Church Cenſures are limited to Church Matters, and theſe within the compaſs of their own Province, or to ſay more truly of their own Congregation: That Affairs of State are not for their medling, as we could urge, even from their own Invectives and Proteſtations againſt the Biſhops, wherein they tell them with much Fervency, that Miniſters of the Goſpel, neither by that Function, nor by any other which they ought accept, have the leaſt Warrant to be Pragmatical in the State.

And ſurely in vain were Biſhops for theſe and other Cauſes, forbid to ſit and vote in the Houſe, if theſe Men out of the Houſe, and without Vote, ſhall claim and be permitted more Licence on their Presbyterial Stools, to breed continual Diſturbance by interpoſing in the Commonwealth. But ſeeing, that now, ſince their heaving out the Prelates to heave in themſelves, they deviſe new Ways to bring both ends together, which will never meet, that is to ſay, their former Doctrin with their preſent Doings, as, *that they cannot elſe teach Magiſtrates and Subjects their Duty, and that they have beſides a Right themſelves to ſpeak as Members of the Commonwealth*: Let them know that there is a wide Difference between the general Exhortation to Juſtice and Obedience, which in this Point is the utmoſt of their Duty, and the State diſputes wherein they are now grown ſuch buſy Bodies, to preach of Titles, Intereſts and Alterations in Government: More then our Saviour himſelf, or any of his Apoſtles ever took upon them, though the Title both of *Cæſar* and of *Herod*, and what they did in Matters of State might have then admitted Controverſy enough.

Next, For their Civil Capacities, we are ſure that Pulpits and Church-Aſſemblies, whether Claſſical or Provincial, never were intended or allow'd by wiſe Magiſtrates, no nor by him that ſent them, to advance ſuch Purpoſes; but that as Members of the Commonwealth, they ought to mix with other Commoners, and in that temporal Body, to aſſume nothing above other Private Perſons, or otherwiſe then in a uſual and legal Manner: Not by diſtinct Remonſtrances and Repreſentments, as if they were a Tribe and Party by themſelves, which is the next immediate Way, to make the Church lift a Horn againſt the State, and claim an abſolute and undepending Juriſdiction, as from like Advantage and Occaſion (to the Trouble of all Chriſtendom) the Pope hath for many Ages done; and not only our Biſhops were climbing after

after him, but our Presbyters also, as by late Experiment we find. Of this Representation therefore we can esteem and judge no other then of a sland'rous and seditious Libel, sent abroad by a sort of Incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible Name of a Presbytery.

A second Reason of their Representing is, *That they consider the Dependance of that Kingdom upon* ENGLAND, which is another shamless Untruth that ever they consider'd; as their own Actions will declare by conniving, and in their silence partaking, with those in *ULSTER*, whose Obedience by what we have yet heard, stands dubious, and with an Eye of Conformity rather to the *NORTH*, then to that part where they owe their Subjection; and this in all Likelihood by the Inducement and Instigation of these Representers; who are so far from considering their Dependence on *ENGLAND*, as to presume at every Word to term Proceedings of Parliament, *the Insolences of a Sectarian Party and of private Men.* Despising Dominion and speaking evil of Dignities, which Hypocritically they would seem to disswade others from; and not fearing the due Correction of their Superiors, that may in fit season overtake them. Whenas the least Consideration of their Dependance on *England* would have kept them better in their Duty.

The Third Reason which they use makes against them; the Remembrance how God punish'd the Contempt of their warning last Year upon the Breakers of Covenant, whenas the next Year after they forget the Warning of that Punishment hanging over their own Heads for the very same Transgression, their manifest Breach of Covenant by this seditious Representation, accompanied with the doubtful Obedience of that Province which represents it.

And thus we have their Preface supported with three Reasons; two of them notorious Falsities, and the third against themselves; and two Examples, *the Province of* LONDON, *and the Commissioners of the* KIRK *Assembly.* But certain, if Cononical Examples bind not, much less do Apocryphal.

Proceeding to avouch the Trust put upon them by God, which is plainly prov'd to be none of this Nature, *They would not be looked upon as Sowers of Sedition, or Authors of divisive Motions, their Record,* they say, *is in Heaven,* and their Truth and Honesty no Man knows where. For is not this a shameless Hypocrisie, and of meer Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, to sow Sedition in the Ears of all Men, and to face us down in the very Act, that they are Authors of no such Matter. But let the Sequel both of their Paper, and the Obedience of the Place wherein they are, determine.

Nay, while we are yet writing these Things, and foretelling all Men the Rebellion which was even then design'd in the close Purpose of these unhallow'd Priestlings, at the very time when with their Lips they disclaim'd all sowing of Sedition, News is brought, and too True, that the *Scottish* Inhabitants of that Province are actually revolted and have not only besieg'd in *London-Derry* those Forces which were to have fought against *Ormond* and the *Irish* Rebels; but have in a manner declar'd with them, and begun open War against the Parliament; and all this by the Incitement and Illusions of that unchristian Synagogue at *BELFAST*, who yet dare charge the Parliament, *That notwithstanding specious Pretences, yet their Actings do evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive.* The Deceit we own not, but the Comparison, by what at first sight may seem alluded, we accept: For that hairy Roughness assum'd won *Jacob* the Birthright both Temporal and Eternal; and God we trust hath so dispos'd the Mouth of these *Balaams*, that coming to curse, they have stumbled into a kind of Blessing, and compar'd our Actings to the faithful Act of that Patriarch.

But if they mean, as more probably their Meaning was, that *rough Garment* ſpok'n of, *Zach.* 13. 4. We may then behold the pitiful ſtore of Learning and Theology, which theſe Deceivers have thought ſufficient to uphold their Credit with the People, who, though the Rancour that leavens them, have ſomewhat quickened the common Drawling of their Pulpit Elocution, yet for want of ſtock enough in Scripture-Phraſe to ſerve the neceſſary Uſes of their Malice, they are become ſo Liberal as to part freely with their own Budge-Gowns from off their backs, and beſtow them on the Magiſtrate as *a rough Garment* to deceive; rather then not to be furniſh'd with a Reproach, tho' never ſo improper, never ſo obvious to be turn'd upon themſelves. For but with half an Eye caſt upon that Text, any Man will ſoon diſcern that *rough Garment* to be their own Coat, their own Livery, the very Badge and Cognizance of ſuch falſe Prophets as themſelves Who, when they underſtand, or ever ſeriouſly mind the Beginning of that *4th v.* may *be aſhamed every one of his lying Viſion*, and may juſtly fear that foregoing Denouncement to ſuch *as ſpeak Lies in the Name of the Lord*, v. 3. lurking under the *rough Garment* of outward Rigor and Formality, whereby they cheat the ſimple. So that *this rough Garment to deceive* we bring ye once again, Grave Sirs, into your own Veſtry; or with *Zechary* ſhall not think much to fit it to your own Shoulders. To beſtow ought in good earneſt on the Magiſtrate, we know your Claſſic Prieſtſhip is too gripple, for ye are always Begging: And for this rough Gown to deceive, we are confident ye cannot ſpare it; it is your *SUNDAYS* Gown, your every-day Gown, your only Gown, the Gown of your Faculty; your Divining Gown; to take it from ye were Sacrilege. Wear it therefore and poſſeſs it your ſelves, moſt grave and reverend *Carmelites*, that all Men both young and old, as we hope they will ſhortly, may yet better know ye and diſtinguiſh ye by it: and give to your rough Gown where-ever they meet it, whether in Pulpit, Claſſis, or Provincial Synod, the Precedency and the Pre-eminence of Deceiving.

They charge us next, that we have broken the Covenant, and loaden it with ſlighting Reproaches. For the Reproaching, let them anſwer that are guilty, whereof the State we are ſure cannot be accus'd. For the breaking let us hear, wherein. *In labouring*, ſay they, *to eſtabliſh by Law a univerſal Tolleration of all Religions.* This touches not the State; for certainly were they ſo minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having Power in their Hands; and we know of no Act as yet paſt to that Purpoſe. But ſuppoſe it done, wherein is the Covenant broke? The Covenant enjoyns us to endeavour the Extirpation firſt of Popery and Prelacy, then of Hereſy, Schiſm and Prophaneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrin and the Power of Godlineſs. And this we ceaſe not to do by all effectual and proper means: But theſe Divines might know, that to extirpate all theſe Things can be no Work of the Civil Sword, but of the Spiritual, which is the Word of God.

No Man, well in his Wits, endeavouring to root up Weeds out of his Ground, inſtead of uſing the Spade, will take a Mallet or a Beetle. Nor doth the *Covenant* any way engage us to extirpate, or to proſecute the Men, but the Hereſies and Errors in them, which, we tell theſe Divines and the reſt that underſtand not, belongs chiefly to their own Function, in the diligent Preaching and inſiſting upon ſound Doctrin, in the confuting, not the railing down Errors, encountring both in public and private Conference, and by the Power of Truth, not of Perſecution, ſubduing thoſe Authors of *Heretical* Opinions, and laſtly, in the ſpiritual Execution of Church-Diſciplin within their own Congregations. In all theſe ways we ſhall aſſiſt them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us, joyn with them, and moreover not tolerate the free Exerciſe of any Religion, which ſhall be found abſo-

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lutely contrary to ſound Doctrin or the Power of Godlineſs; for the Conſcience we muſt have Patience till it be within our Verge. And thus doing, we ſhall believe to have kept exactly all that is requir'd from us by the *Covenant*. Whilſt they by their ſeditious Practices againſt us, then which nothing for the preſent can add more Aſſiſtance or Advantage to thoſe bloody Rebels and Papiſts in the *South*, will be found moſt pernicious Covenant-breakers themſelves, and as deep in that Guilt as thoſe of their own Nation the laſt Year; the Warning of whoſe ill Succeſs like Men harden'd for the ſame Judgment, they miſerably pervert to an Encouragement in the ſame Offence, if not a far worſe; for now they have joyn'd Intereſt with the *Iriſh* Rebels, who have ever fought againſt the *Covenant*, whereas their Countrymen the Year before made the *Covenant* their Plea. But as it is a peculiar Mercy of God to his People, while they remain his, to preſerve them from wicked Confederations: So it is a Mark and Puniſhment of Hypocrites to be driven at length to mix their Cauſe, and the Intereſt of their *Covenant* with Gods Enemies.

And whereas they affirm, that the tolerating of all Religions in the Manner that we tolerate them, is an Innovation, we muſt acquaint them that we are able to make it good, if need be, both by Scripture and the Primitive Fathers, and the frequent Aſſertion of whole Churches and Proteſtant States in their Remonſtrances and Expoſtulations againſt the *Popiſh* Tyranny over Souls. And what Force of Argument do theſe Doctors bring to the contrary? But we have long obſerv'd to what Paſs the bold Ignorance and Sloth of our Clergy tends no leſs now then in the Biſhops days, to make their bare Sayings and Cenſures authentic with the People, though deſtitute of any Proof or Argument. But Thanks be to God, they are diſcern'd.

Their next Impeachment is, *That we oppoſe the Presbyterial Government, the Hedge and Bulwark of Religion.* Which all the Land knows to be a moſt impudent Falſhood, having eſtabliſh'd it with all Freedom, wherever it hath been deſir'd. Nevertheleſs, as we perceive it aſpiring to be a compulſive Power upon all without Exception in Parochial, Claſſical and Provincial Hierarchies, or to require the fleſhly Arm of Magiſtracy in the Execution of a ſpiritual Diſciplin, to puniſh and amerce by any corporal Infliction thoſe whoſe Conſciences cannot be edify'd by what Authority they are compell'd, we hold it no more to be *the Hedge and Bulwark of Religion*, then the *Popiſh* and *Prelatical* Courts, or the *Spaniſh Inquiſition.*

But we are told, *We embrace Paganiſm and Judaiſm in the Arms of Toleration.* A moſt audacious Calumny. And yet while we deteſt *Judaiſm*, we know our ſelves commanded by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11. to reſpect the *Jews*, and by all Means to endeavour their Converſion.

Neither was it ever ſworn in the *Covenant* to maintain a univerſal *Presbytery* in *England*, as they falſly alledge, but in *Scotland* againſt the common Enemy, if our Aid were call'd for: Being left free to reform our own Country according to the Word of God, and the Example of beſt reformed Churches; from which Rule we are not yet departed.

But here utterly forgetting to be Miniſters of the Goſpel, they preſume to open their Mouths not *in the Spirit of Meekneſs*, as like Diſſemblers they pretend, but with as much deviliſh Malice, Impudence and Falſhood, as any *Iriſh* Rebel could have utter'd; and from a barbarous Nook of *Ireland* brand us with the Extirpation of Laws and Liberties; Things which they ſeem as little to underſtand as ought that belongs to good Letters or Humanity.

That we ſeiz'd on the Perſon of the King. Who was ſurrendred into our Hands an Enemy and Captive by our own ſubordinate and paid Army of *Scots* in *England.* Next, *our impriſoning many Members of the Houſe.* As if it were impoſſible they ſhould deſerve it, conſpiring and banding againſt the public Good; which to the other Part appearing, and, with the Power they had, not reſiſting, had been a manifeſt Deſertion of their Truſt and Duty. No Queſtion but it is as good and neceſſary to expel rotten Members out of the Houſe, as to baniſh Delinquents out of the Land; and the Reaſon holds as well in forty as in five: And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is their Number. They had no Privilege to ſit there and vote home the Author, the impenitent Author of all our Miſeries, to Freedom, Honour and Royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not deſtructive, Conceſſions. Which, that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all Men, ſo much the more expedient and important to the Commonwealth was their ſpeedy Seizure and Excluſion: and no Breach of any juſt Privilege, but a Breach of their knotted Faction. And here they cry out, *An Action without Parallel in any AGE.* So heartily we wiſh all Men were unprejudiced in all our Actions, as theſe illiterate Denouncers never paralleſ'd ſo much of any Age as would contribute to the Tithe of a Century. *That we aboliſh Parliamentary Power, and eſtabliſh a Repreſentative inſtead thereof.* Now we have the Height of them; theſe profound Inſtructors, in the midſt of their Repreſentation, would know the *Engliſh* of a Repreſentative, and were perhaps of that *Claſſis*, who heretofore were as much ſtagger'd at *Triennial.*

Their grand Accuſation is our Juſtice done on the King, which, that they may prove to be *without Rule or Example*, they venture all the Credit they have in divine and human Hiſtory; and by the ſame deſperate Boldneſs detect themſelves to be egregious Lyars and Impoſtors, ſeeking to abuſe the Multitude with a Shew of that Gravity and Learning which never was their Portion. Had their Knowledge been equal to the Knowledge of any ſtupid *Monk* or *Abbot*, they would have known at leaſt, though ignorant of all Things elſe, the Life and Acts of him, who firſt inſtituted their Order: But theſe blockiſh *Presbyters* of *Clandeboy* know not that JOHN KNOX, who was the firſt Founder of *Presbytery* in *Scotland*, taught profeſſedly the Doctrin of depoſing and of killing Kings. And thus while they deny that any ſuch Rule can be found, the Rule is found in their own Country, given them by their own firſt *Presbyterian* Inſtitutor; and they themſelves, like irregular *Friars*, walking contrary to the Rule of their own Foundation, deſerve for ſo groſs an Ignorance and Tranſgreſſion to be diſciplin'd upon their own Stools. Or had their reading in Hiſtory been any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or their Malice not heightened to a blind Rage, they never would ſo raſhly have thrown the Dice to a palpable Diſcovery of their Ignorance and want of Shame. But wherefore ſpend we two ſuch pretious things as Time and Reaſon upon Prieſts, the moſt prodigal Miſpenders of Time and the ſcarceſt Owners of Reaſon? 'Tis ſufficient we have publiſh'd our Defences, given Reaſons, given Examples of our Juſtice done; Books alſo have been written to the ſame Purpoſe for Men to look on that will; that no Nation under Heaven, but in one Age or other hath done the like. The Difference only is, which rather ſeems to us Matter of Glory, that they for the moſt part have without Form of Law done the Deed by a kind of Martial Juſtice; we by the deliberate and well-weigh'd Sentence of a legal Judicature.

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But they tell us, *It was againſt the Intereſt and Proteſtation of the Kingdom of* Scotland. And did exceeding well to joyn thoſe two together: Hereby informing us what Credit or Regard need be given in *England* to a *Scotch* Proteſtation, uſher'd in by a *Scotch* Intereſt: Certainly, no more then we ſee is given in *Scotland* to an *Engliſh* Declaration, declaring the Intereſt of *England*. If then our Intereſt move not them, why ſhould theirs move us? If they ſay, we are not all *England*; we reply, they are not all *Scotland*: Nay, were the laſt Year ſo inconſiderable a Part of *Scotland* as were beholding to this which they now term the *Sectarian* Army, to defend and reſcue them at the Charges of *England* from a ſtronger Party of their own Countrymen, in whoſe Eſteem they were no better then *Sectarians* themſelves. But they add, *It was againſt the former Declarations of both Kingdoms*, to ſeize or proceed againſt the King. We are certain, that no ſuch Declarations of both Kingdoms, as derive not their full Force from the Senſe and Meaning of the Covenant, can be produc'd.

And if they plead againſt us the Covenant, *To preſerve and defend his Perſon*; we ask them briefly, whether they take the Covenant to be abſolute or conditional? If abſolute, then ſuppoſe the King to have committed all prodigious Crimes and Impieties againſt God, or Nature, or whole Nations, he muſt nevertheleſs be ſacred from all violent Touch. Which abſurd Opinion, how it can live in any Mans Reaſon, either natural or rectify'd, we much marvel: Since God declar'd his Anger as impetuous for the ſaving of King *Benhadad*, though ſurrendring himſelf at Mercy, as for the killing of *Nabath*. If it be conditional, in the Preſervation and Defence of Religion and the Peoples Liberty, then certainly to take away his Life, being dangerous and pernicious to both theſe, was no more a Breach of the Covenant, then for the ſame Reaſon at *Edinborough* to behead *Gordon* the Marqueſs *Huntley*. By the ſame Covenant we made vow to aſſiſt and to defend all thoſe that ſhould enter with us into this League: Not abſolutely but in the maintenance and purſuing thereof. If therefore no Man elſe ever were ſo mad as to claim from hence an Impunity from all Juſtice, why ſhould any for the King? Whoſe Life by other Articles of the ſame Covenant was forfeit. Nay, if common Senſe had not led us to ſuch a clear Interpretation, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners themſelves might boaſt to have been our firſt Teachers: Who, when they drew to the Malignance which brought forth that perfidious laſt Years Irruption againſt all the Bands of Covenant or Chriſtian Neighbourhood, making their hollow Plea the Defence of his Majeſties Perſon, they were conſtrain'd by their own Guiltineſs to leave out that following Morſel, that would have choak'd them, the *Preſervation and Defence of true Religion and our Liberties*. And queſtionleſs, in the Preſervation of theſe, we are bound as well, both by the Covenant and before the Covenant to preſerve and defend the Perſon of any private Man, and the Perſon and Authority of any inferior Magiſtrate: So that this Article objected with ſuch Vehemence againſt us, contains not an Exception of the Kings Perſon, and Authority to do by Privilege what Wickedneſs he liſt, and be defended, as ſome fancy, but an expreſs Teſtification of our Loyalty, and the plain Words without wreſting will bear as much, that we had no Thoughts againſt his Perſon or juſt Power, provided they might conſiſt with the Preſervation and Defence of true Religion and our Liberties. But to theſe how hazardous his Life was, will be needleſs to repeat ſo often. It may ſuffice, that while he was in Cuſtody, where we expected his Repentance, his Remorſe at laſt and Compaſſion of all the innocent Blood ſhed already and hereafter likely to be ſhed for his meer Wilfulneſs, he made no other Uſe of our continual Forbearance, our humbleſt Petitions and Obteſtations at his Feet, but to ſit contriving and fomenting new Plots againſt us, and as

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his own Phraſe was, *playing his own Game*, upon the Miſeries of his People: Of which we deſire no other View at preſent then theſe Articles of Peace with the Rebels, and the rare Game likely to enſue from ſuch a Caſt of his Cards. And then let Men reflect a little upon the Slanders and Reviles of theſe wretched Prieſts, and judge what Modeſty, what Truth, what Conſcience, what any thing fit for Miniſters, or we might ſay, reaſonable Men, can harbour in them. For what they began in Shameleſsneſs and Malice, they conclude in Frenzy? Throwing out a ſudden Rapſody of Proverbs quite from the Purpoſe; and with as much Comelineſs as when *Saul* propheſy'd. For caſting off, as he did his Garments, all Modeſty and Meekneſs wherewith the Language of Miniſters ought to be cloth'd, ſpeaking eſpecially to their Supream Magiſtrates, they talk at random of *Servants reigning, Servants riding, and wonder how the Earth can bear them.* Either theſe Men imagin themſelves to be marvelouſly high ſet and exalted in the Chair of *Belfaſt*, to vouchſafe the Parliament of *England* no better Style then *Servants*, or elſe their high Notion, which we rather believe, falls as low as Court-paraſitiſm; ſuppoſing all Men to be Servants, but the King. And then all their Pains taken to ſeem ſo wiſe in Proverbing, ſerves but to conclude them down-right Slaves; and the Edge of their own Proverb falls reverſe upon themſelves. For as *Delight is not ſeemly for Fools*, much leſs high Words to come from baſe Minds. What they are for Miniſters, or how they crept into the Fold, whether at the Window or through the Wall, or who ſet them there ſo haughty in the Pontifical See of *Belfaſt*, we know not. But this we rather have Cauſe to wonder, if the Earth can bear this unſufferable Inſolency of Upſtarts; who, from a Ground which is not their own, dare ſend ſuch Defiance to the Sovereign Magiſtracy of *England*, by whoſe Authority and in whoſe Right they inhabit there. By their Actions we might rather judge them to be a Generation of High-land Thieves and Redſhanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the *Saxons* by Merit of their Warfare againſt our Enemies, but by their Admittance to hold Poſſeſſions in our Province, a Country better then their own, have, with worſe Faith then thoſe *Heathen;* prov'd ingrateful and treacherous Gueſts to their beſt Friends and Entertainers. And let them take heed, leaſt while their Silence, as to theſe Matters, might have kept them blameleſs and ſecure under thoſe Proceedings, which they ſo fear'd to partake in, that theſe their Treaſonous Attempts and Practices have not involv'd them in a far worſe Guilt of Rebellion; and (notwithſtanding that fair Dehortatory from joyning with Malignants) in the Appearance of a Co-intereſt and Partaking with the *IRISH* Rebels. Againſt whom, though by themſelves pronounc'd to be the Enemies of GOD, they go not out to Battle, as they ought, but rather by theſe their DOINGS aſſiſt and become Aſſociates.

FINIS.